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T H E M E
INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES AND
"THE PROJECTS OF MODERNITY"

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES AND THE INDONESIAN STATE OF POST-SUHARTO ERA:
Some Reflections through Actor-Oriented Approach

S U R A Y A   A F I F F

A number of scholars have raised the problem of viewing "communities" or "the state" (as well as other forms of social organizations)—as a one single homogeneous unit. Actors within these units might have diverse interests and values, as well as might not have equal access to power which are also being shaped by their own social, political, and cultural attributes such as gender, age, wealth, ethnicity, kinship relations, etc. Employing actor-oriented approach through ethnography in the study that aims to explore indigenous communities' response to numerous projects promoted by the state and other actors, would help us to gain more nuance and deep understanding about the complexity of relationships between actors from different social groupings. As also argued by previous scholars, not only boundaries between the state and society often time not rigid and fix, relationships between actors and their own positions and views are also changing over time. To show the important of employing such approach, I will use some examples from the recent events that involved actors from the civil society groups and the Indonesian government.

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CAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLE BE MODERN? MEDIA, PERFORMANCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA

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T he place and representation of the indigenous people have often been a function of the conflation between colonial and national history in which they are usually designated as the origin and the authentic natives of the modern nation-state community. Having been subjected to colonial, national and academic discursive practice, the indigenous people have been defined as being anchored to a locality, adverse to mobility, resistant to modernity and anti-technology.

This paper is an attempt to chart the unsettling and complex relationships between modernity and indigeneity in the context of the demise of nation-state, the rise of indigenous people movement, wider access of multimedia technology, the growing global connectivity and people mobility. It will serve as a historiographic and ethnographic account of the Samin community in Central Java, — an indigenous peasant community who has been resisting against forms of political and cultural incorporation for more than a century. It is aimed at depicting the problematic multi-media construction and representation of Javanese/ Indonesian-ness and its others, its placement in contemporary Indonesian historical and popular imagination, and its dealing with the ideas of modernity, indigeneity, technological utility and mobility.

This paper will investigate the dynamics of the development of the Samin movement from a small locally based indigenous community mostly concerned with issues regarding identity representation and leave-me-alone

ideological position to a more complex new social movement tackling aggressively social, political, cultural and environmental problems. The discussion will focus on the strategies that the movement has employed in their struggle, particularly in the ways they have embrace and utilized modern forms of cultural performance, media and communication technology while reproducing certain simple and authentic images and nuances of an indigenous community.

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PROLIFERATING BOUNDARIES IN A BORDERLESS WORLD:
Thinking about the Dissonance of Modern Projects of Inclusion and Exclusion

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A recent flux of literature has challenged the idea that the world is becoming "borderless", examining how a rebordering in multiple forms creates categories of people that are included and excluded, creating communities that are increasingly focussed not on "discipline" or "socialization" and universal inclusion, but "control", "gated communities" and exclusion. Global discourses of good governance, and decentralization meant to be more "inclusive" result just as often in violence and exclusion. In this paper I want to think about borders, both national and sub-national and how they affect the minorities, the disenfranchised and the "indigenous". Some examples from "border communities" in Indonesia will be used to think about the significance of creating borders, crossing borders, resisting borders and redefining borders, and how this affects indigenous inhabitants, and migrant communities who settle and resettle in borderland spaces. This will be contextualized within the context of the recent "obsession" with borders, which can be seen to be epitomized by the "pemekaran" process in decentralizing Indonesia during the reform period. How does this "modern project" of proliferating boundaries, and the ostensible "opening up" of the hinterlands and marginal regions, create continuing problems of exclusion and a dissonance towards the modern orderings of travel and movement for indigenous and marginal communities.

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Panel 1

Conflicts of the Land within Indigenous Narratives

THE EXISTENCE OF PAWANG GLEE AND PEUTUWA SEUNEUBOK OF MUKIM PINTOE BATEE'S INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY, PEUDADA IN BIREUEN REGENCY-ACEH*

TEUKU CUT MAHMUD AZIZ

ABSTRACT

The existence of *Pawang Glee* and *Peutuwa Seuneubok* has become part of local tradition and knowledge of the indigenous community in Mukim Pintoe Batee. This knowledge of s*euneubok* and *glee* has been around since the time of Sultan Iskandar Muda. They are selected through consultation that involve the community's leaders in the region of mukim. Mukim is composed of some *gampongs* (villages), that headed by *Imeum Mukim.* They become a part of customary institutions. *Pawang Glee* is a person who is believed to have a thorough knowledge of the ins and outs of the hills or mountains. Meanwhile, *Peutuwa Seuneubok* is a person who is responsible for the management of indigenous lands and resolve disputes that occur in the *Seuneubok*. It is because *Seuneubok's* areas are lands that should not be sold but only used for cultivation. When the armed conflict in Aceh (martial law), this tradition still existed but did not function properly because people were afraid to farm or forest. While in the aftermath of the Helsinki MoU (Peace in Aceh), the customary rules have been used again in the form of Qanun (regional regulation). This research is conducted in Mukim Pintoe Batee, Peudada Subdistrict, Bireuen Regency in Aceh. It uses ethnographic method, through interviews and participant observation. In addition, it also uses a literature review.

The purpose is to know the local knowledge of Mukim Pintoe Batee's indigenous community in managing the forests and customary land; to know the norms and customs when entering or managing forest lands; and to know how local knowledge can be preserved to the present. This research will be the first study on *Pawang Glee* and *Peutuwa Seuneubok* of the indigenous community in Mukim Pintoe Batee.

K E Y W O R D S : *Pawang Glee, Peutuwa Seuneubok*, Mukim Pintoe Batee, Peudada, Local Knowledge, Indigenous Community

Preliminary

During the armed conflict in Aceh, between the GAM and the TNI, the existence of *Pawang Glee (Pawang Hutan)* and *Peutuwa Seuneubok* did not function anymore. This is caused that people did not dare to go into farming or forest. Security conditions led to a vacuum in the running of local traditions of indigenous community[1].

 Pawang Glee or people are also often to call as *Pawang Utueng* (the meaning same, *Pawang Hutan*) and *Peutuwa Seuneubok* have become part of Acehnese indigenous community[2]. This existence, trusted by customary leaders has existed since the time of the Sultanate of Iskandar Muda (1607-1636).

 Pawang Glee is a person who is believed to have a thorough knowledge of the ins and outs of the hills or mountains. While *Peutuwa Seuneubok* is a person who is responsible for the management of indigenous lands and resolve disputes that occur in the *Seuneubok*. Because, *Seuneubok's* areas are lands that should not be sold but only used for cultivation[3]

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[1] See, "Pedoman Peradilan Adat di Aceh, Untuk Peradilan Adat yang Adil dan Akuntabel", hal. 2, 2008. At the time happened the indigenous leadership vacuum caused by the armed conflict and the tsunami. Including at the time, there was not the qanun yet.

[2] In some places, the mention of Pawang Glee and Pawang Utuen is different. Pawang Glee dealing with altitude up to 1000 meters, including areas of production's forest, while Pawang Uteun keeps the area more than 1000 meters, entering areas of protected forest. "Or another name is a person who leads and set about clearing customs provisions and use of land for cultivation / plantation).

[3] "Or another name is a person who leads and arrange customs relating to the management and conservation of forest".
(Qanun Aceh No. 10 Tahun 2008 tentang Lembaga Adat, Bab I Ketentuan Umum, Pasal 1 angka 27).
(Qanun Aceh No. 10 Tahun 2008 tentang Lembaga Adat, Bab I Ketentuan Umum, Pasal 1 angka 24).
Sumber: Pusat Informasi Bencana Aceh, "Istilah Adat", http://piba.tdmrc.org/content/istilah-adat.

Pawang Glee and *Peutuwa Seuneubok* are selected through consultation that involve the community's leaders in the region of mukim. Mukim is composed of some *gampongs* (villages), that headed by *Imeum Mukim.* They become a part of customary institutions, where In general there are several customary institutions of the traditional leadership structures, namely[4]:
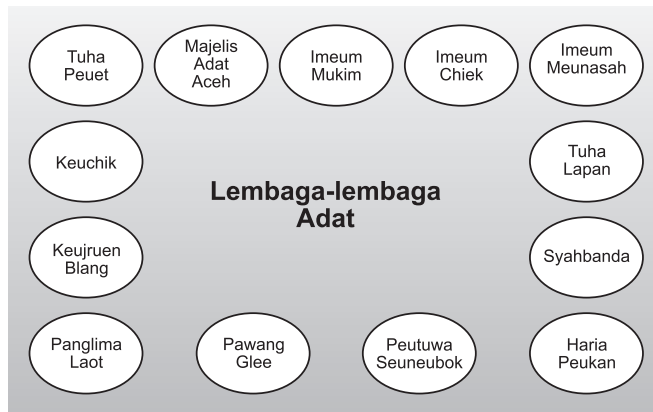
Cited: Book of "*PEDOMAN PERADILAN ADAT DI ACEH, Untuk Peradilan Adat yang Adil dan Akuntabel*", p. 7

Before in 2007, in general the indigenous knowledge and wisdom relating to Acehnese customary law was developed through oral tradition. Written proof more on what that is written by individuals, and had not been compiled in a file or book on customary law in Aceh. Then, since in the post-tsunami, 2007 a large project begun, "Aceh Justice Project *(Proyek Keadilan Aceh)*", a research collaboration, between *Majelis Adat Aceh (MAA)* and the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), in an effort to collect as much as possible and explore the principles of customary law. They also conducted in-depth interviews to the experts and the indigenous leaders. The result of this cooperation is the publication of a book entitled *"PEDOMAN PERADILAN ADAT DI ACEH, Untuk Peradilan Adat yang Adil dan Akuntabel"*[5].

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[4]   Op.Cit., p. 7.
[5]   A part of Project of Bappenas – UNDP which funded by European Union.

Peudada Subdistrict

Peudada is a subdistrict located in the Regent of Bireuen. Bireuen Regency which has its capital in Bireuen, a new district in 2000, which experienced the authonomy of North Aceh. Currently, it has 17 subdistricts.

In Peudada Subdistrict has six regions of *mukim*. Only four *mukim*s, like Mukim Pintoe Batee, Mukim Blang Mirah, Mukim Krueng, and Mukim Bate Kureng which have the indigenous knowledge of *seuneubok* and *glee*, while the other two mukims, like Mukim Aloh Reng and Mukim Teungku di Payah have the indigenous knowledge of sea *(laot),* because both are located close to the sea.

Peutuwa Seuneubok and Pawang Glee of the Pintoe Batee

The *keuchik* of Teungku di Batoen[6] and Imeum Mukim of Pintoe Batee said that the knowledge of s*euneubok* and *glee* of Mukim Pintoe Batee has been around since the time of Sultan Iskandar Muda. At that time, the rules of planting had existed.

The area of indigenous land in the mukim reaches thousands of hectares, including 500 hectares that used for transmigration (before the armed conflict). Now, there is no transmigration. From that area, only one hectare is planted the banana.

Currently, there are about 5000 hectares that worked by the community. Many who plant *tanaman muda*, such as the nuts which planted in the third month (March), the seventh (July), and the eleventh (November). Because the months of those are in the rainy season, but harvested in the dry season. There was also *tanaman keras*, like the trees of sengon, seumantok, and merante.

The rules of *seuneubok* of Mukim Pintoe Batee gives two hectares of the land for each person who wants to work at the land. *Peutuwa Seuneubok* who will give the permit of cultivation customarily. There is a letter to be signed by him. That land can only be worked and may not be sold. It is the rules that has been set for a long time, although not in written form. If there is a conflict, will be solved with the custom.

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6   A gampong (village) of Mukim Pintoe Batee.

Likewise, indigenous forests, its area is also in the thousands of hectares. Indigenous forest which is protected forest, of great importance to preserve and ecological balance. In this forest is a place to live much wildlife including elephants. They often wander on the roads to the mountain top.

The Indigenous community should not be indiscriminate felling the trees. Although, in reality there are individuals who cut trees for the purpose of their lives, like cutting small trees for their homes. This condition can be understand, because they just cut the trees for their needs, and not intended for sale.

The concept of *Pawang Glee* of Pintoe Batee is different with the concept of *"juru kunci"* in Java. As the existence of *juru kunci* of Mount merapi in Yogyakarta, the person who has the supernatural powers to keep the mountain[7]. While here, not familiar with the term *"juru kunci"*. The person who keeps forests is he who has a thorough knowledge of the forest. He must have patience, does not use his authority to economic interests, and is a respected person in the community. *Pawang Glee* of this mukim is a former GAM (Freedom Aceh Movement) commander who ever lived and fought in the forest. He was a man who does not talk much, quiet, and highly respected in the community.

The community has rules about the forest. The peoples should not cut a large tree. If wishing to cut a large tree, then they must obtain an approval from the Mukim. The cutting should be done with the ceremony of *peusijuek*[8]. In addition, they may not go into the forest on Friday. They also may not work in the forest, in the *glee*, or in the farm on the last Wednesday of each month. If they violate these restrictions, then there will be an accident.

The *Pawang Glee* and *Peutuwa Seuneubok* of Pintoe Batee is one example of the indigenous communities which exists in Aceh. This becomes an interesting question, how this tradition can continue to be maintained until the

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[7]   A memory of the past. In the 1980's, at home we often had guests from Lhokruet (my village), a subdistrict in Aceh Jaya Regency. Among them, there were Pawang Utuen (Pawang Hutan), Pawang Rimueng (Pawang Harimau), and Pawang Laot (Pawang Laut). They are the people who are believed to have 'ilmu'.
I remember in the early 1980's, a visit to Lhokruet, when I was playing on the beach, accompanied by a Pawang Laot and when was playing near the forest, I accompanied by a Pawang Utuen. In the evening, they often told me about forest and sea. "The tiger try to avoid the human. When he ate human then he'll regret ". "When you're adult, I would give the prayers so that when you go to the forest, the tiger would avoid to see you". "Fishermen should not go to sea on Friday".

[8]   Teuku Cut Mahmud Aziz, "Peusijuek Pade Bijeh (Aceh)", http://melayuonline.com/ind/culture/dig/1971/peusijuek-pade-bijeh. In Malay tradition the Peusijuek means tepung tawar. It is a traditional ceremony that has existed in Aceh for a long time.

present? Because *the Peutuwa Seuneubok* ever said that currently only he who has knowledge of s*euneubok*. The knowledge of *seuneubok* here is not specifically noted, and is derived from a long experience. The young generation are now less to wish to know or to learn about *seuneubok.* If he's dead, he does not know who the person that will continue to be *Peutuwa Seuneubok* and have in-depth knowledge of *seuneubok*. He gave an example, for a meeting in the village, the people are the hard to come in a meeting if there is no money or food. Changes in attitudes and perspectives of the community happen in the post-tsunami. At that time was so much money in Aceh and all the works was often rewarded with money. For just *gotong royong*, cleaned the village itself, they were paid. That situation that causes that the people see something more on its economic benefits. It affected to the mental attitude until now. With an interpretive assumption, where the informant is a person who has knowledge and understanding of the situation and the conditions encountered and capable of giving meaning (Ahimsa-Putra, 2009).

It is interesting to understand the thinking of cognitive anthropology of James Spradley (1997), that a traditional knowledge that possessed by an indigenous community, is common knowledge that they receive as a truth. They understand and do in their tradition. This knowledge will not be lost basically because it is stored in the collective memory of the community. Cognitive approach can be used as method to bring again something that may have been considered lost.

Conclusion

The existence of *Pawang Glee* and *Peutuwa Seuneubok* of Mukim Pintoe Batee become a sign that the local wisdom and customary law in Aceh are still maintained. The existence of those are not just about rules of using the land or solve the conflicts or illegal logging, but should also be a customary governance in community economic rise.

Transforming traditional knowledge in the indegenous community needs to be done and it should be a commitment from many people, including the government. Because of the knowledge and these traditions should be maintained by the younger generation.

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PEDOMAN PERADILAN ADAT DI ACEH, Untuk Peradilan Adat yang Adil dan Akuntabel,

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CAN A DECISION MAKING FRAME FROM AOTEAROA (NEW ZEALAND) BE TRANSFERED TO PAPUA (INDONESIA)? CHANGING LAND USE FROM PEAT LAND TO AGRICULTURAL PURPOSES IN MERAUKE, PAPUA

ELISABETH VERONIKA WAMBRAUW

ABSTRACT

Merauke is the easternmost city of Indonesia and is located in southern part of Papua. It is targeted to be a main supplier of Indonesian food, with a project called The Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE). Merauke has a total area of 4,469,841 ha, and more than a half of the total area has the potential land for agriculture and more than 30 national and international companies have got permission to invest in this regency. However, changing land use from peat land to agricultural purposes creates a conflict with Indigenous People and environment problems. To assist with better understanding these challenges, the main objective of the study is to identify the transferability of a decision making framework form Aotearoa (New Zealand) to Papua. By using Mauri Model Decision Making Framework (MMDMF), the sustainability of changing land use in Merauke can be analyzed. MMDMF is a sustainable decision support system that includes indigenous New Zealand culture which consists of four dimensions of well-being; Maury of Whanau (economic), Mauri of community(social), Mauri of Hapû (culture),and Mauri of the ecosystem (environment). Based on the data, there are seven stakeholders; central government, local government, small farmers, agribusiness companies, NGOs, Indigenous People, and researchers. As a result of Mauri Model - Analytical Hierarchy Process (APH) the first four actors put the economic as the priority, while NGOs and Indigenous put the culture and

the researchers put the ecosystem as the significant concern. After combining with the Mauri-ometer, the measurement shows – 0.52, it means the MIFEE does not sustain the whole aspect of human being. Only Agribusiness Companies that having benefit of this project for long-term period. To conclude, MMDMF can be adopted in Papua because it covers culture aspect and it shows unsustainable development of the project.

K E Y W O R D S :: Merauke, sustainable, Mauri Model

Introduction

Merauke is located in Southern part of Papua   which borders   Papua New Guinea.

Figure 1 Map of the study case area

Merauke has been focused on for   agricultural development; Merauke it is targeted to be a main supplier   of Indonesian food, with a project called the Merauke Integrated Rice Estate (MIRE) which strengthens the national food security and food sovereignty. After looking for another opportunity that can be developed in Merauke, the name was changed to be The Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) by Government Decree ('Peraturan Pemerintah') PP No 18 in 2010 (Syahyuti, 2011). It has a total area of 4,469,841 ha, and more than a half of the total area (approximately 2, 5 Million ha) has

the potential land for agriculture. Besides the production of rice, this area has been developed as oil palm plantations, timber, sugar cane and bio fuel. In 2008, more than 30 companies have got permission to invest in this regency. At the same time, a Presidential Instruction   Inpres No.10/2011 announced a forest development moratorium to support Conservation of forest and peat land. This instruction was announced one year after a bilateral arrangement between Indonesia and Norway for REDD (reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation) mechanism. Regarding to the Letter of Intent (LOI) 20 May 2010, Indonesia has received US $1 Billion in funding from Norway to reduce the emissions (Murdiyarso, Dewi et al. 2011). However, there is an exception to the Inpres provisions for the more than 1 Mha of land allocated for the Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE). Changing land use from peat land to agricultural purposes creates conflict because the majority of indigenous Papua's depend on the forest, especially swamp areas for gathering sago as the staple, and also for hunting and fishing. Thus, MIFEE can alter the indigenous livelihood including using their sago as a bio fuel (alternative renewable energy). Another problem, environmentally, is that conversion of peat land to rice fields and other agriculture purpose releases CO_2 emissions that impact on climate change. (Giesen and Houterman 2009; Manikmas 2010; Mawdsley and Houterman 2010; Ginting and Pye 2011; Indonesia 2012). This paper will identify the sustainability of the project using a Decision Support System from New Zealand (Mauri Model Desion Making Framework/ MMDMF).

What is Mauri Model Decision Making Framework?

MMDMF is a sustainable decision support tool that includes indigenous New Zealand culture which consists of four dimensions of well-being, Mauri of Community (social), Mauri of Whanau or family unit (economic), Mauri of the ecosystem (environment), and Mauri of Hapû (culture) which is developed by Kepa Morgan in 2006. This Aotearoa decision making has important attributes which are:

✤ Inclusive (effective incorporate and represent Mâori perspectives).
✤ Indigenous (adopt a sustainability of indigenous knowledge)

- ✤ Holistic (demonstrate ecological integrity).

- ✤ Eco-centric (adopt a sustainability measure from indigenous thinking).

- ✤ Equitable (deliver intra- and inter-generational equity).

- ✤ Legally relevant (be effects focussed and promote social, economic, environmental and cultural wellbeing).

- ✤ Integrated (demonstrate interconnectedness between the criteria chosen).

- ✤ User friendly (be flexible yet easy to understand in its application).

- ✤ Definitive (clearly determine whether a practice is or is not sustainable).

- ✤ Transparent (clearly identify applied bias).
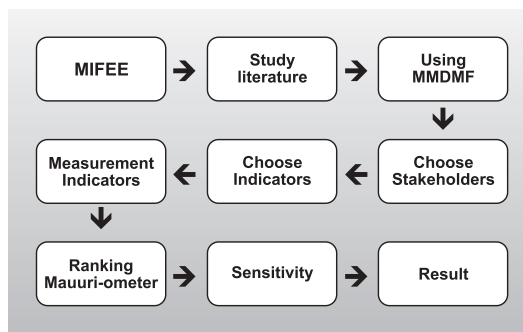
Discussion
Methodology

Figure 2 Flowchart of Methodology

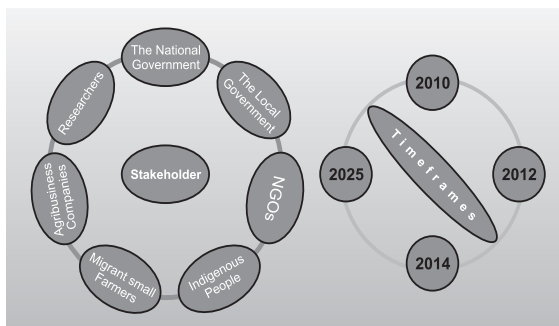## Choosing Stakeholder and Timeframes

Figure 3 Stakeholders and Timeframes

Mauri Model - Analysis Hierarchy Process

The Mauri Model is more suitable to be adopted for the MIFEE project than other Decision Making Tools because it covers a cultural aspect which not every problem can be tackled using logical of science, especially for people who are inseparable from nature like indigenous people. They believe that the binding between the spirit and physical sometimes cannot be explained logically. By weighting all stake holders with their Worldviews, the result can be seen in Table 1 and Figure 4. As result, each stakeholder decides the priority based on their own perspectives and stands separately.

Table 1 the summary of Worldviews

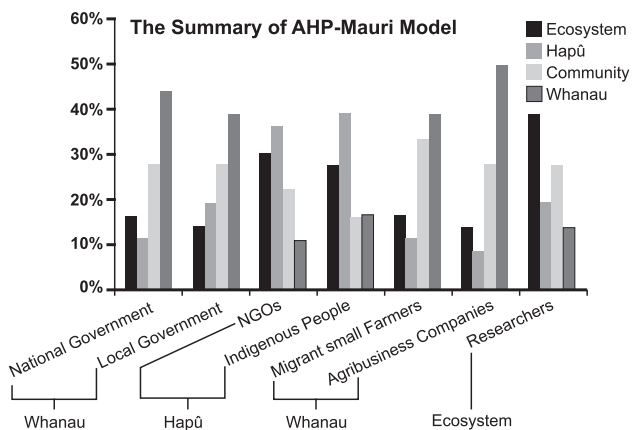| Mauri Model - Analytical Hierarchy Process (APH)					
Stakeholder inferred value/priorities	Ecosystem	Hapû	Community	Whanau	Check
The National Government	17%	11%	28%	44%	100%
The Local Government	14%	19%	28%	39%	100%
NGO	31%	36%	22%	11%	100%
Indigenous People	28%	39%	17%	17%	100%
Migrant small Farmer	17%	11%	33%	39%	100%
Agribusiness Companies	14%	8%	28%	50%	100%
Researchers	39%	19%	28%	14%	100%

Figure 4 Summary of the AHP-Mauri Model

According to Table 1 and Figure 4, the Government, small farmers and big companies put Whana as the highest priority, because their orientation is to world's economic empowerment. Academic stake holders focus on environment issues. Only NGOs and Indigenous people care for the culture. Each stake holder decides the priority based on their own perspectives. This condition does not reflect the sustainability according to Venn Diagram of Mauri Indigenous paradigm(Morgan 2006)   which shown below in Figure 5.
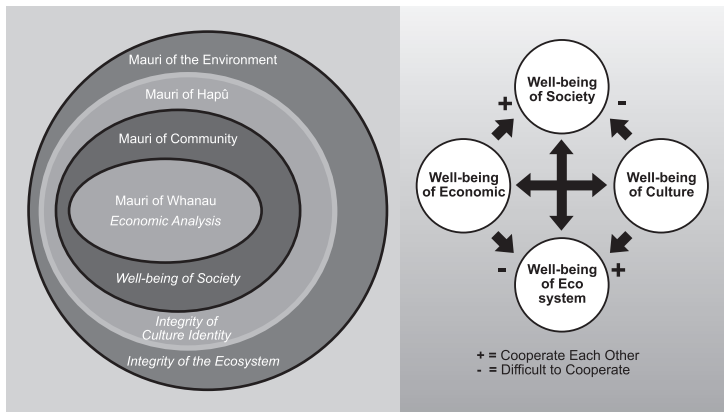

Figure 5
Venn Diagram of Maori Indigenous Paradigm (left) compared to the existing Condition of MIFEE project Mauri Model (right)

According to the diagram   on left shows   that Mâori culture defines culture as part of ecosystem, and society is built around the cultural identity, and lastly the economy is generated by functions of society. All well -being are depended on each other to sustain life. On right picture the existing condition describes all dimension are standing separately. There is a gap between the ecosystem and Hapû which oppose to the economic and community. This creates horizontal conflict. Horizontal conflict happens inter generationally in indigenous people in that younger generations blame the older who sold the land. The situation also stimulate a demonstration from organisation who pro and contra with the project. Some organisations protest to the government   who have neglected the environment and indigenous Papua. Even International organisations that interest on human rights are concerned about this issue. Thus, each stakeholder decides the priority based on their own perspectives and stands separately.

This condition does not reflect the sustainability because the four dimensions of well-being should be depends on and integrated each other.

Mauri-ometer Assessment

The indicators are divided into four groups according to the four dimensions of the Mauri Model. The time frame is based on the schedule of the MIFEE project. The MIFEE started in 2010, will be developed during 2011 to 2014 and 2014 to 2019 as short term stages, with the final stage between 2020 to 2030. Indonesia's government also targets the acceleration of economic development in Indonesia for between 2011 to 2025 according to their roadmap for bio fuel development (Yusgiantoro 2007; Kusmulyono, Sarwan et al. 2009)

Table 2 the Combination between Mauri Dimension and Worldviews

The stakeholders inferred value/priorities	2010	2012	2014	2025
The National Government	0.11	0.17	0.27	0.00
The Local Government	0.14	0.11	0.18	-0.13
NGO	-0.02	-0.24	-0.36	-0.91
Indigenous People	-0.02	-0.23	-0.33	-0.89
Migrant small Farmer	0.16	0.15	0.24	-0.01
Agribusiness Companies	0.19	0.23	0.52	0.14
Researchers	0.02	-0.16	-0.24	-0.73

Source: analysis

The table shows combining AHP and Mauri Dimension. After that, the result is put on Mauri –o-meter like these pictures. Where, if the measurement shows 0, it means maintaining (neutral), if it shows -1, -2, +1, +2, it means diminishing (Mauri Heke), denigrated (Mauri Noho / Mate), enhancing (Mauri Piki), fully Restored (Mauri Tu / Ora), respectively. After combining with   the Mauri-ometer, the measurement shows – 0.52, it means the MIFEE does not sustain the whole aspect of human being. Only Agribusiness Companies that having benefit of this project for long-term period.
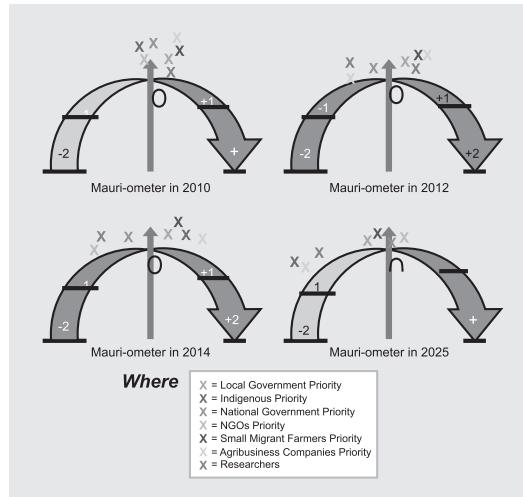
Figure 6   Mauri–ometer

Conclusion

a) Mauri Models are suitable as decision making tools in Merauke because they cover cultural aspect. By involving cultural aspects, the analysis proved that the MIFEE does not sustain the whole aspect of human beings. If the measurement only uses the three bottom lines, it is possible to obtain the result that the project benefits all communities. But, when considering all aspects the programme lead to degrading of the ecosystem and culture, as explained that in the Venn Diagrammed of Mauri, the culture only exists because the ecosystem and community is built above the cultural identity. The economy is generated by community activity, so if the ecosystem and culture disappear, the community does not exist. If there is no community, there will be no economy activity. Even though the MIFEE project aims to enhance the welfare and economic, these efforts will be useless without culture and ecosystem. The MIFEE project sacrifices the culture and environment for economic purposed.

b) Based on the Mauri-ometer at the beginning   and showing the existing condition, Indigenous and NGOs perspectives the MIFEE only diminishes the ecosystem and traditional knowledge. This stimulates many conflicts in Merauke which neglects the human rights of Indigenous people. Conflict

does not reflect the civilisation and sustainability of human beings. Moreover this project is not a sustainable development, even if it empowers economic growth; it does not cover other dimensions. In addition according to analysis in the existing condition, scientists have started to be concerned about environmental issues which impact globally, especially for climate change.

c) Overall, in 2025, only Agribusiness Companies that having benefit of this project. Even government face a problem because of the project. This show there in no sustainable development in this programme.

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Panel 2

Indigenous Enterprises Engaging Tourism

INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY WHICH IS NO LONGER "GENUINE":
The Strategy of Baduy People in the Crush of Tourism

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Introduction

Tourism in its development today does not only place natural potential as the only tourist attraction, but there are also other types of new attractions such as agrotourism, edutourism, religious tourism to cultural tourism. Tourism has become an important industry in the economic development of a country, including Indonesia. The strategic geographic conditions of Indonesia lets travelers enjoy the natural charm of the mountains, forests to the sea. Not only that, many new tourist attractions are neatly packaged to meet the needs of tourists and of course, the government. Cultural diversity of Indonesia is one of the many tourist attractions favored by both domestic and foreign tourists.

Tourism in all its aspects has incorporated elements of modernization in its activities. Sociologically, tourism is related to social change and its impact for the perpetrators of tourism. Pitana (2005) asserted that tourism is not simply linked to the economic aspects but also social, cultural, political, community and beyond. In recent decades, tourism has become the driving source of community dynamics and become one of the prime movers in the socio-cultural changes. In this context, the tourism community receives positive and negative effects of the dynamics of the tourism sector.

Cultural tourism become a new trend among the stakeholders in tourism, both tourists and businessmen who see this opportunity. Diversity of Indonesian society with its exotic culture has become a cultural attraction that arouse the

curiosity of the tourists. They want to know the life of tribal or indigenous communities that are different from modern paced life. In the end, the original community culture comes into a commodity for businesses, services, and entertainment. It can be seen from the emergence of travel agent offering package of cultural tourism in Indonesia, for example, to the Dani tribe in Papua, the Dayak tribe in Kalimantan or Baduy in Banten. Travelers willing to pay more to travel agents to feel the sensation of life of indigenous communities, ranging from clothing, food, shelter, traditions, life and other activities. Watching some programs on private television station, we will also witness the lives of indigenous communities in various parts of Indonesia. The creative team in those television program brings celebrities who takes modernity to explore life in the tribe. In fact, the program is very popular among television viewers.

From the description above, it is clear that tourism industry bring positive and negative effects for the community. The positive effect is on the aspect of education or knowledge of the public about other people's culture. Thus, there is no need to worry about tourism activities because according to Suhardi (2010) Indonesian do not take into granted whatever comes, but it is interpreted first before integrated into the existing cultural elements. Whereas the negative side is that tourism brings with it the threat of change for the next generation of the tribal or indigenous communities. The interaction between the tourists with the local community will take effect for the life of the community in all aspects. Tourists with modern symbol get in touch directly with the indigenous culture that has lasted since their ancestors by the simplicity and wisdom they have.

"Tourism is, everywhere, the enemy of authenticity and cultural identity" (Louis Turner and John Ash, 1976, in Pitana: 2005) has warned us that tourism is the enemy of authenticity and cultural identity. Cultural tourism "sell" cultural authenticity and a life interest of a particular community. Authenticity is a very fragile thing actually when constantly confronted with globalization. Nothing stays the same or original when the aspect of globalization has entered a region, and this is also true for the indigenous communities in Indonesia. Many hands are played in the development of cultural tourism, ranging from governments, employers and even perhaps the original community members who wish to take advantage of the opportunities of cultural tourism.

One of cultural tourism destinations in Indonesia is indigenous Baduy community residing in the village Kanekes, Leuwidamar Subdistrict, Lebak regency, Banten Province. The uniqueness of the local Baduy as a community lies on their determination to maintain the customs and traditions against modernization. Erwinantu (2012) illustrates that there are three things to describe the Baduy way of life, they are simplicity, friendliness to nature and the spirit of independence. Those three things are integrated in the social, economic, and authority of traditional institutions which they apply to themselves and to outsiders who come to the Baduy.

Baduy Cultural Tourism (*Saba Budaya Baduy*) arises curiosity as well as astonishment of tourists about an area where people can live without electricity, the house was not walled, no paved roads, lack of vehicles and even electronic devices. Moreover, the location of the Baduy is not too far from the capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta, which is ± 150 Km or a few hours only. This condition portraits two contradictive view of indigenousity and modernity. Baduy consists of two communities, they are The Inner Baduy (*The Inner Baduy)* and The Outer Baduy (*The Outer Baduy)* which is the majority. The difference between the two lies in the commitment to the original customs they have believed for hundreds of years. This happens because of the opening of the isolation which gives opportunities to get contact with foreign cultures. Some Baduy residents absorb elements of foreign cultures in their lives and be a the Outer Baduy who are the majority in the total indigenous Baduy community. A small percentage who still adhere to the original indigenous ancestors seem more enclosed. However, both co-exist and complement each other (Erwinantu, 2012).

The existence of the Outer Baduy already indicates that the influence of modernization is so strong that they chose to adapt although to certain extent. Today, the Baduy have become potential tourist area because it provides an exciting experience for visitors. If we come to the village Kanekes, the territory of the Outer Baduy which is in the border area, the sign of change is very obious. At the "gate" of the Outer Baduy, almost every house becomes a storefront souvenir shop that sells fabric weaving, honey, bags, shirts and things typical to Baduy. Locals guide services are also available to deliver tourists to

the Inner Baduy. The condition clearly showed that cultural tourism inevitably affect the dynamics of cultural tourism in Baduy society in Banten.

Research Problem

Baduy with its uniqueness became a magnet in the tourism industry, local government designated it a cultural tourist destination. This opportunity is exploited by a stout party to earn additional income as the services of a guide, porter services, selling souvenirs and so forth. The development of Baduy community as a popular tourism spot arouses the writer's interest to study further aspects of tourism. The first problem statement is how is the development of cultural tourism in the Baduy?

For the Baduy themselves, Baduy tourism place them as object of spectacle for tourists, it is certainly uncomfortable. Tourist arrivals made the indigenous Baduy get in touch with modern lifestyle which will slowly undermine the authenticity of the indigenous Baduy. Baduy residents tranquility was disturbed by the presence of tourists, both individuals and large groups. Tourist behavior which are negative or do not conform to the rules of customary Baduy finally just left a negative impact on Baduy citizens. What is the impact of cultural tourism on the lives of Baduys?

Baduy has been existed around hundreds of years ago, until now Baduy still survive although its simplicity and authenticity are squeezed by strong modernization and globalization under the trend of cultural tourism. How does Baduy maintain their cultural identity in the midst of the strike of tourism?

This paper tried to explain aspects of tourism in the indigenous Baduy, in terms of the development, impacts and the strategies of baduy in maintaining its cultural identity amid the crush of modernization. Data collection started from fieldwork on May 2102, to get an overview of Baduy cultural tourism through observation and interview, followed by a study of literature through analyzing research and books about the Baduy. Methods of interpretive analysis is conducted to gain a comprehensive overview on the aspects of tourism in the Indigenous Baduy community.

Discussion

No society without undergoing a change, even in remote communities located far from the central government. Changes occur in all communities in a different rhythm and shape according to the characteristics of the community. Baduy indigenous communities was known for their steadfastness in upholding traditional Baduy ancestral traditions especially the Inner Baduy, but that does not mean they did not change. The revolution of the indigenous Baduy brought by the growing tourism activities in cultural tourism (*Saba Budaya Baduy*).

If we go to the Baduy village of Kanekes, District Leuwidamar, Lebak regency, Banten province, then we will glimpse into a different world from the world of daily life. Indigenous Baduy community consists of the Outer Baduy which is directly adjacent to the outside area and the the Inner Baduy who are deep into the woods on the edge. The land area of indigenous Baduy is 5136, 58 ha with 57 villages of the Outer Baduy and the other 3 villages of the Inner Baduy. Towards Baduy is not difficult, any vehicle shall stop at the terminal Ciboleger. Ciboleger is authorized to enter the main gate of the indigenous Baduy. In the middle of the terminal, there are Baduy family monument with statues greet visitors or tourists (Erwinantu, 2012). This is the real sign that the Baduy is a popular tourist destination. Walking distance, we will come to the village Kaduketug, as the outer villages of the regions of the Outer Baduy. Tourist village atmosphere is very obvious beacuse every house terrace serves as a "window" of craft products of the Outer Baduy citizens. In general, Baduy people are farmers who are also involved in tourism sector, such as artisans, merchants, local guides and renting their home as a home stay. Baduy handicrafts that are sold include: Suat songket (woven fabric), jarog and Koja (bags of bark), a typical Baduy clothing, batik cloth headband, honey, t-shirts, and weapons. On the front porch of each house, there is a loom, in addition to seeing the process of weaving, tourists may also try to use it and take a picture of it.

Foreign Baduy citizens are well aware that what they have is something attractive for outsiders so that they are familiar with the visit of tourists, both individuals and groups. A 30 years resident of the Outer Baduy said that she had 5 years ago sold the typical Baduy souvenir, such as t-shirts and key chains

for the visitors / tourists. He took the shirt from Bandung with text and images that characterizes about Baduy. Not only that, the Outer Baduy people are able to use tourism opportunities by selling handicrafts which gives them adequate money for their needs. They sell a piece of cloth weaving between Rp. 30000-75000, honey syrup bottle sizes of Rp. 50,000, shirts around Rp. 25000-50000. If the visitors are in group, sale and purchase transactions in the Kaduketug village is very apparent. It seems that the Baduy tourist attraction is not different from other tourist destinations which are alive because of the typical souvenir center.

Pitana stated that tourism is a force of change in a society, even Loius Turner & John Ash warned that tourism is the enemy of cultural identity. This indicates that tourism brings with it both positive and negative impacts that can not be avoided. Cultural tourism sell an indigenous cultural authenticity, ironically, it is undeniable that this type of activities would potentially alter the authenticity of the culture itself. Nevertheless, tourism can not be said to be the sole cause of the changes in society, because there are a lot of aspects in a change in which each component in the community is related one another.

The impact of tourism is more clearly seen in the the Outer Baduy, particularly in Kampung Kaduketug. Originally, all the Baduy residents are farmers, but later residents of Kampung Kaduketug use tourism opportunities to diversify livelihood by working as local guides for tourists and selling craft in addition to being farmer. They responsively supply the needs of visitors / tourists for souvenirs that will remind them about Baduy. Language also supports tourism activities in the Outer Baduy. Most people in the Outer Baduy can speak Indonesian language although they are not in school. That is because they are interacting with the community outside on the goal of communication with visitors / tourists smoothly. Baduy youth appearance also indicates visible changes, they dressed like outsiders. Young people in the Baduy men adorn themselves with colorful bracelets and necklaces metal accessories. Teenagers and children of Baduy are modernly-dressed. They wear t-shirts and jeans, and wear slippers. The Outer Baduy women wear gold jewelery and ornate. Those are the phenomena which can not be ignored, though it looks simple and small, but that is a process of decaying the authenticity of indigenous Baduy community. Young people are vulnerable to the temptations of the colorful outside world, that is

why most of them are familiar to the use of mobile phone as a communication tool. The looseness of traition on the Outer Baduy provides high intensity for the entrance of modern elements through tourism.

Not only for its citizens, the impact of tourism occurred. No less important is the environmental impact as a result of tourism activities. The number of visitors who came to the Baduy certainly not all comply with customs rules. Some of them do not appreciate, even breaking what had been upheld by the Baduy residents. The problem of waste has disturbed the serenity of the hosts, beside the emergence people who commit criminal acts. The Outer Baduy are more lax in applying the rules. They have the desire to accept the changes that benefit them as long as the change is not related to the vital value which can damage their ideology.

Baduy are open to outsiders who want to visit for sightseeing or doing research. They graciously welcomed the arrival of each visit either in small quantities or group. Nevertheless, the Baduy residents remain vigilant in order to maintain their traditions. Fear of changing customs and traditions of indigenous Baduy community living arrangements are not only felt by the Baduy community themselves but also felt by those concerned with the existence of indigenous communities in Indonesia. Modernization and globalization can enter through any gap in the Baduy, including carried away by the visit of tourists to their area.

Since the first, indigenous Baduy communities, especially the Inner Baduy refused the entry of modernization channels, they resist the flow of electricity, paved roads, and vehicle access. They believe that the electricity and paved road will destroy the indigenous Baduy as electricity and roads is just the beginning of the influx of modern elements to another and then they would leave indigenous traditions they hold so far. The refusal is a strategy of Baduy citizens to preserve their traditions in order not to be pushed by modern foreign cultures.

With regard to tourism, the Baduy residents also realize that the things that they fear is that the changes will lead them to customary negligent. Therefore, there are three things, besides rejection of modernization above, conducted by Baduy citizens as a form of their strategy in maintaining cultural identity.

❖ **Implement a set of custom rules to every visitor and tourist.**

For visitors / tourists who want to get into the Baduy there are some rules to be followed, they are: 1) time limit to stay is only one night and no more, 2) visitors are not allowed to photograph or record any images in the Inner Baduy, 3) visitors are not allowed to bath or wash with soap, shampoo and toothpaste. Guests must obey the rules when it was customary in the Baduy as a form of respect to Baduy citizens.

❖ **Loyalty of indigenous Baduy to the government**

The interesting thing to mention is that although the indigenous Baduy uphold tradition, but they still recognize the sovereignty of the state and recognize that they are part of the administrative area. This principle is embodied in the annual event of *Seba Baduy* in which they visit the Regents and the Governor's office. Baduy citizens builds good relations with the government through this event, and they give willingly of their harvest. This forum can be useful as media of conveying their sadness and anxiety. With this board, Baduy community confirmed their position as the indigenous communities which have the authority to run his life, including maintaining their indigenous traditions.

❖ **The role of the Outer Baduy as the filter of modern influx of foreign cultures.**

Originally, the Outer Baduy and the Inner Baduy are brothers, just a determination to their indigenous ancestors distinguish them. Even so, they are divided into two areas, namely the the Outer Baduy which is directly adjacent to the outside world and the Inner Baduy which is "protected" in the inside area of indigenous Baduy (Erwinantu, 2012). There is no contradiction between the Baduy residents (both the Outer Baduy and the Inner Baduy) regarding their choices in life. Even the more we see, the two communities complement and protect each other. The role of Baduy Luar is more as filter against the entry of foreign cultures which are going massive. Both live in coexistence and harmony to maintain balance.

Conclusion

Visting Baduy, we will get a valuable experience. There are a lot of things about life we can learn from the indigenous Baduy community, such as simplicity, independence, wisdom, relationship with others, and upholding their indigenous traditions. Baduy exoticism is like a diamond attracting anyone to see and touch. Baduy cultural tourism offers the public to observe directly the life of Baduys who remained steadfast in indigenous traditions amid the crush of modernization. Ironically, tourism is a catalyst for social change in the Baduy. Tourism threat overshadows the gestures of Baduy citizens, penetrates to the Baduy citizens in interaction with visitors / tourists.

The Outer Baduy citizens are well aware of tourism potential they have and participate in this tourism activity. Even so, of course, we hope Baduy in the future remains strong with indigenous traditions. Therefore, for the people outside who visited Baduy, they must respect the Baduy life choice by obeying regulations. Let's keep Baduy by letting them in their dynamics without exploiting the tourism. Coexist in harmony and balance with the other people is the key, because that is the essence of unity in diversity.

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SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF PETUNGSEWU VILLAGE BY USING MENTAL AND BEHAVIORAL MAPPING

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A B S T R A C T

The settlement order is affected by non-physical aspects of the residents, one of which is the culture and beliefs. This condition occurs also in the Javanese community, which has unique characteristics, which is referred to as community aboge (Alief-Rebo-wage). Embodiment neighborhoods in Javanese culture is divided into components longkangan, palungguhan, panepen and panggonan, while community characteristics that affect the space between the other side of the trust, social ties, personal expression and meaning.Using a descriptive-qualitative analysis tools and mapping behavior, it can eventually be known to the unique characteristics of its people, and of course the settlement pattern is formed. Based on existing studies found that at least the character of the existing society is divided into three communities, namely kejawen aboge, community of santri, and ordinary kejawen, which is spreading on the West side, Central, and East Village. Special characteristics of the community kejawen aboge main puller factor of this study is the use of a calendar that affect the use of time, and in turn also affects the fabric of space. Each community has a specification of the characteristics, the one that belongs to the kejawen (regular or aboge) is of the belief in pedhanyangan space, and also the conception sedulur / keblat papat lima pancer, as well as the principles of neighberhood harmonization, namely moncopat. Settlement pattern which is formed from the merger of clusters and linear patterns, formed

by the linkage between the various components of the type of longkangan space, palungguhan, panepen and panggonan in a variety of scales, linear orientation toward the west-to-Srandil Panderman Mountain and the direction of Qiblah, and also the hierarchy existing space to put the home space aboge figures, pedhanyangan space, and fields loom as the most important space-forming pattern of the village space.

K E Y W O R D S : Settlement Patterns, aboge Javanese community, Petungsewu Village

Introduction

System activity / activities in a particular time and space becomes an important issue in the planning of a residential neighborhood, and is an important variable as well as a basic necessity (Rapoport, 1977: 18). In a physical setting, individual behavior has a constant character change / steady, as well as generally accepted and stable / fixed. Physical setting is an open-system subject to space out and limited time (Lindarto, 2002). Rapoport (1977) stated that the typical characteristics of the community, inspired by the distinct culture will make the living room she shares will also have a unique structure also

The settlement is the result of joint work of the society in its physical expression will also be influenced by socio-cultural factors of the society in question (Rapoport, 1982). There are many kinds of human activities / communities in settlement space . Each type of activity affecting settlement patterns that form, but with different levels. There is a dominant spatial patterns of settlements affected by livelihood systems, but on the other hand there are also more influenced by the family system-related. In the context of this study, will be assessed at the same time trying to pin down as to how much influence the belief system of the inhabitants of a village settlement patterns formed in the village.

Petungsewu Village is one of villages in the district Dau, Malang regency which has distinctive features, and the most noticeable is the Javanese culture is very strong. Aboge communities located in the village of Petungsewu a community which also has a unique entity associated with beliefs that have. The house is then formed housing is a basic need that must also be required by

this aboge community. Set the house in order to form the space environment, while the space formed structure is often born out of the realization of context, what is believed to be conceptually, into something that is invisible to the eye, and can be captured by the five senses.

Referring to the unique facts in this village, then the question arises: How does the map of mental and behavioral Petungsewu population, which is the form factor Petungsewu settlement patterns in the village?. Hopefully, the above problems can be answered, it will be also be formulated as whether the settlement patterns formed in the village Petungsewu, the formation could not be separated from the influence of the presence of the characteristics of the community, especially in terms of culture and unique beliefs.

Research Methodology

This research includes the category of field exploration and naturalistic-qualitative, with a focus on trying to dig as deep as you can about the specific phenomenon, which will further sought to know more obvious explanation. Referring to qualitative research by Soemantri (2005), this type of research include involved observation types.

As a support mechanism of this research, conducted several surveys that serves as a preliminary assessment, and ends with an actual survey that serves to sharpen the preliminary findings previously obtained. After the initial survey is completed, the next major survey for 35 days.

The analysis used in this study is a behavioral mapping, and analysis of mental mapping. Behavioral mapping illustrated in the schematic diagram of an area and the people doing various activities. Adalahh aim to describe the behavior and shows the link between the behavior of the specific form of design. Perlaku common types mapped are: travel patterns, migration, consumer behavior, household activities, the use of public facilities (Lindarto, 2002: 12). (Figure 1).

According Haryadi and Setiawan (2010), Behavioral Mapping depicted in the form of sketches and diagrams of the area, people doing activities. The aim is to describe the behavior of the map, identify the type and frequency of behavior and shows the link between the behavior of the specific form of design. This is in line with that made by Miiloning and Gartner (2008), in her

study of pedestrian space, and Milke (2009) concerning the behavior of resident housing. Examples of behavioral resource mapping results can be seen in the appendix.

Mental mapping method including environmental category of cognition (Rapoport, 1977:108-177). Operations based on the understanding of human consciousness and understanding, recognizing and imagined space or environment that is (in the vicinity). The process is based on the memories and experiences of the people against it, the activity and the space around it. Based on that, consciously and unconsciously humans can (used to help) formulate and identify the characteristics space formed. Example usage of this mental map as did Wilde in the City of Herat (2009).

Use of mental mapping method in this research is backing up in an effort to identify patterns of settlement that is based on behavioral mapping. This happens because not all people's behavior / resident locations can be photographed in the study (survey) research. Sample results from the mental map sources (Figure 2).
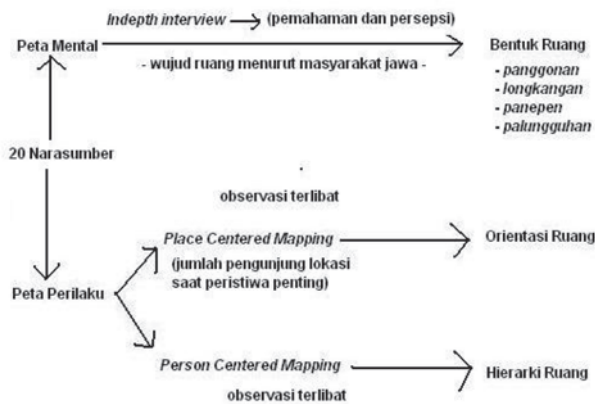

Figure 1. Mechanism analysis of behavioral and mental mapping

Results and Analysis

Aboge sect often called thoriqoh syatoriyah An Nahdliyyah. Adherents of Islam aboge or Alip-Wednesday-wage (a-bo-ge) in the village and elsewhere Petungsewu are taught followers of Sayyid Rasid Raden Yellow Shelf since the 14th century. Aboge word can be said of the repertoire of vocabulary

derived from Java, which is an acronym of Alip Rebo wage. Aboge Java is to determine the method of calculating the day, date, month Java.

The conception of the relationship between such a good time that affects the Java space is generally understood by the conception horoscope, and the village of Petungsewu with aboge Community in particular.
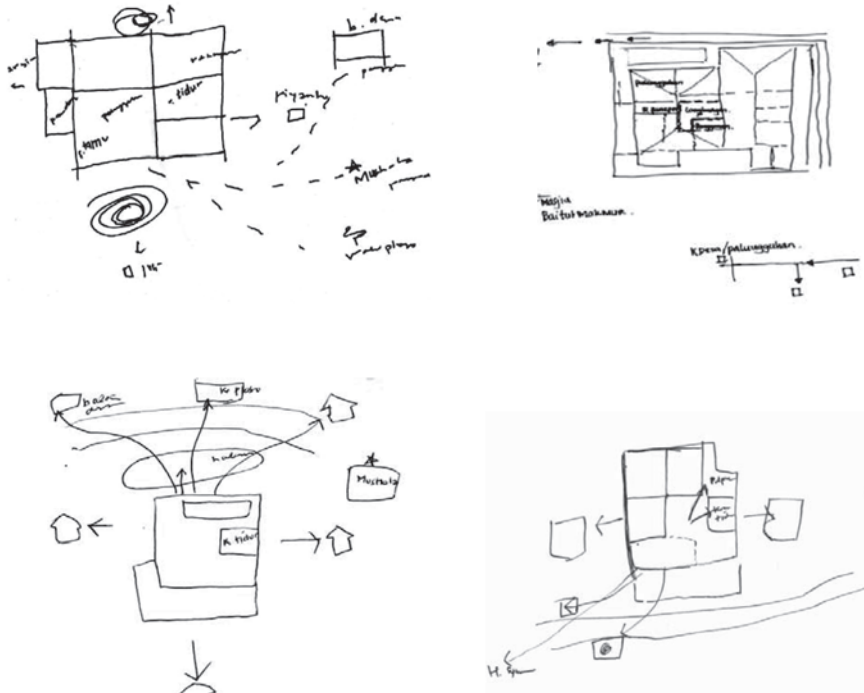

Figure 2. Examples of informant mental mapping

Space is a Javanese community orientation is known as punden or pedhanyangan, namely Mbah Toto in the western settlements, Mbelik or water in the North side, Petilasan Watuploso on the East side, and Tomb Kawak Rondo and Rondo Yellow on the South side. Historically, Petilasan Watuploso a starting place Petungsewu tripe base village, so it could be said this is a significant place as early or (place) of birth. Mbelik are springs that keep life, so that this place can be defined as pejaga-raiser. Kramat Kawak Rondo and Rondo Yellow, which historically is a wives of the founders of the village, can be interpreted as a companion and aligning life, while Mbah Kramat Toto is a symbol of death.

Aboge community more emphasis on nature, and less (obey) the aspects of Shari'a. For them, a good relationship with the creatures (human life and (ancestors) who have died) more important than the affairs of others. Problems worship of God, is a personal expression, which everyone freely interpreting them. Meaning and easily, in aboge community prayer and prayer is dependent stability by every people itself.

In this condition, causing people and figure aboge (mainly H. Syamsuri) is well known as a generous and kind to their fellow citizens. Community and aboge figure is very active in supporting various activities in the village, such as repairing roads, and also build a mosque. In many cases, it can even be said that the main character aboge community in many ways is the central decision-making, both religious / belief, as well as other general things. This occurs because both the ordinary people and leaders (the) village and village elders also asked considerations often associated with a variety of issues in this village. (Figure 3).
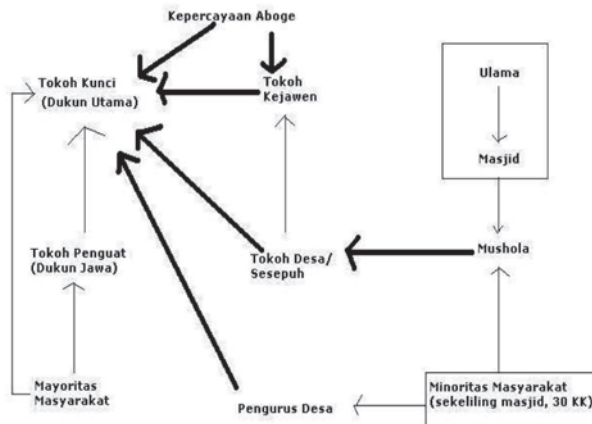

Figure 3. Aboge prominent central position in the village of Petungsewu

With regard to social cohesion, although space formed is still influenced by family ties, but the most visible is the rectangular neighborhood system. That is, the presence of neighbors around the house as if regarded as a protector and guardian, and friend. Around the question, as if representing four cardinal directions, the East-West-North-South. This bond is much enhanced by such activities brokohan / metri (weton anniversary of homeowners, every 35 days),

as well as other events. In essence, what happens in a house, as the joint responsibility of the 4 houses around him.

The above conditions lead to the system resulted in the neighborhood of this village can work very well. This is because every house (and its people) will look after the house and the occupants of neighbors in a system that bond strong.

The above conditions were also applicable in the wider scheme, which is in a village. Maintain mutual cooperation relations based on a rectangular scheme with 1 village in the middle of it is still there. Under the scheme, the villages around Petungsewu working together include Tegalweru, Selorejo, Karangwidoro and Kucur village. (Figure 4).
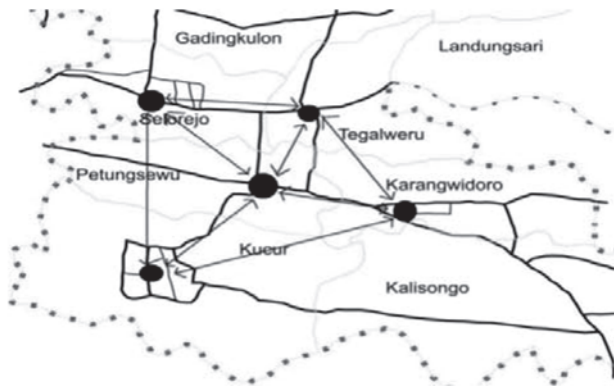

Figure 4. Application of *moncopat* Concept at Petungsewu Village and surround

Based on the aspect of meaning, the construction of the house and not only take into account the environmental aspects of the physical, but also the non physical. Good time, and many kinds of realization of the existing Java horoscope on your lot to be a reference in the creation of the physical environment in Petungsewu. In addition, there are a variety of other devices to the media to be able to balance life and living in it. A good neighborhood relations considerations as well as hope for the creation of a harmonized life physically. Harmonization of the non-physical life is obtained through the search for the protection and maintenance of the 'invisible', especially ancestral spirits. (Figure 5).
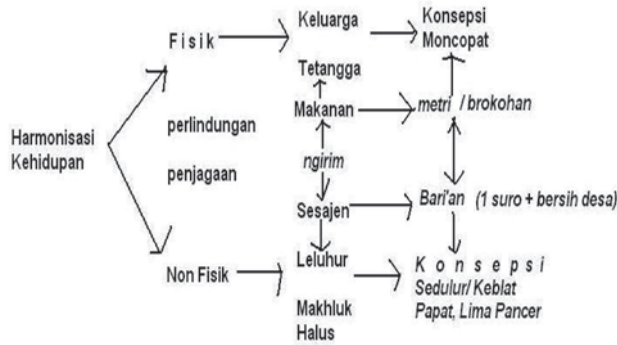
Figure 5. Model Harmonization of life in the Petungsewu village

Petungsewu Village Settlement Patterns

Based on the shape, there are many different variations of the embodiment of *panggonan, longkangan, panepen,* and palungguhan, both in micro scale, Mezo, and macro. Some types of space that are important include fields, hut, house Haji Syamsuri and *pedhanyangan* space, in this case Petilasan Watuploso. One of the most important conception is the conception of space *panepen* below. (Figure 6).
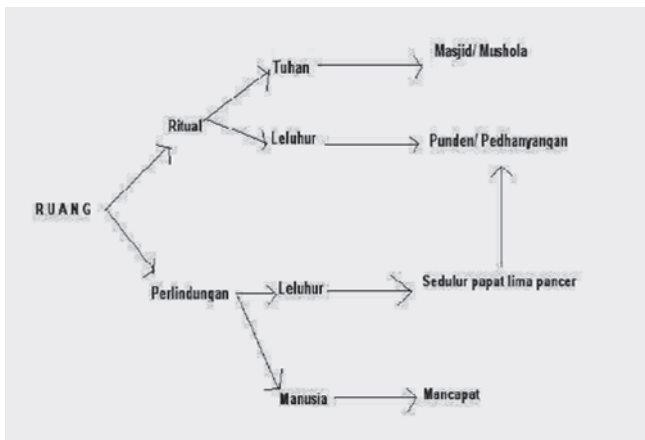

Figure 6. *Panepen* space concept

Looks a mix of results between micro-scale and Mezo, the emergence of the East-West direction and orientation as well as the orientation of the dominant *Punden* according Petungsewu villagers. The mosque and the road was still an option, although of course in smaller quantities.

Based on the external, settlement orientation refers to the WSW, on Mount Panderman-Srandil (for community-*aboge kejawen*) and Qibla direction (santri community). (Figure 7).
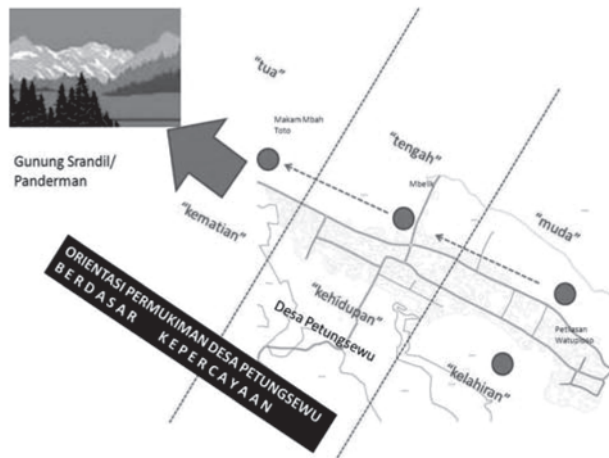

Figure 7. Spatial Orientation of the Petungsewu Settlement

Based on all the results of the above analysis, it can be concluded that the pattern of settlement Petungsewu village when viewed from the aspect of space according to Java's culture (*panggonan, longkangan, panepen,* and *palungguhan*) consists of a series connection of four aspects, namely *punden* or *pedhanyangan*, the figures aboge-in this case Abah (H.) Syamsuri, farm / garden, and a loom.

Settlement is in the middle position, so if it is interpreted the same as the conception *sedulur 'keblat papat, lima pancer moncopat* or conception. The depiction of the center of the village Petungsewu space hierarchy can be defined as the relationship of settlements surrounded and protected by elements of the guard, which if explored further resemblance to the conception *moncopat* and or *sedulur / keblat papat, lima pancer.*

Based on various studies above, the following is a presentation of the conceptual formulation Petungsewu village settlement patterns (Figure 8 and Figure 9).

Figure 8. Formulation of conceptual settlement pattern in Petungsewu Village

Conclusion

Based on the aspects of the shape of space led to the realization of Java type space, ie panggonan, longkangan, panepen, and palungguhan the micro (home and vicinity), Mezo scale (the relationship between the neighborhood), and the macro-scale (the scale of the village Petungsewu).

Based approach supported mental map depth interviews with twenty-one selected sources, it is known that the dominant perception of space according to the sources in a variety of scales is to be a kind of space panggonan bedrooms (micro), and a loom for Mezo and macro scale. Furthermore, for the category of type spaces longkangan, the most dominant is the page (micro and Mezo) and fields (macro scale). Next, for this type of space panepen, raises bedroom North-East side (micro), praying (Mezo), and punden (macro). The last type of space is the space *palungguhan*, which gave rise to the living room (micro), neighbor (Mezo).

Based aspect orientation, a mental map that uses the approach produces Neptu born as a primary consideration in micro scale, while the scale raises Mezo *punden* as spatial orientation, and a macro scale also reached the same conclusion (*punden* as spatial orientation).

Orientation settlement based mapping approach through person-centered behavioral mapping shows that punden (especially Petilasan Watuploso) and Haji Syamsuri (main healer *aboge* community) is the main reference for the citizens

Petungsewu the rituals associated with faith. The results are more or less the same place appears centered approach based on mapping, the visitor most is the space taken cared Watuploso, especially in the event *kenduren* One *Suro*, and *Bari'an* (salvation clean village).

Based on the aspects of hierarchy, which is really a scheme of amalgamation of various existing approaches showed that actual settlement patterns Petungsewu village prepared on the element with the highest hierarchy, namely *punden*, the H. Syamsuri, loom, and farm / garden.

Petungsewu village settlement pattern is formed into clusters and linear pattern, which is the result of the interaction of various entities, such as the concentration of communities (clusters), the conception of space *pedhanyangan* (clusters), conception moncopat (clusters), the position and the direction toward the hermitage (linear), opposition binary space (cluster), and the conception *sedulur / keblat papat, lima pancer* (clusters).
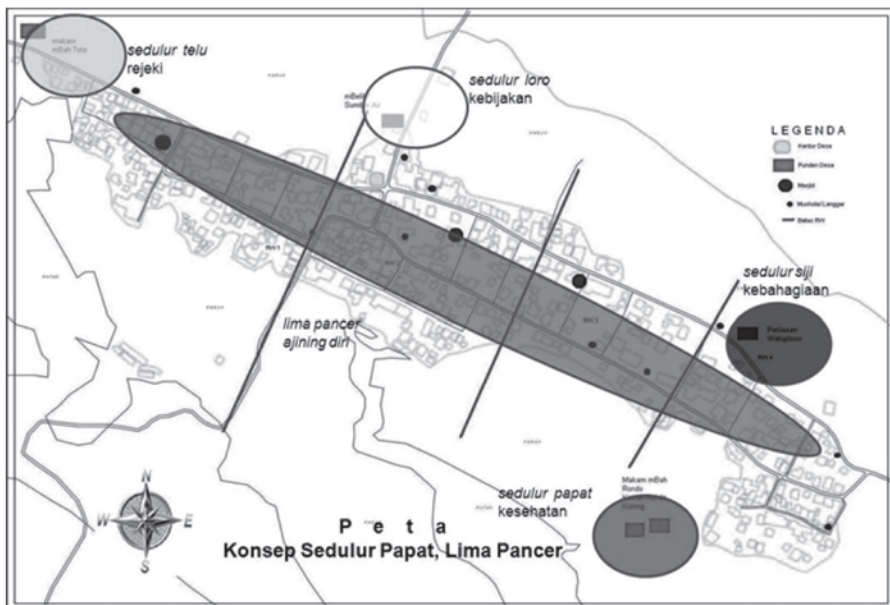
Figure 9. Philosophical concept of the Petungsewu settlement pattern

Appendix
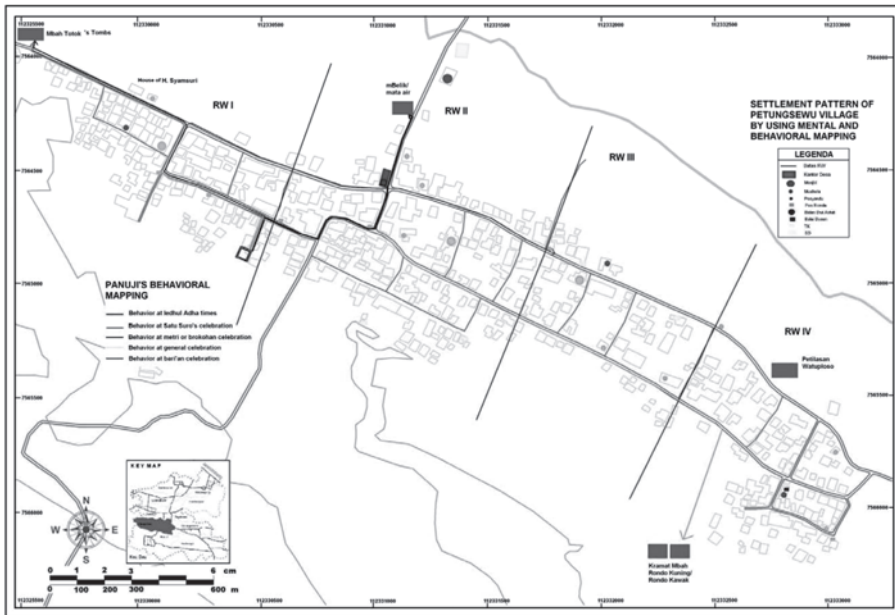
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"CONFORMISM" SPACE OF LOCAL COMMUNITY AGAINST TOURISM COMMUNITY'S SPACE IN TOURISM AREA OF TELUK PALU

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ABSTRACT

Space as a place for daily activities has evolved from just a personal space with distances and soft / hard elements limited into a space group with the meaning implied, but it still can be a traditional behavior of fishing community to make a space. Space for Fisherman community and space for Farmer of salt which passed from generation to generation in Teluk Palu area can represent traditional pattern on that statement.

The construction of Ring Road which offers a high mobility in 2003 and the establishment of the region as a tourism development area of Kota Palu in regional plan of 2011-2030 is like a sugar / honey to the ants, so that the mushrooming of new spaces in the area of both individuals and communities can include community space tourism. These conditions would bother the local community space. Therefore, it is necessary to develop a single case design (embedded) to trace the process of connection and disconnection between the two spaces by setting the bay area such as what happens in Palu, while the unit is the spaces community. Behavioral mapping method is also used to track the behavior, distribution within a certain time, the system of spatial setting as the effect of the birth of a new space on the existence of local space.

This research is expected to be able to answer the question why and how the local communities can maintain their space condition from space intervention and how they can face the challenges in maintaining the locality. This is done not only spatially but also culturally which can be seen from how the concepts of kinship in traditional societies can represent conformism spatial concepts to find the local space of the existence / presence of new spaces.

K E Y W O R D S : "locality and kinship between spaces"

Introduction

Awareness on the importance of development always becomes a crucial demand in many developing countries. This consequence is a mean to anticipate the lag behind eastern cultures during 1400s and western in 1990s. Various development programs with its implementation plans are stated in the governmental policies, from national to province, regency to the lowest level of an area, which is developed into economic, social, culture, defence and security sectors with purpose to raise people's living standard inter-sector in the development area. In order to put this purpose into realization, many regulations are arranged as a guide to reach the maximum goal of an integrated area development from central to the lowest level.

Arranging regulation or strategy for development in the context of area usually faced to a certain group / community. This condition demands a strategy

Picture 1. The Development of Supporting Facilities in Tourist Area
Source: Documentation of 2011

which is not contra-productive with values contained in an area, thus impacted to spatial conflict. Harmony and cohesiveness are the priority. As stated in Governmental Regulation No. 15 of 2010 about the organization of Spatial Order, section 45 regulates the arrangement and determination of lay-out for a strategic area in order to develop, conserve, protect, and / or coordinate the cohesiveness of strategic values development of an area in supporting regional lay-out. This regulation is needed to guarantee the continuity of localities with interrelation among areas / territories by involving concept of community life from generation to generation although it is not documented but can be integrated with programs of area development.

However, there are many interesting phenomena found in the structure or concept of community space through the locality concept itself. Many efforts to conserve and protect spatial patterns—both in the social interaction and daily life—have been running since their ancestors occupy that area. The process of spatial development in Palu gulf, in line with the determination of that area as a tourist's area with many supporting facilities such as public park, gazebo café, restaurant café, restaurant, and hotels, becomes the dynamics of spatial development.

Meanwhile, the spatial layout of gulf fisherman which is in the past almost dominates the coastal areas for parking their ships now it's slowly concentrated to certain spots. The development of tourist area and the existence of local area for gulf fisherman give diversity impression in the coastal area. The welfare of fisherman community is slowly get positive value from the spatial development of an area such as good accessibility and social openness, thus facilitate their fish marketing and access towards information.

The existence of fisherman space as the early occupying community and the actor of activity in the area actually did not show rejection towards regulation and spatial development of an area. Their acceptance and openness towards the new comer is a part of community history which commonly comes from "*To Kaili*" sub-ethnic (local indigenous ethnic) with *patrilineal* lineage, both individual and community. Their history did not show rejection towards new comer. New comers from *Java, Gorontalo, Bugis, Makassar*, and *Manado* are assimilated without considering sub-ethnic backgrounds. Community acceptance is very dominant in daily life and spatial context. The

intervention of tourist spatial development towards local space is very basic and sensitive. Spatial development in supporting tourism activity is almost dispersed in all coastal areas of the gulf. However, fisherman community with their humble and dependence on fishing catch not consider this as a threat. The development of tourist supporting facilities in the area is responded without showing any rejection. This process yields positive impact because of spatial synergism created among actors in the area. This phenomenon is very interesting because if we see the different case in the different location, there are many spatial conflicts created from intervention towards local space. Thus, it is interesting to understand the spatial concepts of fisherman from *To Kaili* sub-ethnic in the coastal area of *Lembah Palu* gulf.

Understanding the Spatial Concepts of Fisherman from To-Kaili Sub-Ethnic in Lembah Palu

According to many sources, fisherman community gives explanation about individual or group activities, locations of the activity and where they stay. Kusnadi (2009:27) geographically illustrated that fisherman community is a society who live, grow, and develop in coastal area that is a transition between land and water area. Moreover, according to Imron, in Subri (2005:27), fisherman is a community who depend on their life on fishing catch, both catching and planting fish. They usually live in coastal area, in a residence which closes to their activity location. Whereas, Subri (2005:7) differentiate fisherman into 3 categories; labor-fisherman, owner-fisherman, and individual-fisherman. Labor-fisherman is defined as fisherman who catches fish using other people's equipment, on the contrary, owner-fisherman is fisherman who has the equipment and it is operated by other people. Later, individual fisherman if fisherman who has their own equipment and not involve other people in their operation.

Related to the concept of fisherman as a community who live in coastal area with their main activity fishing in the sea or planting fish, both individually and group, or act as the capital owner, all of them has a similarity. The different condition is showed by fisherman community in *Palu* gulf. This area usually occupied by small-scaled fisherman with small capital and equipment. Based on the data from *Yayasan Pendidikan Rakyat* (YPR), (2004), fisherman who

live in the coastal area of Palu gulf is classified into three categories i.e. fisherman, part-time fisherman, and seasonal fisherman. *Fisherman* based their daily activity and basic production on economic income by catching fish in *Palu* gulf. *Part-time fisherman* based their daily activity and basic production not on catching fish. This activity is considered as part-time job, for relaxing, their catch is considered as subsistence, their main income comes from their activity as a worker, trading, or employee. Whereas, *seasonal fisherman* catches fish only in catching season.

**Picture 2.** Catching Fish in Small Groups
Source: Documentation of 2011

This classification is created and influenced by seasonal factor in the area. According to fisherman's knowledge, there are 3 seasons in Palu gulf; East Season or **Timboro**, West Season or **Bara** and transitional season or called with **Posimpagonan** in locality. Fisherman's productivity depends on these three seasons. Likewise, the pattern of catching activity is also based on seasonal facts with group classification except to **fisherman.**

This behaviour pattern, in psychology, is caused by environmental factor or the learning process. One of its applications is *geographical determinant* i.e. consider human behaviour more depends on environmental factor, in other words where the human lives, in coastal, mountain, or land area. This behaviour was also considered as ecosystem complexity by Hawley in Himman, Faturroman, (1994); it is assumed that human behaviour is related with environmental context, mutualism symbiosis between human and the environment. The interaction between human and the environment is dynamic; it is happened in many levels and depends on the function.

Fisherman's activity according to people in Palu gulf is very natural, following seasonal changes with their specific way in accessing oceanic resource, with togetherness in a group of people like a family. Togetherness among them is seen during fishing activity in groups or individual fisherman,

whether with or without boat. These groups usually consist of several patriarchs, even a group of several fishermen who comes from various villages or other areas. Togetherness although unacquainted between one another illustrates that there is no administration limit among them. The concept of togetherness was also seen in *tomba-tomba* area (catching location or area for tying up the ship for fishing activity) which is located in water area. *Tomba-tomba* is a mean to help catching fish; it also functioned to attract fish to come together in one spot thus easier the catching activity. Other function of *tomba-tomba* it is used as the orientation of gulf fisherman, usually it is created individually but in the practice it can be used by anyone even without acquaintance. This area usually becomes the main destination of many fishermen because it is designed for the growing of various planktons and micro-organism for fish food.
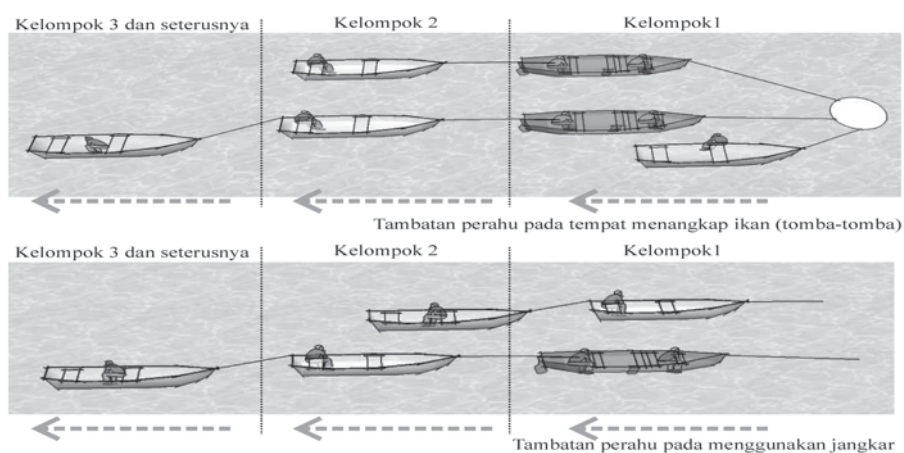
Picture 3.
Collective / Kinship Tradition in Fishing Activity among Fishermen
of Palu Gulf
Source: Muhammad Bakri, 2011

This concept more or less influences the spatial concept and daily life of fisherman in Palu gulf i.e. their acceptance towards group / community or individual around them. The foundation of this concept is locality which correlated to belief that a plenty catch (livelihood) is not an individual proprietary, rather it is collective proprietary which is granted from generation to generation since their expansion from mountain area to coastal area of Palu gulf.

Penerimaan Keruangan dan Perkembangan Kawasan

There is a shifting in social layers among the life of fisherman community in Palu gulf, from a profession with inherited structure and culture of fisherman, now it is dominated by part-timer fisherman. This phenomenon is the impact from ecosystem in Palu gulf area which become more crowded, besides the influence of urban syndrome which serve many facilities. Thus, it had an effect on the alternative economic sources to meet daily life. This condition is a reality in life as an effort to get improvement in life standard. However, kinship values are still buried among fisherman community, it spreads all over the gulf coastal area.
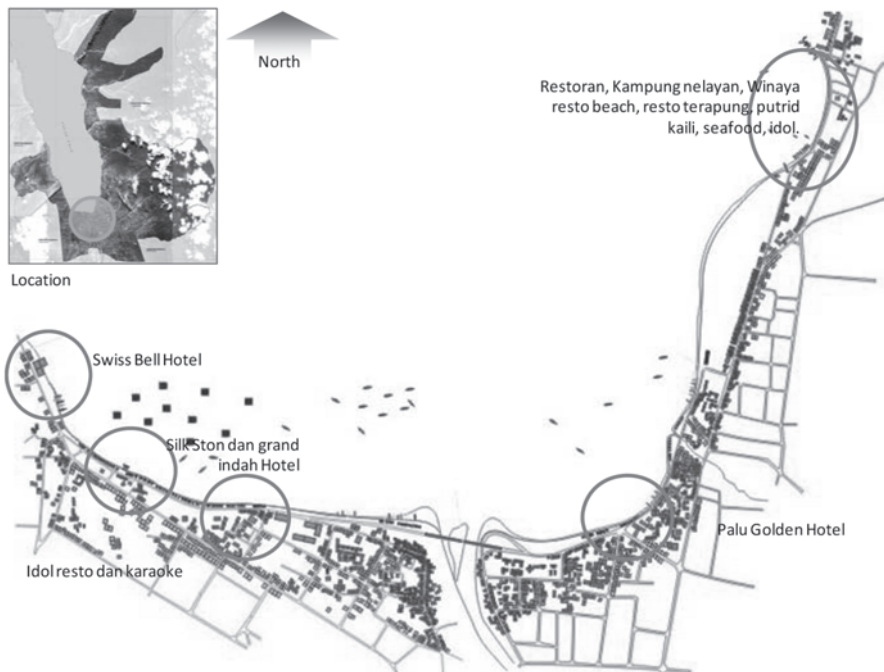
Picture 4. The Spread of Facility Development for Tourist Area
Source: Existing, 2012

The locus of this study is prioritized on the development of tourist area in Palu city especially on the segment of inner circle way. The focus of study is given to fisherman acceptance towards regulation and the development of supporting facilities for tourist area. Fisherman activities which become the criteria are

residing, social interaction, fishing, parking ship, and the fish marketing. It is categorized as above in order to find the spatial phenomenon correlated to fisherman acceptance towards spatial activity of tourist area. The process is started by recording the empiric data, then cross-checking through the interview, and then included into thematic map to find concepts of spatial acceptance by gulf fisherman in two segments of observation area i.e. land and ocean.

Before further discussing this topic, we must understand that the element of culture is very depend on regulations, and the custom for regulating its social interaction more or less will depend on territorial behaviour. Land appropriation is influenced by the ability of an individual or group to implement an appropriate occupancy, Brower (1980). In line with this discussion, there are four concepts of acceptance behaviour among fisherman towards tourist area which is based on kinship pattern of fisherman society. There are several acceptances from the analysis result i.e. acceptance towards regulation, supporting facility of the area, and the development of tourist area.

1. Acceptance towards Regulation (Policy and Implementation of the Development)

The development of tourist area which is stated in the lowest administrative unit (RT-RW) is understand in the form of regulation / policy and implemented by separating land and water area through the building of dike, road access, public park, and seating facilities which has direct impact towards the accessibility of ship parking. Problem of regulation in the form of policy is responded without showing any rejection both individually and representatively. In order to solve the physical challenges created by building elements, fisherman made an unusual parking activity i.e. by parking their ships in an area safety from waves or sea water and then tying it up using strap or even bringing it until closer to their homes.

The implications resulted from the building of separator wall (as wave absorber), road access, park, and seating facilities of concrete-based is in parking area. Through the kinship concept, all of these processes are responded by shifting parking area with several alternatives; parking ship near the river edge (although fisherman must give extra power to row the ship), tying up the ship

using anchor in the coastal area and lifting up the ship above the separator wall/wave absorber.
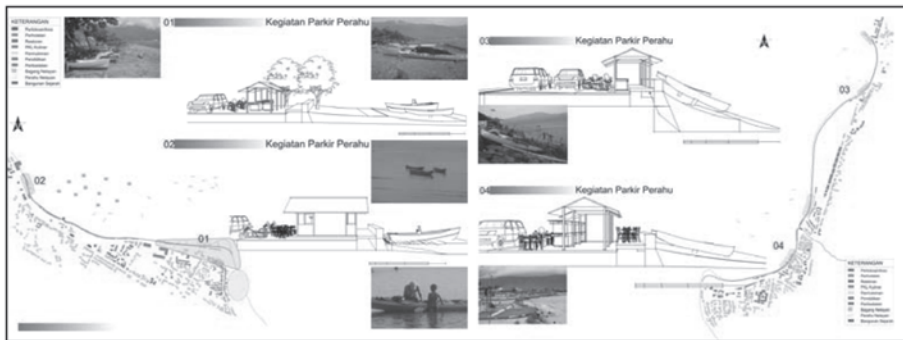
Picture 5. Fisherman's Parking Behaviour after the Building of Dike

This pattern is developed and made the spatial phenomenon of an area more varies; parking activity becomes an indication of fisherman acceptance towards the development. The illustration given—according to the data—shows that there is a compromise taken by fisherman community in the gulf area. This made the activity of selling or unloads their catch practiced in the sea. On the other hand, in the context of road access, it gives accessibility towards fisherman to sell their catch by open stalls along the road border.

2. Acceptance towards the Building of Culinary Facility

Culinary area is dominated by tent stall, café, and restaurant. Its service level is started from low- to high-class. However, its existence along the coastal area blocks view to the beach. The dominance in coastal area by tent stalls forced the
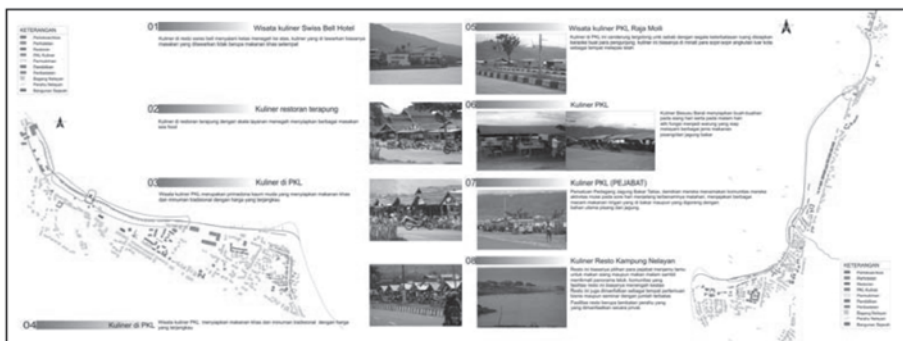
Picture 6. Activities in Culinary Area

fisherman to park their ships in a concentrated area without any consideration of fisherman existence as the source of activity concentration in that gulf, but the fisherman are able to adapt with the existence of these culinary stalls.

3. Acceptance towards Spatial Development of an Area

Spatial separation allows the creation of various settings for different settings, thus reduce conflicts, Brower (1980). This concept is practiced by fisherman community which is based on the kinship concept thus impacted towards the acceptance of both community and individual activities in the area. Structurally, the development of tourist area is divided into two groups i.e. tourist area of sea-based and tourist area of land-based. The development of supporting facilities for land tourism forced the fisherman to concentrate their territory. Meanwhile, gulf area becomes a territory for water tourism such as surfing, playing banana boat, or merely swimming and diving.

From other perspective, several fisherman communities showed several activities from semi-permanent buildings as a symbol of their territory. This condition is supported that territoriality is not a mechanism to regulate social interaction, Rapoport, 1977, page 341). The process of social interaction in fisherman society shows fisherman's dependence towards sea and land territories.   The development of sea / land appropriation by the capital owner and government towards tourism as the regulation of spatial development made the territory of fisherman becomes more concentrated. This development spots are can be seen in Picture 4 which naturally directs the fisherman to the centre of concentration in fisherman villages in the gulf area.

Conclusion

Locality values embedded in fisherman community of Palu gulf are comes from the kinship concept when they are fishing in the sea. It is brought into the spatial process and daily life. Fisherman as the early society who lives in the area never questions this background as a legality for existence and their groups. Locality concept correlated to belief that a plenty catch (livelihood) is not an individual proprietary, rather it is collective proprietary becomes the foundation of this behaviour which finally create the concept of acceptance.

There are three elements that influence the process of fisherman acceptance in the gulf, thus can accept the existence of other individual and community around them.

1. *The dependence of spatial life towards sea territory that can give livelihood for individual and community.*
2. *Kinship* in the fishing process. It is embedded and brought into spatial life in the land.
3. *Togetherness* as fisherman community with their humble life.

However, it is undeniable that this acceptance concept was also created due to under-pressured condition and powerless in responding spatial development by still maintaining locality pattern. Thus, they hope that the local government can arrange a regulation in order to filter the conservation of locality patterns as wisdom in exploiting sea territory which can become a territorial identity. This locality of course brings positive impact towards spatial development because it can minimize conflicts resulted from land use.

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TOURISM POLITICS AND LOCAL WISDOM:
Revitalizing the Art of *Jemblung* in the Cultural Tourism Development of Banyumas, Central Java

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ABSTRACT

Jemblung is one of the folk arts in Banyumas reflecting the local culture of the region. It constitutes an indigenous oral tradition in the form of a traditional theater which does not exist in the other regions. As the rampant globalization grows, however, *Jemblung* is almost extinct. This study aims at: 1) identifying, understanding and explaining the causes of the extinction process of *Jemblung* as the manifestation of local wisdom in Banyumas, 2) understanding and describing the efforts done by the local governments, business groups and local communities to revitalize the arts of *Jemblung* in the development of cultural tourism in Banyumas and 3) understanding and explaining the contextual factors that hinder and support the revitalization efforts. By using a qualitative method through a case study approach, the results of this research indicates that the extinction process of the *Jemblung* art as the manifestation of local wisdom in Banyumas caused by the absence of relevant actors such as the local government through the Office of Youth Sport Culture and Tourism as well as the Regional Board of Art, the commercial enterprises and the local people. Those actors are not able to run the comprehensive efforts and synergy of revitalization among themselves. The revitalization efforts to preserve the art of *Jemblung* undertaken so far are just sporadic and reactive. It is caused by several factors, i.e.: 1) having weak commitment from the local government; 2) having weak support from the commercial enterprises and the local people;

3) having lack of interest from the tourists. However, there is still a hope that becomes a supporting factor to revitalize the *Jemblung* art of Banyumas, i.e.: the spirit of love from the cultural actors and cultural apparatus. This is because they believe that the art of *Jemblung* is one of the local heritages as well as an important asset of cultural tourism in Banyumas.

K E Y W O R D S : revitalization, *Jemblung*, local wisdom, cultural tourism development

Introduction

As one of the autonomous regions in Indonesia, Banyumas has cultural values that reflect its local wisdom. Cultural values are reflected in the characteristics of Banyumas people and the diversity of their cultural products. In this case, the long-life and growing local wisdom attached to the cultural systems of Banyumas people becomes one of the priceless nation's assets and cultural elements that must be maintained and striven to be holistically integrated.

One of the many treasures of traditional cultural heritage in Banyumas is the art of *Jemblung*. It is now, however, almost extinct as the rampant globalization grows. There are even just a few people who still remember how *Jemblung* is played. Nowadays, the number of its community declines to the limitation count of fingers. The fate of Jemblung has been crushed by the emergence of popular culture made more as the mecca of art by the young generation.

In connection with its extinction process, *Jemblung* as a traditional cultural heritage of Banyumas needs to be revitalized. Since local wisdom considered to be the means of solving the problems existed in Banyumas, then the revitalization efforts of *Jemblung* have to be done in the framework of revitalizing the local culture through identifying the new strategies that are able to preserve and develop the local wisdom in the cultural tourism development of Banyumas. The identification and cultural revitalization are intended to be the process of exploring and creating a space for various forms of tradition, artworks and performances such as *Jemblung*. In this case, the concern of the local government, the commercial enterpreneurs and the local people of Banyumas is needed to preserve *Jemblung* as the folk art with noble values and moral lessons to be learned.

This paper is written based on the result of the research about tourism politics and local wisdom focusing on revitalizing the art of *Jemblung* in the cultural tourism development of Banyumas.[1] The research used a qualitative method with a case study as its approach. There are three kind of data sources collected in the research: 1) informants covering the Office of Youth Sport Culture and Tourism as well as the Regional Board of Art as the representation of the local government, the art community of *Jemblung* as the representation of commercial enterprises, and the local people as the representation of the cultural actors. This kind of data is collected by doing in-depth interview to the informants; 2) the research location covering the site and the event of *Jemblung* performance. The data collection is done by having the observation towards the research location; 3) documents related to the research focus. The data collected in the research is analyzed by using a model of interactive analysis from Miles and Huberman[2]. To get a good conclusion, the result of the research is validated by a technique of triangulation.[3] The result of the research presented in this paper reveals the characteristics of *Jemblung* as a folk art reflecting the local culture of Banyumas discussed from the emergence to the causes of its extinction process, the revitalization efforts of *Jemblung* as the manifestation of local wisdom in the cultural tourism development of Banyumas, and the contextual factors hindering and supporting the revitalization efforts themselves.

The Characteristics of *Jemblung* As Traditional Art Reflecting the Local Culture of Banyumas: From the Emergence to the Causes of Its Extinction Process

Jemblung is a folk art of Banyumas forming in the kind of traditional theater. Unlike *Macapatan* or *Maca Kanda* in the Central Java, Yogyakarta and East Java[4], *Jemblung* is a specific traditional theater from Banyumas without music instruments or other kinds of equipment which are usually used

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[1] Triana Ahdiati, Solahuddin Kusumanegara and M. Soebiantoro, "Politik Pariwisata dan Kearifan Lokal: Revitalisasi Kesenian Dalang Jemblung dalam Pengembangan Pariwisata Budaya di Kabupaten Banyumas" (a research report, University of Jenderal Soedirman, 2011).

[2] Matthew B. Miles and A. Michael Huberman, Analisis Data Kualitatif: Buku Sumber Tentang Metode-Metode Baru (Jakarta: UI-Press, 1992), 20.

[3] Yvonna Lincoln dan Egon G. Guba, Naturalistic Inquiry (London: Sage Publications, 1984); Moleong, Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2009),195.

[4] In Central Java, Yogyakarta and East Java, there is a tradition called Macapatan, i.e. reading orconveying "oral literature" in the form of singing traditional Javanese songs. In its development, Macapat has turned into Maca Kanda, i.e. delivering or reading oral literature in the form of prose.

in a common theatrical performance. The traditional music produced in *Jemblung* comes from the voice of the players. Thus, the players do not only act as the puppets playing the characters of a story, but also become the musical instrument and the singer as well.

Jemblung is usually played by a group of four or five persons. Based on the number of the players, a group of *Jemblung* is divided into three kinds of role in playing the performance, i.e. one male player as the leader called *dalang*, one female player as the singer called *waranggana* or *sinden*, and the rest of male players as the music instruments. Since the number of the players is small, then the performance of *Jemblung* does not need a big room like a theater building; it is enough to be done in a room of a house. The form of *Jemblung* performance itself is very simple. With cross-legged position, all players sit around a table. The table used for performing *Jemblung* is small and short with no stuff on it. The only equipment used by the players is *kudhi*, i.e. a kind of specific knife from Banyumas. In this case, *kudhi* functions as a tool of illustration for the players in performing *Jemblung* such as a weapon in a battle scene of a story. In addition, the simplicity of *Jemblung* also reflects in the costumes of the players. They just wear the ordinary clothes used by the local people in Banyumas for carrying a ceremony of a tradition. The clothes consist of *surjan* (a kind of Javanese male dress), *kebaya* (a kind of Javanese female dress), *batik* cloth, *belangkon* (a kind of Javanese male hat for a man) or *iket* (a kind of small and long cloth banded on a man's head), *sanggul* (a kind of a woman's hair bun), and *selop* (a kind of Javanese sandals).

The stories performed in *Jemblung* come from the oral literatures which are already familiar to the local people given by the old people to their children or their relatives. With all of their experiences and expertises, the actors of *Jemblung* play their own characters by giving the great improvisation and new ideas refer to the life development of the society. In addition, the actors have various interesting ways to perform *Jemblung* such as talking about the recent and updated issues in the region. They do it by *geguyon* (playing jokes) with the special dialect of Banyumas.[5] This reflects Jemblung as a traditional art with specific values such as simplicity, innocence, *brayan* (togetherness), and

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[5]   Wisata dan Budaya Banyumas Jawa Tengah. (Purwokerto: Disparbud Kabupaten Banyumas,2007).

creativity. These values are able to create a conducive climate in encouraging the consolidation of democratization at the local level and improve the welfare of the society.

As one of the traditional arts in Banyumas, *Jemblung* grows and develops in the Tambak sub-district and the Sumpiuh sub-district. (See Figure 1 and Figure 2) In its development, however, *Jemblung* also spreads to the outside of the sub-districts. It covers the border territories of Purbalingga, Kebumen and southern Cilacap. At first, the art of *Jemblung* came from the tradition of *bayen* (the birth of a baby), in which the parents of the baby gathered with the neighbors and friends to stay awake all night while waiting for the time to give the baby a name. This kind of tradition is usually called *muyen*, i.e. from the acronym of *'ketemu bayen'* (meet the birth of a baby). In this case, those who gathered did tembangan (singing Javanese traditional songs) or *macapat* with the prayers uttered for the goodness of the newborn baby as the lyrics of the songs. After that, those prayers were continued by telling *Babad* Banyumas (the history of Banyumas). This has emerged a kind of what is so-called *jarwo dhasa* (abbreviation) to illustrate the activities done in the tradition, i.e. *"jenjem-jenjeme wong gemblung"* abbreviated as *'jemblung'* which means the pleasures of crazy people. As time goes by, the tradition has grown as the art of *Jemblung* or more popularly called *Dalang Jemblung*. This happens because there is a kind of competition from time to time transforming the tradition of *muyen* to be a good show performed in an event.
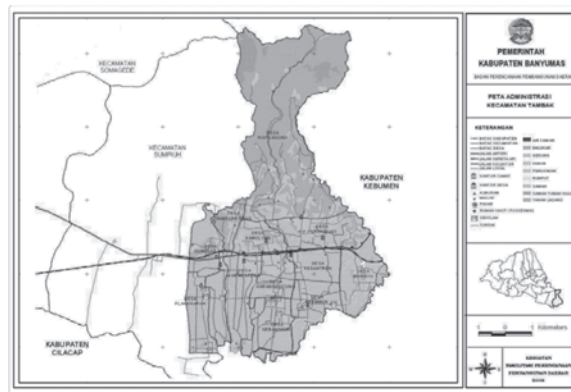

Figure 1. The Administrative Map of Tambak sub-district[6]

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[6] "Peta Administratif Kecamatan Tambak", http://www.banyumaskab.go.id/images/peta/tambak.jpg
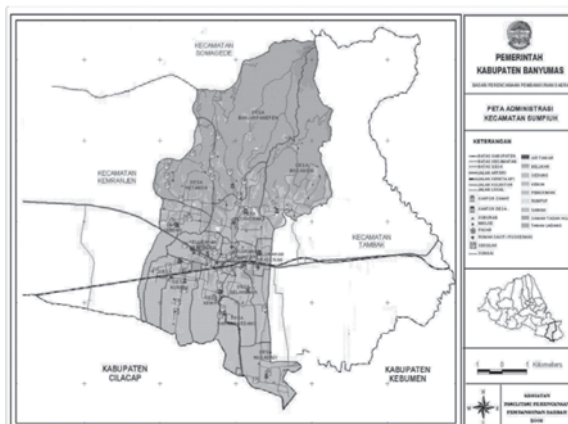
Figure 2. The Administrative Map of Sumpiuh sub-district[7]

As a traditional art, *Jemblung* started to be popular in the 1960s. Like the artists of the recent times, the artists of *Jemblung* in the past times had many fans. They even ran out of time to do the performance on account of having so many fans. As what happened to other kinds of traditional arts, *Jemblung* in the sixties was used up by the political parties. This continued to happen until the rebellion of *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (Indonesian Communist Party) broke out on September 30, 1965. The rebellion was then popularly called *"Geger 65"* (Tragedy 65). After the rebellion, the popularity of *Jemblung* was waning.

Despite having a desolate period after *"Geger 65"*, the art of *Jemblung* returned briefly into reaching the peak of its popularity in the 1970s. In this era, almost every person or group having a celebration or party would like to hold *Jemblung* as the amusement. In addition to become a trend at that time, the cost factor was the reason for a person or a group to hold *Jemblung*. This was because the cost for holding the art of *Jemblung* was cheaper than having other kinds of art.

The golden age of *Jemblung* as a traditional art hold in a celebration or party was fading in 1980s and 1990s. Even it has almost been extinct in 2000s. There are some factors causing the extinction process of *Jemblung*. *First*, the players of *Jemblung* have already been in an old age. In this case, those players are difficult to find the next generation. *Second*, there is a lack of

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[7]   "Peta Administratif Kecamatan Sumpiuh", http://www.banyumaskab.go.id/images/peta/sumpiuh.jpg

people interested in *Jemblung*. In this case, the local people and the tourists prefer to have other kinds of popular art –such as *lengger*, *ebeg*, and *dangdutan* with single organ– to be the more enjoyable amusements. *Third*, the characteristics of *Jemblung* itself which is only be enjoyed by the limited community. In this case, there is a limitation of language understanding from the audience to enjoy the art performance of *Jemblung*.

The Efforts of Revitalizing Jemblung as the Manifestation of Local Wisdom in the Cultural Tourism Development of Banyumas

Tourism has become the strategic regional affair for the local government of Banyumas. This is because tourism has given many benefits to the regional income of Banyumas. Based on the consideration of economic profit, then tourism sector is developed by the local government.

The grand design of tourism development in Banyumas is having a priority on the tourism objects and attractions. There are two kinds of tourism, i.e. natural tourism and cultural tourism. The natural tourism is considered to be more potential to give economic profit than the cultural tourism. In this case, the cultural tourism becomes the complementary part of tourism development because it is considered as having small economic values. Thus, the tourism promotion is focused primarily on the natural objects and attractions. The promotion for the cultural tourism is done selectively to the cultural products which are able to give economic profit. Based on the priority, the cultural products which are actively promoted as the cultural objects and attraction are *lengger*, *ebeg* and *begalan*. This is because: 1) *lengger* and *ebeg* are the very popular traditional arts of Banyumas which become the favorite amusements for the local people; 2) *begalan* is a traditional art which becomes a part of the Banyumas wedding procession.

Based on the condition of the cultural tourism development in Banyumas, the activities done by the local government are focused on the cultural preservation of the region. The institution which is supposed to be responsible for carrying out the cultural preservation is *Dewan Kesenian Kabupaten* (the Banyumas Art Council) or what is so called *DKKab*. In fact, it is practically

delegated to *Dewan Kesenian Kecamatan* or what is so called *DKK* (the Sub-sub-districts Art Council) in Tambak and Sumpiuh. The reason of delegating such authority and responsibility is that DKK is considered to be closer to the local people as the cultural actors or the owner of the local culture. This happens because the cultural products of Banyumas are still like pieces growing in the certain places of the region. Furthermore, there is no government policy which has already regulated to collect those pieces into one place like "the center of Banyumas culture".[8]

The cultural tourism development of Banyumas that has not become the priority of the local government reflects in each activity of the cultural product development. This is obviously seen in the development of *Jemblung*. In this case, what the local government through *Dinas Pemuda Olahraga Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata* (the Office of Youth Sport Culture and Tourism) or what is so called *Dinporabudpar*, prior to *DKK* in the sub-sub-districts of Tambak and Sumpiuh, does is only making *Jemblung* not really extinct. In practice, the art of *Jemblung* is only treated as a spectacle for those who need it. Even the regent of Banyumas himself has never held *Jemblung* as the amusement in a celebration.

From the framework of cultural tourism development, the revitalization efforts of *Jemblung* are still done sporadically by the relevant parties. The first party is the local government through *Dinporabudpar* and *DKK* in the sub-districts of Tambak and Sumpiuh as the local cultural apparatus. In this case, the revitalization efforts are more on doing the promotion and preserving what already exists. The second party is the players of *Jemblung* as the cultural actors. What they do for revitalizing *Jemblung* is having routine practices on each Monday night every week. This effort is done by a group of *Jemblung* who are integrated in the group of Setiyo Budoyo. This group has even had their own basic budget as well as household budget. This group is located in the village of Karang Petir, in the Tambak sub-sub-district. The routine practices of *Jemblung* done by the group of Setiyo Budoyo are not because of having an agreement among the players, but more on a reason of

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8   M. Soebiantoro, Triana Ahdiati dan Solahuddin Kusumanegara, "Pengembangan Kebijakan Pariwisata Budaya Berbasis Kearifan Lokal di Kabupaten Banyumas" (laporan penelitian, Universitas Jenderal Soedirman, 2010), 57.

having a need to express their love towards the art of *Jemblung*. This is what makes them keep the spirit to do each activity in revitalizing the art of *Jemblung*. The last party is the commercial enterprises who like the art of *Jemblung*. Unfortunately, the number of the commercial enterprises is only a few. What they do is holding *Jemblung* as the amusement in a celebration or party, but is only done temporarily. It could even be said that it is difficult to find the entrepreneur who wants to help the activities of developing *Jemblung* as a traditional art in Banyumas.

The revitalization efforts in the cultural tourism development in Banyumas which are done sporadically have given a bad impact to the tourists as an important element in organizing tourism in the region. In this case, the tourists are not able to enjoy *Jemblung* as one of the typical cultural products from Banyumas. This can be seen from the number of tourists, in which only a few of them understand *Jemblung* as a typical folk art from Banyumas. There is, however, something happens paradoxically in the development of *Jemblung* itself. This can be seen from the fact that the fans of Jemblung or those who are interested in understanding *Jemblung* further –no matter they are only a few– do come from outside of the region, or even from abroad.

The Contextual Factors Hindering and Supporting the Revitalization Efforts of Jemblung *as the* Manifestation of Local Wisdom in the Cultural Tourism Development of Banyumas

The brief description about the cultural tourism development of Banyumas shows that *Jemblung* as one of the traditional arts in the region has been out of having the attention of the local government on account of being not that popular and beneficial as what the others are. Consequently, the art of *Jemblung* does not develop well. In other words, it could even be said that it is almost extinct. In fact, *Jemblung* as the manifestation of local wisdom in Banyumas becomes the cultural product which has to be preserved by the local government. It means the revitalization efforts done so far have not been successful.

The failure of revitalizing the art of *Jemblung* in the cultural tourism development of Banyumas is caused by some hindering factors. The first

factor is the weak commitment from the local government. This happens because the art of *Jemblung* is not a preference of the local government. The weak commitment of the local government reflects in the programs of tourism development, from the regional level to the office level in the sub-sub-districts of the region. In this case, *Dinporabudpar* has not been able to do breakthroughs in developing the art of *Jemblung* as one of the typical cultural assets from Banyumas. In fact, *Jemblung* is considered as one of the five rare arts in Indonesia which are supposed to be preserved and developed. This points out that the programs at the office level cannot be realized on account of having no support from the Banyumas legislative council as the authoritative body responsible for legitimating the regional budgets (APBD). The second factor is the weak support from the commercial enterprises and the local people. In this case, *Jemblung* is considered as having no selling points and market value. In addition, there is no cooperation between the local government and various media in Banyumas due to the limited budget for doing the activities. The third factor is the tourists' lack of interest. This is because the language used in the performance of *Jemblung* is difficult to understand by the tourists. In addition, *Jemblung* as a cultural product is less attractive to the tourists on account of having no strong competitiveness compared to others.

From the three factors hindering the efforts of revitalizing the art of *Jemblung* in the cultural tourism development of Banyumas, it is clear that revitalization becomes a utopia for the art of *Jemblung*. There is still, however, a love spirit from the cultural apparatus at the office level and the cultural actors as the supporting factor to revitalize the art of *Jemblung*.

Conclusion

Banyumas has various folk arts as the cultural products which can be developed as tourism objects and attractions to increase the regional economy. Unfortunately, those cultural products are still scattered and have not been prioritized in the tourism development as what is already done to the natural tourism. Thus, the art of *Jemblung* as the manifestation of local wisdom in Banyumas has not been developed seriously by the local government. Moreover, *Jemblung* is almost extinct because the market demand continues to weaken.

Although some efforts are already done to revitalize the art of *Jemblung*, it could be said that they have not been successful yet. This is caused by: 1) having weak commitment from the local government; 2) having weak support from the commercial enterprises and the local people; having lack of tourists' interest. The only supporting factor is the love spirit from the cultural apparatus and the cultural actors to revitalize the art of *Jemblung*.

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Panel 3

Visualizing
the Indigenous Cultures

REVEALING DISCURSIVE FORMATION BEHIND THE DEFINITION OF TRADITIONAL DANCE THROUGH POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVE:
The Restoration of the Local Dances of Indigenous Communities Conception as an Art in Academic Institution

Imam setyobudi[1]

Introduction: Hegemony and Challenge

What and Who are actually indigenous communities? A series of questions led to study cases which investigate the nature of indigenous communities and their position at certain international language hegemony. We try to look at indigenous communities challenge in facing some obstacles and opportunities which they can grasp in order to be able to make a strategy in the middle of international language hegemony encirclement.

I don't want to take a part in the concept and definition which often only discuss about attribute without discussing the most important level. Conceptual and theoretical limitation will be trapped in the negligence of case: The facts of indigenous of communities. I want to feel and experience being indigenous communities who is facing some life problems so that I can feel and experience all kinds of confusions. Am I an indigenous community? I was born in Yogya. I lived in the central of city and now I live and work in Bandung. I am not really sure that I am a part of indigenous communities. I didn't live in village or forest or even an isolated place where far away from noise of metropolis.

But, suddenly, I felt that I am a part of indigenous communities. Why am I be like that? It happened when I applied to get a doctoral degree, I was refused because of my TOEFL score less than the specified requirement (500). In fact, I will not continue my study in abroad but in my country. International education standard requires to reach minimum 500 for TOEFL score. International school is a school which uses English language as a first language. English language is not a daily language for Indonesian people. English language is only foreign language which has regarded as a universal language in the world. Can we call that situation as discrimination?

Indigenous communities are people who don't get all kinds of structural, system and institutional fairness. People who have an authority (structure, system, institution, economical capital, political capital, social capital and cultural capital) are not including indigenous communities.

When I was in Yogya, I spoke Java language and sometimes Indonesian language in certain and special occasion such as when I speak with my friends who come from Sunda or outside Java, my teacher and my lecturer officially and formally. I studied English since I was in Junior High School to the university. English become the scourge. Formal education requires English language skills. I have studied a formal education and lived in the city. Modernity has pervaded me. On the other hand, I have not been modern (international) because I have not reached minimum TOEFL Score. I am not an traditional person who only can speak Java language but I am not also a modern person who masters English well.

Where is Indonesian Language's position? I feel I am in the language hierarchy: Java Language, Indonesian Language and English. English is at the highest position. If we want to develop ourselves, we have to master English as an International language. If we can master English include TOEFL so we can achieve the highest degree (PhD). TOEFL is a key for opening the confinement of locality. In that situation, I am in the ambiguity. So, we discuss about indigenous communities related to the project of modernity which principally is talking about ourselves or the other who is *liyan* from ourselves. Who is the other side of us? Who is actually the other side of ourselves? Is *liyan* actually ourselves? Are we discussing and also imagining indigenous communities as *liyan* without relating to ourselves?

Information technology is becoming more sophisticated and spread to everywhere but unfortunately cultural boundaries continuously fade away. However, actually the fading away of cultural boundaries is only on certain boundaries i.e on the physical area that is artificial. Geographical boundaries of space and time also fade away; What will happen next? Will the civilization and cultural boundaries also fade away?

Mobile phone and satellite dish has penetrated into the isolated village though still limited. Even though the people who live in the isolated villages watch television at their neighbor's house that had a satellite dish, they consume global values   through a televised broadcast program, that not only national private television, but also international television. CNN news and French fashion show can be present among the villagers. They can watch the visual image of some events or newest television movies that are not shown on national private television-without must understand the dialogue. The villagers are still blind of English, though the village children now receive English lessons. Behavior arising from consuming global values   such as something artificial: dyed blonde hair, big sticker plastered on the glass behind the village public transportation inscribed 'making love', 'sexy girl', or 'puck you' (fuck you).

The villagers have been familiar in using wireless communication devices (cell phones) for communication. I have ever looked a young man walking along the paddy fields towards the booth (defecate) that is above the pond (fish pond) while talking on a cell phone. Having been occurred a case in one village, a peasantworker died due to being struck by lightning in the middle of rice fields when receiving a call on his cell phone. He did not know how serious the situation was, the dark clouds had blackish perched on top. Village people buy used mobile phones without a piece of paper containing warning ban dangerous situations in the use of wireless communication devices. They are able to use the phone without having adequate knowledge about its negative impacts and dangerous risks.

The boundaries between us and them are still due to language. Language can trap and shackle everyone. We are not able to understand our daily world experience without language. Surely, we will be difficult in understanding and comprehending their daily life that has different language when we do not master their language, so vice versa. Anyone would feel uncomfortable while he/she is in the middle of the comrades who spoke in a language he/she has not

understood before. He/she will feel as if he/she ignored by them. Language necessitates the existence of a trap. A person who does not understand English spontaneously will feel that he is inferior when he is among his friends in one tribe who was talking in English. English has become something fashionable, trendy, as well as superior.

Language is not only as tools and means of communication, but also the union that can create some authorities that overlap, do power struggle and make a strategy each other.[2] Language is present to facilitate and provide itself as a means for us to understand, know and comprehend every incident and event as symbols.

How do we want to define and determine the nature of indigenous communities? Who has the right to decide "this is" the indigenous communities? I intend to continue to get doctoral education then I must undergo a series of requirements mainly related to the TOEFL. The hegemony of English as the international language "as if" has the authority to decide and set the appropriate and inappropriate person who will continue his/her education. Is inappropriate person proper to regard himself/herself as indigenous communities?

No matter how education is a means of obtaining modernization eligibility, and education which can be called internationally if everything internationally, including the student admission requirements obligate to have TOEFL competence. At first, I was not sure what part of the so-called indigenous communities because my entire life experience more absorb urban experience, but suddenly, in that particular situation, I realize that I am a part of the indigenous communities. Is the position of indigenous communities is something that is beneficial or detrimental? In this situation, the phrase "durung Jowo" or "ora nJawani" is irrelevant again if we have not master Javanese krama inggil. Hierarchical boundaries contained in the Java language are nullified by the hegemony of the international language English.

The description of the introduction above does not intend to provoke an anti-foreign language or just throw the complaints, but I explained the actually position of indigenous communities and also their situations that limit their

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2   See Edward W. Said, Culture and Imperialism. London: Chatto & Windus Ltd. 20 Vauxhall Bridge Road, 1993. Also, we can see Kebudayaan dan Kekuasaan (Membongkar Mitos dan Hegemoni Barat), translator by Rahmani Astuti and edited by Yuliani Liputo. First Published. Bandung: Mizan Press, 1995.

movement. It is hard to dismiss the fact that day by the day the boundaries of culture more weaken and fade away due to the development of sophisticated information technology and social networks like twitter and facebook, but the traps and shackles was still not budging in the language itself; however there are inequality and lameness of civilization and cultural values and culture due to the hegemony of the international language, English. Indonesian does not present cosmopolitan values, but English does. Caption text in visual and print advertising as well as in daily conversation among young executives in Jakarta have been influenced by English. Nowadays, mixed faces Indonesian-European (mulatto) often appear in commercials, sitcoms, and movies. We step into the era of internationalization and globalization. Nationalism has been out of dated and expired.

Language contains two main things, first is the power traps i.e shackle and then the opportunity to escape from itself. The meaning of the traps that shackle is a person who is difficult to break away from the original language. He has been caught in a language that has been used since childhood for the first time to know the language. We explore a number of daily life experiences through the language. We can break free the shackles on, when we are able to master the different international language used since early childhood. But actually we are entering a new language trap. Thus, the traps and an opportunity to escape the shackles of the meshes are not placed in an absolute situation, but it depends on the certain conditions and the personal character of each person.[3] We are trapped, escape and falling caught from other language that is not our language. The opportunity to escape from that condition hit the mirage. The language has trapped us into the gaps.

Traps Language That Conditioned Culture Classification

Europe Anthropologists and sociologists created a variety of definitions of culture and society. The dichotomy of society and culture was born on the

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[3] Raden Mas Kartono, Raden Ajeng Kartini's brother, a Javanese aristocrat who masters many languages (English, France, German, Chinese, Japan, etc.). He has gone everywhere to many countries while studied from West culture and civilization. In the certain point, he started realizing about Java philosophy science. Ki Ageng Suryamentaraman also deep Java local wisdom values to develop Java psychology type. In turn, nowadays, generally people get opportunity to study philosophy in abroad, they struggle to study Greek and West philosophy but they forget their local wisdom.

basis of the initiative of Europe anthropologists and sociologists. Tönnies spawned Gemeinschaft definition refers to the traditional communities in isolated villages and Gesellschaft refers to modern society in the urban centers, according to the world view (world view); Durkheim's definition created mechanical and organic solidarity on the basis of social bonds; Max Weber put forward the definition of traditional community when still relies on pre-modern (subsistence economic) and modern societies who have run a capitalist economic system; Robert Redfield classified people into 'little tradition' on traditional communities who are in isolated villages when the social bond is still a personal and face to face with the irrational character, and 'great tradition' in modern urban societies who have rational impersonal social ties.[4]

According to the narrative of the experts above, it was proven that traditional term refers to the community in isolated villages, tribes, indigenous communities, or a socio-cultural group that has not been fully characterized in the societies role; those who have limited access to the authority source, such as structure, systems, institutions, economic capital, political capital, social capital, cultural capital, etc.

Language plays a very important role in preserving and perpetuating classification discourse which dichotomizes society and culture as defined by European experts above. On the all time the language's role is the duality principle of society and culture. Boeke (1983) asserted that dualistic economy is caused by the impossibility to reconcile between the subsistence economy of the common people and the capitalist economy of the colonialists that carried by bureaucrats local nobility.[5] The Dutch colonial government deliberately created a dualistic economy so that there is deliberate attempt to exploit the local authorities as the representative of the colonial political power in the colony. Duality happened reflects Said's words, the Western world intentionally created the East as a region isolated from the flow of European progress in the fields of science, arts, and commerce.[6] Thus, the attributes of the 'traditional' is always legitimate to label the indigenous communities: Unique, hillbilly, country,

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4   Imam Setyobudi, "Jaipong Seni Tradisional atau Seni Pop: Perspektif Identitas Pribadi" at Panggung Journal of Art and Cultural Science, Vol. 19, No. 2, April-Juni 2009, page 210.
5   J.H. Boeke, Prakapitalisme di Asia. First Published. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan. 1983.
6   See Edward W. Said, Orientalisme. Translator Asep Hikmat and Achsin Mohammad. Four Printed. Bandung: Pustaka. 2001, page 161.

irrational, personal, and exotic. We can search the etymology of the word 'traditional' in the Dictionary of Science (Save M. Dagun, 2005) which was rooted in Latin traditio – trado which means *give*. Subsequently, that word is absorbed by English becoming tradition. The meaning of the word 'traditional' by Big Indonesian Dictionary (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, 1988: 959) are (1) attitudes and ways of thinking and acting that always cling firmly to the norms and customs from generation to generation; (2) according to the custom.[7] Therefore, the archipelago traditional dance treasure is always inherent in essence: Traditional Dance. Traditional dance is not an art, but one of material ornament which is attached to the customs. Traditional dance is also ethnic cultural identity markers. In the post-colonial era, the Orientalism is no longer working on a framework point of view of the Europeans, but it had penetrated into our mind to look ourselves. We strive to adjust ourselves in order to always show our custom through the traditional dance to Europe

My argumentation is based on the evidence on World Dance Day 2012 a few months ago in Solo. Posters, pamphlets, and booklets of information regarding the World Dance Day 2012 showed a couple of ballet dancers (modern), although in that festival the world dance was more dominant than local dances. The question is why do posters, pamphlets, and booklets of World Dance Day in Solo display precisely ballerina figure (modern) or say the contemporary for the promotion? Comment arouse from the Dance college student of STSI Bandung that that dance is ballet (modern dance, or perhaps contemporary).[8] In my mind, the question arouses: Why are modern ballet or contemporary dance used as the icon of the World Dance Day events whereas it was held in Solo, Central Java? And, what is the relationship between a poster that showed a couple of modern ballet dancer and frills 'Dance World'?

The issue of universal tradition versus unique customs, local versus global, international versus local; however often still rouse a fundamental problem about the existence of cultural conflict. Local is not universal, global, and international. Local is only suburb. Local is only the other side of the universal,

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[7]   Javanese peasantry know 'naluri' (instinct) term, but unfortunately I am not quite sure, what the best collocation for 'tradition' and 'traditional' is 'naluri'.

[8]   Actually, I want to ask to the civilian, the civilian's answer prove that my argument is correct. This is my question, "Actually, what kind of dance of the couple dancers in World Dance Day poster in Solo?" They answered spontaneously, "Ballet!" My next question, "Why did you regarded it as ballet?" They emphasized their answer that the dancers gesture showed swaying of ballet.

global, and international. Local is the other side that never becomes a necessity to have values   that can also apply universally and globally. Indigenous communities remain a locally-traditional, despite they want to talk to the realm of the universal, global, and international. They are forced to borrow universal and global attributes that have been regarded as world cultural power center.

Although World Dance Day took place in Solo (ISI Surakarta) in Central Java, but arising an obligate to show the modern ballet dancer or may be contemporary as a background of posters, pamphlets and booklet. In fact, in that festival, the traditional dance more often showed although some were showing the works of contemporary dance. Contemporary dance is not traditional dance nor a new creation.

In the case of the general perception prevailing in the West Javanese traditional dance is people due to royal palace institution has been truly disappeared for a long time. This argument is weak. In fact, *Tayub dance* (not the one in Blora, Central Java), *Keurseus*, and *Wayang* (Puppet) is closely related to feudal class (aristocracy; *menak*). Both peasantry in West Java and the in and out Baduy (*Kanekes* people) from the past until now have never danced *Tayub, Keurseus*, and *Wayang*. Moreover, *Jaipong* dance which is so popular still accept the validity as the traditional folk dance. I received confirmation from a Professor of Fine Art (Artist of Installation Art) in Bandung who said, "Dance is different from art. Art does recognize the existence of classical, modern, and postmodern. But in the dance, there is called a new creation." This statement confirms one thing with regard to the existence of a local dance only related to customs; and it is not an art. Is such a situation beneficial or detrimental to the development and advancement of dance repertory in West Java particularly own academic institution?

The definition of new creation dance is a traditional dance created through new touches (innovation), but not modern. Why new creation dance not modern dance? Why does Indonesian Painting Art recognize the tradition of modern art Indonesia, while in the case of dance in West Java just enough called new creations? Dance taxonomy has not investigated yet into perspective and paradigm case so that the development of dance aesthetics and philosophy does not have a clear track record. The situation is quite different if we look at the history of art aesthetics and philosophy thought in the realm of Indonesian

Fine Art (Visual Arts). Many terms that actually reflect the disorganized of concepts and definitions of dance repertoire: traditional, new creations (contrast with traditional), contemporary (to distinguish between new creations and traditional), conventional versus non-conventional, traditional versus non-traditional, archipelago traditional versus non-traditional archipelago.

We called *Tayub dance* and *Keurseus dance* as traditional dance and folk dance. In fact, the background history of the emergence of *Tayub* dance and *Keurseus* dance is closely related to the presence of the aristocratic (*Menak*) who can be regarded as an institution. Although the royal palace in West Java has disappeared, the existence of aristocrats still possible to be called as the institution which has different passion and lifestyle from the commoners. There are different character and aesthetic value between *Ketuk Tilu Buhun* and *Jentreng* with *Tayub* and *Keurseus* and *Wayang* dances genre in West Java. Taxonomy dance in West Java is still limited to the genre.

The composition of dance subjects was 60% dance practice, while 40% to the theory. Does the composition support Presentation skills (Dancer), Creation (Choreographer), and Research *(Researcher)*? Perhaps, the present curriculums still only support Presentation and Choreographer skills. But in fact, many VII semester college students who choose Creation skills were still confused by the course of *Traditional Concept Dance Creation* and *Non-Traditional Concept Dance Creation.* What are traditions and non-traditions? Is there a dance without tradition? In addition, college students from SMKI who enter Department of Dance often complain about practice subject which always do repetition, and even still more complete in the SMKI. Interest on Research skills (Researcher) impressed underdog and lack of enthusiasts.[9] Is the composition of the curriculum is adequate and orderly systematic as advised by Thomas S. Kuhn?[10]

Any work of art including dance contains perspectives and paradigms. Therefore, that case is important to be a basis and foundation of Dance science. We still regard a dance that is rooted in the tradition of West Java is a traditional

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[9] An institution applies score standard for research thesis (Dance) is too high while not supported by optimal and adequate curriculum. The students seldom get A score except certain student who are not based on academic and intellectual capacity but based on other considerations. Lecturers who are not alumnus or non-art bachelor and choose as an independent and only underdog.

[10] The Structure of Scientific Revolution: Peran Paradigma dalam Revolusi Sains. Cetakan Ketiga. Terjemahan Tjun Surjaman. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2000, hal. 109.

dance, but in fact every dance is always related to each tradition roots according to their perspective and paradigm, without exception *breakdance, hip-hop, jentreng, kuda lumping,* etc.

Dance Certainty Opportunities in West Java in Discourse of Art

The assumption that more focuses on dance treasures in West Java, no more merely custom material ornament neglect perspectives and paradigms actually contained in any dance work. Dance is only regarded as traditional that is always related to the customs, so why should there aesthetic dance and art philosophy subject. Aesthetics and philosophy of art discussed issues concerning art's perspectives and paradigms art contained in the art works: the development of art thought concerning the rationale behind the aesthetic embodiment. Everything that is related to traditional means "stagnant" because of the custom. A marker of ethnic cultural identity is not different from mannequins in the show windows. Yet according to Sal Murgiyanto,[11] traditional dance contains two things, they are inheritance and betrayal. If so, then the main issue is not merely stopped at the customs, but it can be struggled in perspective and paradigm case of dance aesthetics and philosophy.

Anglo-Saxon logic considers the dances of indigenous communities are only traditional related to customs realization. Why do we use the logic of Anglo-Saxon thought that is strong of Orientalism ideology to look at ourselves? During this time, the art philosophy subject taught in the Department of Dance (STSI Bandung) still talk about Visual Arts (Fine Art), and has not discussed about the development of artistic thought that happened and took place in the realm of dance in West Java. In fact, the development of dance in West Java can be said fast, we can look at Enoch Atmadibrata's work which Eti Mulyati said that his work incorporate elements of modern ballet in order to enrich the motions of the shoulders, arms, and hands; Gugum Gumbira spawned *Jaipong* genre which apparently use twist, cha-cha, and rock and roll[12] footwork elements

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[11] 'Seni Tradisi Tidak Mati' dalam Tradisi dan Inovasi: Beberapa Masalah Tari di Indonesia. Jakarta: Wedatama Widya Sastra, 2004, hal. 11.

[12] Abdul Azis, "Pencugan merupakan Kreativitas Tari Jaipongan" dalam Gugum Gumbira: Dari Cha-cha ke Jaipongan. Endang C. dan Lalan R. (ed). Bandung: Sunan Ambu Press, 2008.

and also strengthen foot's agility like in the martial arts. The next developments are Mas Nanu Muda (Abah Nanu) who was intersected with the postmodern, and ultimately, Ine Arini Bastaman who is often collaborated with Herry Dim (installation artists who is often involved collaboration with the late Harry Roesli) and Tony Broer (body theater actor) who increasingly radicalizes dance aesthetics through the concept of 'core dance is not motion'. Professor Sardono W. Kusumo through *Pancasamgita I-V, Metaekologi, Dongeng Dirah* have started the tradition of looking into the roots of the wisdom of indigenous communities thought since the 1970s.

Ine through the work *'Pada Suatu Hari di Sebuah Rumah Bersalin'* (2008) has completely stripped dance vocabularies. Ine used feminism perspective to step into paradigm postmodern territory in composing aesthetic dance. Ine deconstructed dance philosophy thinking main stream. *'Pada Suatu Hari di Sebuah Rumah Bersalin'* at all depended on the daily activity motions without the music accompaniment except the sounds arising from Ine's and Tony's activities and the audience itself. The Silences and noises were caused by Ine and Tony while they dramatized their confusion before the birth. The atmosphere of delivery room came through floor cleaner scent that contains anti-bacterial used in hospitals. Audiences were involved in the arena stage wearing doctors' and nurses' "work clothes".

Thus, we assume that the Orientalism ideology viewpoint regarded dances in West Java is truly traditional, then till whenever those dances will not touch the issue to the level of dance aesthetics and philosophy. Everything that related to the traditional just stopped to the custom's rigidity. What these are we going? Why are we afraid to convey our conscience loudly? It is important for the Curriculum of Dance Department on academic institutions to discuss about perspectives and paradigms. We are able to achieve a great chance if the curriculum of dance is ready to discuss perspective behind a dance work. The development of the art thinking in the realm of dance later will be recorded well. In addition, the stages of aesthetics and philosophy dance thought development itself will be more systematically.

Curriculum Dance Settling towards Empowerment of Indigenous Communities

Curriculum Dance structuring (Departement of Dance under Faculty of The Performing Art of Sundanese and Cirebonese Cultural) firstly must consider a dance perspective if continuing to the level of paradigm: Folk Dance, Classical Dance, Modern Dance, and Postmodern Dance. Perspective behind a dance will be Field of Study Program: Field of Folk Dance, Field of Classical Dance, Field of Modern Dance, and Field of Postmodern Dance. College students who choose Field of Folk Dance or Classical Dance (Sunda and Cirebon) can cover tuition for a few weeks in the natural habitat dance ecology. Field of Folk Dance offers one subject *Tari Topeng Cirebon*, so the students have the opportunity to live a few weeks for intensive study in the location where the dance comes from. This means not just two or four credits, but can be more credits at the same time, they take some other subjects that strengthen knowledge *Topeng Cirebon* (Cirebon mask). The faculty team consisting of anthropology, sociology, comparative of art, aesthetics, and philosophy subjects accompany the students on a regular basis at the location.

Interest skill to Field of Folk Dance Study Program and Field of Classical Dance Study Program lead to conservator and reconstruction competence which is not just a Presentation. Field of Modern Dance and Postmodern Dance offer interest skill in dance arrangement industrial design competence-based creative economy and fine arts. Field of Postmodern Dance directs the college students to take compulsory subjects (not all; basics of dance) that must be taken in Field of Folk Dance, Classical Dance, and Modern Dance; but later it will focus on competencies in different directions.

Where is Research interest skill? We are principally consistent on post-factum and pre-factum, so the study of dance includes post-factum part, of course as a consequent the study should be set apart to be Faculty of The Study of Performing Art, Media, Film, and Visual Arts in which there are: (a) Departement of Cultural Studies and Anthropological/Sociological Study of The Performing Art, Media, Film, and Visual Arts; (b) Departement of Historical Study of The Performing Art, Media, Film, and Visual Arts; and (c) Departement of Philosophical and Aesthetical Study of The Performing Art, Media, Film,

and Visual Arts. Interest skill of each Departement of Study may focus on one approach (monodiscipline): Anthropology, sociology, history, philosophy, aesthetics, that are multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary (like cultural studies).

Curriculum composition of art institutions which sometimes combine pre-factum and post-factum just lead to be messed up and chaotic. Therefore, teaching the subject material is not focused so that the students will be the victims.

It should be added that art students need to acquire the subject which discusses about society economic empowerment, tourism industry based indigenous communities, creative economy industrial design, and entrepreneurship. Why do they need those subjects? I still remember in a seminar on the art, one art scholar who had just graduated two years conveyed his anxiety, after he was graduated from college and returned home, he felt useless, his father is a peasant man, and on the other hand, he was difficult to get work in accordance with his major in the college. How do we prepare?

Conclusion: Thinking Independence of Opportunities for Indigenous Communities

The basic general principle of education, science, art, and language is important to stand on the liberation of human beings on shackling of everything. However, it must be realized that without the wisdom and discretion consideration principle, it can be fallen into devices which hasten the isolation and captivity itself and perpetuate power, when not used properly. We inherit many local wisdom thoughts that grown in the indigenous communities, but we are already ignored them. Why are we negligent to think preserving indigenous communities knowledge (local knowledge) for the sake of the nation's future? Post-structuralism/postmodernism and post-colonialism opened up opportunities for us to cultivate our own ideas according to the needs and interests. Without exception in the realm of dance in West Java.

The term 'traditional' word attached behind the word 'dance', whether beneficial or even vice versa? What is so very important to adjust ourselves to the traditional to attract tourists (tourist)? Is it the same as making ourselves a slave like in the colonial times? We discard the traditional term then rearrange

and restructure dance aesthetics and also dance philosophical thought. Structuring as Folk Dance, Classical Dance, Modern Dance, and Postmodern Dance perspective is much more equal than we generalize the entire dances in West Java as traditional or new creations. Each dance always has the perspectives and paradigms that attached on behind the dance. What is a dance? A question that investigate areas of epistemology and ontology, and we should dare to speak based on the sources of the idea of indigenous communities. In fact, the essence of dance is not motion, an ice-breaker on the mindset that too 'ivory tower'. We learn to look back the perspective and paradigms of folk dance aesthetic that is so minimalist and has simple motion.

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SUNDANESE INDIGENOUS CULTURE:
Communication Media and Preservation Strategy

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Abstract

Culture war phenomenon in modern media is one of our concerns today. Popular culture has defeated indigenous culture. Modern mass media framing is more concerned in popular culture than in the traditional one. Less attention to traditional culture makes some problems such as conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia, popularity of Korean style, and the decreasing sense of nationalism among the youth. Avoiding the loss of our culture, we need to re-think to give a new solution in modern communication media and preservation strategy.

Sundanese culture is used in West Java Province. West Java has 46 million of population and a lot of traditional dances, songs, instruments, sports, games and traditional ceremonies. There is also some local media that support modern cultural preservation such as book, television program, radio program, newspaper, magazine, and media online. Modern events are also held to preserve Sundanese culture through a performing stage and festivals. To preserve traditional culture, some people make traditional community and ethnic-business. Moreover, West Java Government Official of **Tourism and Culture Department has been taking some cultural preservation program.**

This research will explore Sundanese culture by using a descriptive qualitative research with literary study, observation, and interview. The object of research are Salamina Book : Sundanese wedding, Hariring Sunda

BandungTV television program, Sipatuhanan Radio, Galura Tabloid Sunda, Mangle Magazine, and Salaka Online. Some Sundanese event are also observed such as Teater Sunda Kiwari performing, Drama Basa Sunda Festival. The last is about Paguyuban Sunda community and Saung Udjo company. This study aims at exploring the modern media and to formulate a new culture preservation strategy which collaborates with government, local society and public tourism.

KEYWORDS : Indigenous culture, Mass Media, Culture Preservation Strategy

Intoduction

Sundanese culture is used in West Java Province which has 46 million of population. Sundanese culture consists of traditional dancings, songs, instruments, sports, games and traditional ceremonies.

Unfortunately, there is still small attention from people to preserve their sundanese culture. Even West Java already has local government regulation to encourage people using Sundanese language on Wednesday, especially for education institution, government and society. But the application of this regulation is still weak. Most people are still not aware about this regulation (Tempo.co, July 2012)

The rise of K-pop (Korean popular culture) in youth lives makes Indonesian young people adopted Korean popular culture to their lifestyle. They adore Korean band, movie and food. They also follow the Korean artist's look as their life style.

On the other hand, there is only a few local media that support local culture preservation. These business media produce book, television program, radio program, newspaper, magazine, media online, event and also performing business.

Moreover, West Java Government Official of **Tourism and Culture Department has been taking some cultural preservation program such as providing cultural information in their website and also making routine cultural performing for public.**

Research Problem

This research will explore about communication media that play role in preventing Sundanese culture in West Java. The selected media are Salamina Book, Mangle magazine, Pojok Si Cepot local television program, radio program, and Saung Udjo.

Discussion
1.   Culture

Taylor (in Sulaeman,1995:10) says that culture or civilization implies a broad, encompassing understanding of the complex feelings of a nation which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and other which is obtained from members of the public . Whereas Kroeber and Kluckhon (in Sulaeman, 1995: 11) suggests the definition of culture is: "A variety of patterns, behaviors, thoughts, feelings, and reactions which were obtained and mainly derived by the symbols that make up the distinctive achievement of human groups, including the realization of material things; central essence of culture consists of traditional ideals or ideologies, and especially attachment to those values.

Cultural heritage, according to Davidson (1991:2) defined as 'the product or result of physical culture from different traditions and spiritual achievements from the past that become principal elements in the identity of a group or a nation. So cultural heritage is the result of physical (tangible) and cultural values (intangible) of the past.

These Cultural values from the past (intangible heritage) is derived from local cultures in Indonesia, including: traditions, folklore and legends, native language, history, creativity (dance, song, drama performances), adaptability and uniqueness of the local community (Galla, 2001: 12). Local word does not refer to a geographical area, in particular districts / cities, with clear administrative boundaries, but rather refers to the culture of the region that is frequently exceeded administrative areas and also do not have a clear border line with other cultural areas. The word can also refer to the local culture in indigenous people's culture (inlander) which has been called as a cultural heritage.

Physical cultural heritage (tangible heritage) is often classified as immovable heritage cultural heritage and movable heritage. Immovable cultural

heritage is usually located in the open and consists of: sites, historic places, land and water landscapes, ancient buildings and / or historic hero statues (Galla, 2001: 8). The cultural heritage of moving usually placed in the room and consists of: cultural heritage objects, works of art, archives, documents, and photographs, printed work, audiovisual form of tapes, videos, and movies (Galla, 2001: 10).

2.   Communication Media

According to Wilbur Schramm, the mass media functions are information, education, entertainment and social control. Mass media has a role for preserving local culture to enrich Indonesian culture. But, most of media today lead to negative culture, for example pop culture. Popular culture characteristics are instant, shallow, self-centered, and market-oriented. It could be music, song, film, novel, or in the form of makeup and lifestyle. Many consider as due to Westernized modernity. It also called as materialism, consumerism, violence and Hedonism. Materialism is familiar with measuring success from material, mass consumerism by buying products without think to its benefit, violence means demand to have rights without taking into consideration the logic and the democratic process. And the last is live for pleasure.

Today pop culture can also in other version such as entertainment, food, fashion, life style, and where to get along. Teenage pop culture spend their time to take good entertainment on TV, film or online media as well, eating only foods that come from overseas, using western branded clothes and even haircuts and the hijab made of foreign country. They use earrings, tattoos, idolize pop singer who simply indulgence in matters of love without idealism. As well as teens who hang out with her friends just for fun at the malls and cafes.

Pop culture is also disseminated by the mass media. Mass media is more concern to disseminate pop culture because it has more value for the advertiser than traditional culture. Only a few media still have a mission for preserving traditional culture. Mass media can do its function such as to inform, to educate, to entertain and to give social control to preserve traditional culture. For example, media can inform where we can get information about traditional culture, community and event. Media can educate people about the history of

culture, its value and how to preserve it. Media can entertain people by making traditional culture performing program in television. Media can also publish public service announcement about preservation of traditional culture program as social control.

3. Sundanese Media

This paper will explore about some Sundanese Media and their characteristic. The media are Salamina Book, Pojok Si Cepot STV, Rodja Radio Program, Mangle Magazine, Saung Udjo and Kiwari Theatre Community.

3.1 Salamina Book

A wedding often lose their meaning because of modernization. The modernization which is offering practical things displaces the noble cultural value . Whereas culture in a wedding procession will help the bride to create sacred intention of the wedding.

Bridal makeup and Sundanese traditional wedding etiquette is one of a series of significant cultural that needs to be disseminated. This book includes "cooperation" forms between tradition and modernization to create am up-dated collaboration, but still sacred. Starting from the concept of make-up, bun, fashion, until Sunda unique rituals packed within each page.

This book gives discourse about an extraordinary cultural heritage which must be preserved. Although the application is adjusted to the lifestyle trend. Foreword by Mrs. Sendy Dede Yusuf (wife of West Java Vice Governor). Salamina book content are

a. Tradition and bridal Sundanese makeup and Sundanese traditional wedding etiquette

b. Bridal makeup Sunda (the make-up, hairdo, the flower)

c. Sundanese princess (makeup for the traditional ceremony)

d. Sunda Siger (makeup for wedding party)

e. Makeup for wedding ceremonies in a series of traditional Sundanese: Application (the proposal), recitation (the prayer), ngebakan (the shower), Ngeuyeuk seureuh (The symbolic gestures)

3.2. Mangle Magazine

"Mangle" in Sundanese means jasmine garlands decorate the bun woman. Mangle become more fragrant day to day. First published in October 1957 in Bogor, in 1962 and now based in Bandung. The Mangle vision is to become the media which Sundanese people proud of. Its mission are maintain the literature and philosophy Ki Sunda, being a communication media of Sundanese people, preserve the Sundanese culture with various ethnic groups and maintain balance profit between business oriented and the preservation of Sundanese.

Content Policy in Mangle is consist of entertainment value and cultural aspects of Sunda. It also provide cultural issues of national and international. The proportion of Mangle is 55% of entertainment and Human Interest, 20% Culture and History, 20% Religion and Education, 5% Informative News etc. Mangle Magazine rubrics:

❖ Guest / Profile, rubric to introduce public figures
❖ Nyingraykeun Lalangse Aheng, contains article with magical value and traditional medical treatment
❖ Saketeng Lawang, prolog from the editor.
❖ Katurug Katutuh, tragic story of lige
❖ Koropak, letters from reader to the editor.
❖ Munara Cahaya, article about Islam religion
❖ Implik-implik, contains of habits, entertainment or other unique side of society.
❖ Kingkilaban, contains breaking news or info, gossip of leaders, artists, humanists

- Carita Pondok (Carpon), a fiction story
- Carita Nyambung, a serial story.
- Columns, critical view and scientific articles
- Mangle Alit, writing of children
- Mangle Rumaja, writing of the youth
- Katumbiri, writings of local news or other news, in social cultural issues etc.
- Bale Bandung, writings of Sundanese culture
- Sajak and Dangding, Sundanese modern and traditional poetry
- Discussion, articles about economic, environmental, cultural, educational and other problems.
- Nyusur Galur Mapay Raratan, writing about histories which is connected to Sundanese culture
- Barakatak, humor story
- Lempa Lempi Lempong, rubric of critical question and answer but humorous.
- Tarucing Chakras, Rubric puzzle

3.3 Saung Angklung Udjo

Udjo, Sundanese figures, famous as angklung performer. Born in March 5th, 1929. Little Udjo started his journey in music, art and culture, since he was 4 years old. Saung Angklung Udjo (SAU) is one–stop cultural workshop, consists of : performance venue, bamboo handicraft centre, and bamboo instrument workshop. Apart from that, SAU has an honorable function as an educational laboratory and training centre to preserve the Sundanese culture – Angklung in particular.

Established in 1966 by Udjo Ngalagena and his beloved wife Uum Sumiati, with a strong purpose and dedication to conserve and preserve Sundanese traditional art and culture. Saung Angklung Udjo believes that harmonic relation is symbiosis mutualism which creates smile, warmth inside heart, and certifiable effort based on credibility for fulfilling the corporation goals.

Long time ago, angklung was an instrument that had religious ritual function. The main function of angklung was as a medium to invite Dewi Sri (rice goddess/prosperity) to come down to the earth and gave fertility to plants. They used tritonik (three tones) angklung, tetra tonik (four tones) and pentatonic (five tones).

Saung Angklung Udjo is one of the best tourism destinations in West Java. It is not only for local but also international tourist. In fact, Saung Udjo often receives invitation to perform in overseas.

3.4 Pojok Si Cepot (STV Program, Traditional Comedy)

Tells about the Cepot who has become icons of Sundanese humorous figure. Impressions this 30-minute comedy, broadcast on STV local TV station. Packaged as creative among modern puppet show performance that elevates the story of daily life coupled with creative works hardset STV team completes the look of this program becomes more attractive and popular.

- The topic of Pojok Si Cepot is about hot issues in society. It can be from politic, economics, social, cultural etc but in a comedian way.

3.5 Dakwah (Sundanese radio program at Bandung Rodja Radio 1476AM)

First broadcasted in June 2011 as a religious radio, care about health and social problems, with no commercial advertising breaks. Its vision is to give right understanding of Islam and the Qur'an as appropriate Sunnah according to the understanding of the best generations of people.

The goal is to make Radio Rodja as electronic media for disseminating Islam. It gives religion progam with the Sundanese language. The strength of this sundanese religious program is can be downloaded through the webs

3.6 Teater Sunda Kiwari

36-year journey Sunda Kiwari Theatre. A fairly long period to manage an association that remains consistent with the goals, ideals that sustain language and culture (Sunda). Through the medium of theater, Theatre Sunda kiwari sought preservation efforts Sundanese values.

Long before the nomenclature of West Java, local regulations have now been assigned to the Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2003 on the preservation of the language and culture of Sundanese, Sundanese kiwari Theatre since its foundation in 1975 has been trying to develop, maintain, preserve, and develop good Sundanese in any show or other program activities.

Theatre is one of effective media in an effort to preserve the language and culture introduced. The player automatically learn the history of culture, traditions, tools, and types of art, as well as other things. Similarly, the community as appreciators, it will eventually get to know the traditions and cultural values.

Sunda Kiwari Theatre Drama Festival held Drama Basa Sunda Festival (FDBS) every two years since the start of 1990 until now. At each festival, the number of participants is always increase.

Sunda Kiwari Theatre received an award from the Indonesian Record Museum (MURI) in 2008. As a medium of learning, FDBS has stimulate the participants, screenwriter, and the audience, to make observations and review of the Sundanese cultural wealth. FDBSP 2011 held Sunda kiwari Theatre in collaboration with the Department of Tourism and Culture of West Java.

4   Government Media

(http://disparbud.jabarprov.go.id).

Department of Tourism and Culture of West Java has a website to inform society about traditional culture from West Java

It consist of Department Profile, News, Article, Tourism Information and database, Event, Art Group, Online Registration, and

Complain. Profile consist of the organization structure and job description. News consist of news from web admin about department activitiy and publication from newspaper. Article is a writing that connected to the Sundanese culture. Information consist of Natural Object, Cultural Tourism, Attraction Tourism, Recreation, Historical Place, Specialty interest. Tourism data base is consist of tourism village, traditional games etc. Event consist of traditional, national and international cultural event that will be held in West Java. Art group is information about registered art communities with their contact. Online registration is a page for people to join to this website and put their information community to be published.

5   Preservation Strategy

During this research, there is some problem from Sundanese people in preventing their culture. From Sundanese culture book, we see that there is only small number book that tell about sundanese culture in a modern book store. So, the publishing company should be aware of preservation by making more corporation effort with government to produce more Sundanese cultural books. Local writer should be encouraged to create Sundanese book with popular style to push the selling.

Mangle magazine is difficult to find in modern store because the low number of readers. The magazine may change their format to adjust with market needs. The book retail should give wide opportunity for printed media that preserve traditional culture.

TV and radio program have responsibility as a mainstream media that can preserve traditional culture in wide range. It should be a TV program that contain of culture in popular way. If they can make an interesting program, public will watch, and advertisement will sponsor the program.

Community can do more effort to have more sponsorship from government or company. Government has obligation to preserve the culture. Companies can help in funding as their company social responsibility program.

Government should continue the effort in preservation. The website content is still incomplete, small number of the database and user.

The preservation strategy is to collaborate all the cultural stakeholder, government, media, company, community, public to work together to preserve

their culture. It should be an effective communication among them. With the internet, stakeholder can communicate each other to make their program more effective and efficient. For example, media industry can ask government to give tax subsidy to media program which produce traditional cultural product. Community can communicate to government to help them publish the product or service and ask company social responsibility. The key success factor for this preservation is the role of government. It is government responsibility to make preservation program and public follow the program.

Conclusion

Communication media can play a significant role in preserving traditional culture. But today media industry is tend to disseminate popular culture more than traditional ones. In West Java Province, Sundanese culture preservation awareness is still low. It showed from the small number of sundanese book and magazine in modern bookstore, a few radio and TV program has cultural program, and sundanese community activity is rarely found. Government should do more effort to make a successful preservation program for the Indonesian culture. Otherwise our traditional culture will be extinct.

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THE COMMODIFICATION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN PRINT ADVERTISEMENT

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ABSTRACT

The advertisement of Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI) with their tagline "*Melayani dengan Sepenuh Hati*" is published on a full-page of *Kompas* newspaper. The advertisement describes a man wearing a tie and a formal uniform fitted with the identity of BRI banking staff. He teaches a man from Papua on how to swipe a card. It is very interesting to look at the image of interaction between these two men in the print advertisement. In a glance, this advertisement seems neutral. At least it tries to be neutral and objective, but I believe that every text always has potential to be read critically. The aims of this analysis are to read the message conveyed through the image and text of the advertisement, which cannot be read as taken for granted, and to uncover its ideology. The research uses Barthes' semiotics to analyze the visual aspects that consist of image and text and also the connection between them. The analysis gives us description that BRI is keen to target indigenous people in Papua as a means of "selling" modern technology. Banking with modern technology has penetrated our lives, even in the most primitive societies. With their slogan "*Terus memBRI kemudahan di seluruh wilayah nusantara*" BRI tries to convince their audience that they can be easily found in all regions of Indonesia, including in remote areas. The combination of the photograph, tagline, slogan and body copy determine a powerful message. The Papua man in this advertisement becomes the object that facilitates communication between

producers and readers. His position is so strong that the message will be different if his position is replaced with other indigenous people. This print advertisement contains the ideology of capitalism; there is a commodification of indigenous people in the selling of modernity. Furthermore, this advertisement seems to deconstruct a mindset of Indonesian people. The banking advertisement is used to introduce a culture of "saving", but BRI advertisement informs that modern technologies make it easy to earn money or pay without cash. The consequence of this message is when the reception is not appropriate there will be a new problem that is the culture of "debt".

K E Y W O R D S : Commodification, Indigenous, Print Advertisement.

Introduction

The advertisement of Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI) with their slogan "*Melayani dengan Sepenuh Hati*" is published on a full-page of Kompas newspaper. This advertisement is eye-catching and different because of the huge size of photograph and the displayed image. The scene on the photograph seems to transmit a message naturally, but I believe that every text has potential to be read critically. This advertisement describes a man wearing a tie and a formal uniform fitted with the identity of BRI banking staff. He teaches a man from Papua on how to swipe a card. Interestingly, the two men do the interaction in front of the Papua man's house, instead at the bank or at the common business centers. This image makes a difference where banking service is not limited by place but can reach areas that might seem impossible to be served.

This image is not only interesting but also meaningful. I find this advertisement is important to be analyzed. The aims of this analysis are to

read the message conveyed through image and text of the advertisement, which cannot be read as taken for granted, and to uncover its ideology.

Research Problem

There is no widely accepted definition of indigenous peoples. The World Bank's states that "because of the varied and changing contexts in which indigenous peoples live and because there is no universally accepted definition of indigenous peoples, this policy does not define the term. Indigenous peoples may be referred to in different countries by such terms as 'indigenous ethnic minorities,' 'aboriginals,' 'hill tribes,' 'minority nationalities,' 'scheduled tribes,' or 'tribal groups' (Operational Directive 4.10)." Papua original societies are in the category of indigenous people. These days, Papua indigenous people live in the condition of being apprehensive either in economic life, culture, or politic. (Selangkah, 2011: 154). The number of entrants to Papua who dominate the political economic life enlarges the feeling of marginalization of Papua people in their territory (Chauvel, 2005 & Widjojo, dkk., 2009: 9). Economic potency continue to be exploited by economic capitalism through many power that constructed by capitalist (Gadaby, 2011: 33). In Papua context, most of the economic sector is controlled by immigrant or non-Papua (Wayar, 2011: 207). Economic reality of Papua is still in the category of poor and underdeveloped (Degei, 2011: 193). Their "life" sustainability begins to be threatened by global investors that destroy Papua in the form of sawit/palm plantation, shopping malls, hotels through the entry of entrepreneurs and other large investors (Suryawan, 2011: 225). Layered discrimination is also occurred because Papua not only geographically distant, as an eastern area of Indonesia, but also "distant" culturally (Suryawan, 2011: vi). Papua always becomes the battle place between modernity and conservatism of tradition (Fatubun, 2011: 112).

The information about Papua indigenous' life condition gives us description that their life is far from wealthy and it means the life of Papua indigenous communities is far from modernity. The modern civilization demands efficiency and affectivity (Masri, 2010:27). I believe that the content of this advertisement does not only present the image of interaction between these two men using a card on Electronic Data Capture (EDC) machine in front of

Papua's traditional house, but there is an ideology behind them. As we know users of the card like debit card or credit card are mostly urban communities with a modern life style. In today's situation, most of Papua's indigenous communities know about barter transaction. Some of them do not use money to buy things, but exchange something to get something they need. It means that looking at the condition of indigenous people; it would be a great leap for them to use this kind of technology. There is a huge gap between reality and representation of reality in this print advertisement. The image is not the reality but at least it is perfect *analogon* and it is exactly this analogical perfection which, to common sense, defines the photograph (Barthes, 1977: 17).

Methodology

This research uses Barthes' semiotics to analyze image and text in this advertisement that consist of photograph, tagline, slogan and bodycopy. Semiotics helps us not to take representations for granted as reflections of reality; enabling us to take them apart and consider whose reality they represent (Chandler, 2007: 82). In semiotic sense, signs take the form of words, images, sounds, gestures and objects. Contemporary semioticians study how meanings are made and how reality is represented (Chandler, 2007).

There are two linked operations that are required to complete the representation process by which meaning are produced. First, we need a basic code which links a particular piece of material which is cut and sewn in a particular way (signifier) to our mental concept of it (signified). Second, a wider level, which links these signs to broader, cultural themes, concepts or meanings. Barthes called the first, descriptive level of denotation. The second level, that of connotation. Denotation is the simple, basic, descriptive level, where consensus is wide and most people would agree on the meaning. At the second level, connotation, wider meaning is no longer a descriptive level of obvious interpretation. Connotations are not purely personal meanings; they are determined by the codes to which the interpreter has access. Connotation and denotation are often described in terms of level of meaning. This second level of signification, Barthes suggest, is more 'general, global and diffuse…'It deals with 'fragments of ideology (Barthes, 1977, Barthes, 1981; Barthes 1983).

Ideology propounded by Barthes mostly operates at the level of connotative (Procter. 2004: 66).

The photograph in this print ad has the strongest impression than the other visual elements. The analysis of this advertisement began with the photograph, then text which includes tagline, slogan and bodycopy. It is also important to analyze the relation between image and text. The photograph doesn't stand alone. The 'meaning' of a photograph, does not lie exclusively in the image, but in the conjunction of image and text. Two discourses, the discourse of written language and the discourse of photography are required to produce and 'fix' the meaning (Hall, 1972). Reading a photograph also depends closely on the reader's culture, knowledge of the world, and ethical and ideological stances (Barthes, 1961: 29). Barthes adds that 'the viewer receives at one and the same time the perceptual message and the cultural message' (Barthes, 1964: 36). Photography 'seems to found in nature the signs of culture, masking the constructed meaning under the appearance of the given meaning' (Barthes, 1964: 45-46). John Tagg argues that 'the camera is never neutral. The representation produces is highly coded' (Tagg, 1988, 63-63; cf. 187).

Discussion
Analysis of Image

Putting aside the textual message, we are left with the pure image. This image straightaway provides a series of discontinuous signs. The series collections of different objects transmit the idea of banking services. At first glance, I find that there is a binary opposition in this advertisement between the banking staff and the Papua man. Their appearances, clothes and attributes determine the image of urban and rural people, digital and conventional, modern and traditional. This advertisement describes banking with modern technology that has penetrated our lives, even in the most primitive societies. Papua, which is considered the most primitive, can master modern technology, thus even more so for other people in remote areas. The banking staff is willing to come to the house of indigenous people. The banking staff is an active person, meanwhile the indigenous person is described as passive person who waits for modernity to come into his life. This condition can be understood because one of the

biggest problems in Papua is always distance and transportation. Rural areas are very difficult to reach because it is remote and there are very limited transportation available (Suryawan, 2011: 224).

At the first level, to get any meaning, I need to decode each of the signifiers in the image into their appropriate concepts: e.g. banking staff, uniform, Papua man, koteka, EDC, card (debit card or credit card), traditional Papua house (Honai). These yield a set of signs with a simple, literal message of meaning: how a banking staff teaches a Papua man to use technology in front of Honai (denotation). I believe that this image also has a wider cultural meaning. If we ask, 'What is BRI telling us by using this picture of how a banking staff teaches a Papua man to use technology in front of Honai?", I suggest that we may come up with the message: 'that BRI has a wide service, and that all the societies including the rural area can be served and there is no better answer to make people wealthy than capitalism (connotation). The essence of capitalism is economic freedom that individuals have the right to pursue their financial goals without the government getting involved.

The idea that we have in the scene represented is the financial transaction, specifically card payment process. This activity needs a technology called debit card or credit card and EDC machine. There is an activity to withdraw money without the need to see the actual physical form. A signified which itself implies two values: that we don't need money (conventional) to pay but we need a card (digital). Its signifier is the card. To read this sign requires knowledge which is as part of the habits of a widespread culture where 'paid by money' is opposed to 'paid by card (plastic)' which is considered more practical. Second, it is not necessary to pay in cash but credit. Its signifier is the EDC machine. By swiping a debit card on EDC machine, the bank can detect our data so we can pay from our savings account and when we use a credit card we don't need to pay immediately but can be indebted in our credit account. To read this sign also requires knowledge where 'paid by cash' is opposed to 'paid by credit' where we may owe. This card payment is convenient but unfortunately it also makes people more consumptive. A study about credit cards and spending habits found that subjects paid more when they were instructed to use a credit card rather than cash (Folgate, 2012). Here, everybody is asked to make a transaction, which means using money to consume. The increase of life

commodification by giant corporations transforms society of rational citizens into consumers, among many others, non rational goods offered on advertisements and public relations industry (Barker, 2009: 159).

Analysis of Text

In this advertisement, besides the image, there is a strong message in its tagline and slogan. Tagline and slogan are similar, but they are not one and the same. A tagline is a brief phrase that will help the corporation be well known in its industry for years to come or the long-term identifiers. The main purpose of taglines is to help the organization market its products or services to a certain demographic. It defines the brand's benefit within the marketplace, and becomes a consistent touchstone which the audience automatically associates with the product. Tagline also briefly states what the organization's goals are for the product. Slogan is only used in certain advertising and marketing campaigns that an organization decides to take part in. The slogan changes all the time so that the slogan can be current and resonate well with consumers. Slogans are used to identify a brand's current advertising campaign, and to make it stand out in an unforgettable and creative way. Slogans will change regularly to best augment a particular campaign (King, 2010; Mr.3, 2012). By using the tagline "*Melayani Dengan Setulus Hati*" the reader are directed to see that by visiting Papua man's house and sitting on the ground with him, this banking staff sincerely serves Papua man. The slogan "*Terus memBRI kemudahan di seluruh wilayah nusantara*" direct us to look further about BRI mission. The words "*memBRI*" is to reinforce the impression that the BRI bank is the only one who could provide convenience service. Here are the contents of bodycopy:

> Hari ini kami mengukuhkan komitmen kami untuk mengembangkan dan memperluas bisnis mikro BANK BRI demi menggali potensi masyarakat di seluruh wilayah nusantara, dengan konsep dari desa ke kota. Dengan teknologi terkini kami mengedukasi masyarakat untuk mendapatkan kemudahan layanan perbankan.
>
> Hari ini komitmen kami menjadi bank yang tersebar dan terbesar di Indonesia, kami lengkapi menjadi lebih dari 8.300 jaringan kantor dan lebih dari 10.300 ATM *real time on line* (di luar jaringan ATM bersama) hingga ujung nusantara.

Mari bergabung & manfaatkan layanan e-channel kami (ATM, CDM, Kios, EDC, SMS Banking, Phone Banking, Mobile Banking, dan Internet Banking).

The first paragraph in the bodycopy mentions that "*Komitmen bank BRI adalah: mengembangkan dan memperluas bisnis mikro BANK BRI dengan cara menggali potensi masyarakat dengan konsep dari desa sampai ke kota*" is very interesting because the concept is from village to city not the opposite. There is emphasis to explore the potential of rural communities. This concept is keen to see that the village market is still wide open. There are a lot of citizens that are unreachable by public banks because of administrative terms and geographically difficult (Prasetiantono, 2012). The bodycopy also mentions that BRI's target market is micro businesses, so this explanation opposes the interpretation about consumption process. Furthermore, BRI bank also mentions that "*Dengan teknologi terkini kami mengedukasi masyarakat untuk mendapatkan kemudahan layanan perbankan*". It explains that with technology, BRI educates the public to have easy banking services. The word "educate" in this text shows that BRI has a noble contribution to society. In the first and second paragraph of the body copy, the words "*hari ini*" and "*komitmen*" seem important because they are repeated twice in the beginning of sentences. The words "*wilayah nusantara*" that has been mentioned in the tagline is also mentioned in the bodycopy twice. They mean that time and place are their big concern and there is no limitation for them to serve.

In the second paragraph, BRI completes their statement with the current data in the field of the number of offices and ATM networks. Throughout the whole advertisement, the word ATM is mentioned three times. Here, BRI proves that they are also excellent in quantity, that the amount of their facilities can cover all areas of Indonesia including rural areas. The phrase "real time online" that prints in italic type emphasizes that their services are evenly distributed throughout the country.

The third paragraph is about an invitation to join and utilize the services. The content of the text is not directly related to the card and EDC as described on the image but wider, including: ATM, CDM, Kios, EDC, SMS Banking, Phone Banking, Mobile Banking, dan Internet Banking. All those facilities refer

to digital technologies that are easily used for transactions. In this paragraph, there is implicit inducement to consume.

This advertisement signifies rather than represent. It does so with primary reference to codes rather than to reality. The image in this advertisement is polysemy; but tagline, slogan and bodycopy are able to direct the reader to the intended meaning which is particularly about the excellence of BRI Bank. Text in the bodycopy can obscure the connotative meaning of the image. Text has powerful message that covers the ideology in making the image seem natural and taken for granted.

The Commodification of the Indigenous People

Overall, in this advertisement the image of Papua man is the strongest signifier. Most of Indonesian societies know that Papua is where the most "isolated" indigenous people live. Papua is the most distant place for the people of Indonesia. Papua is not only far in terms of geography, but also most of us only know Papua in terms of "primitivism". Despite its limitation, the Papua man in this advertising is perfect to represent something distant in geographic, demographic, economic, social and political. Papua man in this print advertisement becomes the object that facilitates communication between producers and readers. His position is so strong that the message will be different if his position is replaced with other indigenous people. Although there is an image of inequality in this advertisement, it still makes BRI bank more prominent, especially when BRI bank can penetrate the most distant places. It means that other places are accessible.

The Papua man becomes a commodity to sell the excellence of BRI bank. Commodity is no longer object with the use value but commodity is a sign. Baudrillard argues that objects in consumer society are no longer purchased for use values, but rather as commodity-signs in a society. The exchange of symbolic meaning plays the role in commodity (Barker, 2009: 115). Commodity is something that is available for sale on the market and commodification is a process associated with capitalism, where the object, the quality and the sign transformed into a commodity (Barker, 2009: 14). The ideology reflected in this advertisement is ideology of capitalism. It describes how capitalism has

penetrated through to the area which is often considered primitive. In this advertisement, there is a commodification of indigenous people in the selling of modernity.

Furthermore, this advertisement seems to deconstruct a mindset of Indonesian people. In my opinion, Papua indigenous people still have to learn to use money and how to save them. The banking advertisement is used to introduce a culture of "saving", but BRI advertisement informs that modern technologies make it easy to earn money or pay without cash. This kind of message is imposed to the indigenous people who in fact are not yet ready for drastic change from conventional to digital and traditional to modern. The consequence of this message is when the reception is not appropriate there will be a new problem that is the culture of "debt". Advertising are ideological in order to obscure economic inequality in production level with the image about consumption that is free and equal (Williamson, 1978).

Conclusion

The photograph is a decisive force in the process of presenting information. In a denotative level, it describes how a banking staff teaches a Papua man to use technology in front of Honai. In a connotative level lies ideology of capitalism which is illustrated as the economic freedom that individuals have the right to pursue their financial goals without the government getting involved. This advertisement could make their readers believe that capitalism can make indigenous people wealthy. The idea of representing the activity of card payment process contains an implicit message of consuming.

In this advertisement, the text *directs* the readers through the signified of the image, causing them to avoid some and receive others. Text serves as anchorage and helps perceive correctly about the excellence of BRI bank. The tagline, slogan and bodycopy can lead readers to look at the positive image of BRI Bank. The text is powerful to cover the ideology, so the reader reads this advertisement as natural.

The commodification of signs using indigenous people to "sell" the banking product has shown that ideology of capitalism has penetrated subtly. The image of the advertisement should be addressed judiciously because it can

lead to multi-perception. Advertisements must avoid offending certain parties because of inequality in its images, especially concerning certain ethnic and race that are illustrated clearly and legibly.

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PACKAGING DESIGN:
Visual Culture to Design Culture

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Abstract

Discussing Packaging (packaging design) is not just about technical matters but also about understanding the overall design. Actual design will result in 2 (two) things, namely to understand (understanding, encoding) and to create (creating, encoding). Design has a very broad scope, both material and human aspects, physical, non physical, concrete-abstract, mind-body, non material-material, tangible- intangible, so that the design knowledge itself is also very wide-ranging. They are involving sensory data, the unconscious, feelings, emotions, ideas, concepts, intuition, even something unspeakable (unexplained-tacit knowledge), which makes this different from other disciplines. Similarly, the packaging, does not only mean as a place to store, facilitate, protect, send, and so on. Packaging (currently) far 'means', particularly changes in packaging of Visual Culture to Design Culture.

Keywords : Packaging, Visual Culture, Design Culture

Introduction

A meaning to design aesthetic not only observes through design work made into artifac but also includes cultural value and changes happenend in community. It appears as a living civilization structure and becomes interactive-synergy combination between human and nature up to the social environment in the

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wide meaning. Likewise, packaging design, it is present and borne from various considerations of thinking, idea, sense and soul of designer and related to invention in science and technology, social environment, set of value, culture, aesthetic rule, economic, politic up to development projection of the future (Yan Yan Sunarya, 2001)

Packaging design is a creative business connecting the form, structure, material, color, image, typhography and design elements and product information, so that the product can be marketed (Klimchuck, 2007). Packaging design has function to wrap, protect, deliver, remove, save, identify and differentiate a product in market. Finally, packaging is functioned as product marketing by communicating personality or function of consumption product uniquely.

A packaging comes from the word "packed" means arranged (wrapped) neat; clean; tidy; settled, completed. Packaging also constitutes a result of packing or wrapped for protecting goods (business), while the meaning of wrapped is a noun for things wrapped up by paper (leave, plastic, etc); other meaning is what kind of the thing used to wrap. In other words, the meaning of packaging in this paper is a material in the form of leave, paper, or plastic used to wrap food (Setiawan, 2007).

Packaging is also functioned as an aesthetic means to communicate with everyone from various different backgrounds, interests and professions. Therefore, knowledge about anthropology, sociology, psychology, ethnography can give benefit in the process of design and proper design option. Especially, knowledge about variety of socials, cultures, non biological human behavior and senses of culture and cultural differences that may help to understand how visual element can communicate the product well.

The above scheme shows several factors influen-cing

Figure 1: Factors influencing Packaging Design

packaging process, the essence of which as distibutor of creativity, packaging design becomes a means to express. It is not too much to say that packaging design is a poduct expression not personal expression and moreover, the personal view of designer-marketing itself either its color, form, material or typograhpy style shall has slightly influence a packaging design. Product expression can be achieved through creative process that physical and visual elements collectively communicate emotion, culture, social, psychology and information to customer. That is vizualization problem to be the point of packaging design.

This paper is a part of research performed by writer in order to fulfill the requirement of dissertation of postgraduate Program of Gadjah Mada University, major in Cultural and Media Review and the topic of this dissertation: **"Marking Network in Packaging Design Culture, Case Study: Food Packaging Design of Small – Medium Scale Businesses in East Java".**

Visual Culture

Packaging design is one of the parts of visual culture development. The development of visual culture itself is in accordance with the development of human thought, including pure art, television, photography, film up to advertising field. Actually, visual culture based on its development can be understood by 2 (two) ways, namely dominant cognitive and representation form of modernity. There are two unforgettable figures W.J.T. Michell and Mirzoef. The development of visual culture is connected to western people thoughts concerning marketing target of product and urbanization effect of industrial revolution, then, developed quickly such as department store, shopping catalogue, tourism up to entertainment.

Thus, the visual expression related to technology which ranges from photography, film up to animation appears. This does not only include image but also text as well as screen culture that keep on developing along with technology following it. Michell argues that it is the visual era where place and asumption of the people involve in it (Guy Julier, 2007). Visual culture can be meant as the basis of observing method (visual is a medium of connecting in the certain time) with its complexities both social-cultural aspects up to lover expression in the certain time (Mitchell, 2002).

We can not separate the meaning of communication function here, where visual communication based on its name is communication through vision. Visual communication constitutes a sequence of process to deliver certain intention or purpose to other party using imaging media that read only by sense of vision. Visual communication combines art, sign, typography, image, graphic design, illustration and color in delivering it.

Visual sign and image bring meaning and intrepretation, while visual language carries concept and sign directly through form and symbol that then processed, understood, comprehended through the perception of observer according to the perception pattern that is owned and shaped by its social system. Packaging is a part of visual culture products.

As a real example, when the customer is in a department store to buy certain food product, he/ she will walk immediately to food division. And the customer vulgarly will be put forth tens and may be million products to be chosen. And right there, the visual 'war' occurs, how the customer establishes his/her option on certain product? The first thing to be seen is its visual form. This is a reality that visual culture becomes the part of life, no matter where, condition and no matter when?

Out of the issue concerning branding, advertisement, and its kind, visual culture has bombarded us that make us controlled. This is an era of hyper-visual attacking war world of cultural industry, where the commodification/ commoditization (production –

consumption) aspect plays significant role extremely. It means that if we can not be well behaved, we'll become customer keep on receiving and responding, even become the visual victim. From the moment we open our eyes rise from the bed up to closed (at the night) to go to sleep, our life always be showered by visual. Moreover, the
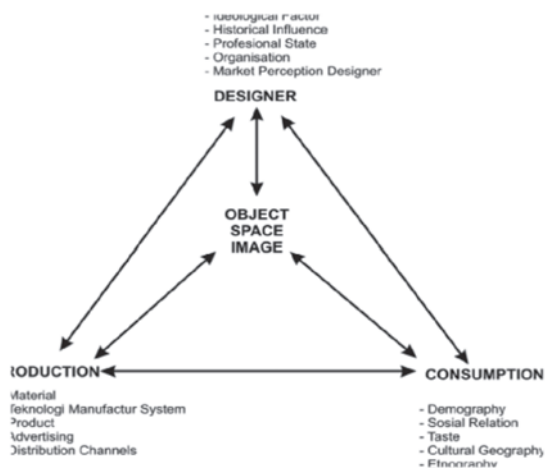

Figure 2 Domain of Design Culture

development of technology at present has made everything possible ranging from traditional development to cyber era.

In the above scheme, it shows that design cultural structure especially visual culture consists of three significant elements namely production-consumption and designer that functioned as 'intellectual actor' in structure. That each element is supported by aspect included in it.

Packaging Design Culture of Small - Medium Scale Bisinesses

Paul Du Gay and Stuart Hall discuss about 'culture circuit'. They tried to show the connection and relation between cultural element and its representation model so called share meaning. The language of role and function is operated as representation system just like verbal language. For representation means there is a meaning to message / idea as delivered to a language structure containing a meaning from certain representation, to certain community. Here, packaging design can be comprehended as revealed expression through media, sign, meaning, form, adopted style by packaging designer that finally producing a work having representation system function.

In the research dealing with packaging of Small – Medium Scale Businesses performed by writer at this time, for instance, many Small – Medium Scale Businesses at present make competition to keep on improving its product image through its product packaging. According to their opinion, through product packaging, the buyer will not only recognize the product but also know the sign delivered to them that they are able to be part of design cultural industry. At present time, Small – Medium Scale Businesses no longer controlled by big industry as evidenced by their packaging that has already taken part in many aspects, not only aesthetic but also function , production as well as marketing aspect.

In this case, presentation of food product packaging shall has typical presentation since the people tend to consume something evolutionary in popular culture that keep on taking place, especially domestic market segment. In other words, packaging design shall be brave to face the fabrication product. According to marketing term "content is certainly important but at present packing is also important.

Some packagings available in Small – Medium Scale Businesses:

No.	Image/ Picture	Name of Packaging
1		Stand up Pouch
2		Composite Can
3		Aluminum Foil
4		Hanger
5		Lamination
6		Nylon Plastic
7		Plain Plastic

Source: Grant Research of Doctor Moch. Junaidi Hidayat, 2010

The concept of packing is more important than its content which is also the important thing in packaging design principle. The wish of producer who has a dream to compete with fabrication product actually is the form of industrialization capitalism at present time. Big producer deliberately makes blind the customer by interesting presentation that actually not needed by them, so that the small player such as UKM indirectly shall follow the development of popular culture given by this big producer. The concept of "packing is more important" has begun to stuff the people at present.

The writer shows that the consumptive people at present actually has already considered the 'packing/ packaging' than its "content". It is happened not only to case study of packaging of fruit chip but also to other consumptive level, such as : at the time in supermarket, there are a lot of people " buy a pig in a poke" by buying product having very attracted packaging without knowing the content of it. This is a specific characteristic of cultural industry becoming trend at present than people spend their money for 'packing' not 'content'. A dilemmatic specific characteristic of consumption community.

Baudrillard argued that consumption is not the passion to buy so many commodities, one function of enjoyment, one function of individual, freeing the need, self satisfaction, wealth, or object consumption. The consumption is located in a meaning structure of one object, one system or sign code, one sign manipulation object manipulation as, one communication system (such as language), one exchange system (such as primitive kinship), one morality namely exchange system of ideology, difference production, isolation creating and individualism, one restrainer unintentionally both from social-economical-political sign system and a social logic (Ritzer; 2009, xxxiv)

UKM has tried to show its existence in competing with elite, in this case, big fabrication businessman. Small businessman must be creative in facing high competition under the control of big industrial capitalization. Creativity of UKM, especially food packaging shall be demanded, both 'content' and 'packing'. The understanding of this creativity level is along with Creativity Industry issue which currently widespread all over the world. Indeed, the world is attacked by creative industry 'virus' especially Indonesia giving its special consent in Government program through blue print of Creative Industry Development Plan 2009-2015.

Form Follow Fun

This perspective is inspired by phrase of an United States of America Architect, Louis Sullivan under Architecture modern movement called 'form follow function'.[1] As well as on building in Architecture, Sullivan actually want to criticize a modernization of Architecture movement that form of architecture building shall be based on, even , subject to its function (need) of its use.

From such phrase, the writer tried to include it in the context of packaging design for packaging it self in addition to be demanded to protect, wrap, deliver, remove, save, identify, also has 'burden' in order to be easily differentiated with other product when it is marketed so as to be known well by customer. Therefore, the form of packaging shall be flexible following the need of product becoming object of packaging. But it becomes 'harakiri' for packaging designer especially producer and customer in general, because in fact, the design becomes fix to the certain pattern such as box, square and other geometric form. In fact, design becomes unvaried, innovative, the design creativity turns into sterile, which effecting the product that is unrecognizable by the people at the time of being marketing giving the rise of the decline of marketing and influencing production as well as the customer view who will find difficulty in identifying the product as desired that perhaps causing production chaos.

Then, the term of form follow fun may be suitable with the condition at this time, where the three compositions of packaging design doer, namely : producer, customer and designer are provided with freedom to interpret packaging design of a product. Freedom in all aspects by keeping the main function of packaging. 'Form follows fun' can be meant as ideological phrase of social – cultural and economical condition interpreted in design to visualize yesterday's future (in writer perspective is the present time without leaving the aspect of changes happened before).

'Form follow fun ' will create so many options of innovative and creative design in order to stimulate the designer in sharpening its ability, to give producer brilliant option to tempt the customer by paying attention solely to production

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[1]   The tall office building artistically considered', in T. dan C. Benton dan D Sahrp (eds), form follow function, Crosby Lockwood Staples, London, 1975, hal. 13

up to marketing, while the customer its self will be given wide option to determine the taste as desired. This also creates touch point that stimulate visual much more, unforgettable experience and recognizable touch point.

In other words, the phrase of form follow fun just like packing and content, both must be seen as a body that impossible to be separated, where the packing becomes important size for the body in it, likewise the content that has important role for many parties than the presentation of packing.

Similarly to packaging design, form follows fun is a phrase of unification process between packing and content, beauty and eroticism in a body. Perhaps, it will create more chaos until the existence of migration of cross cultural ideology in packaging design itself emerges.

Closing

Based on the above review, it is concluded that reviewing packaging design (especially food packaging) related to consumption is not yet analyzed in great quantity and rarely seen. The field of consumption thinking always perceived by economical, psychological and sociological thinking. Packaging design also be understood as information media for producer in creating brand image awareness and brand awareness so that cognitive objective fulfillment (suggestion to buy lies on customer thought) shall be balanced by behavior objective (effort to persuade the customer to buy), and for the designer itself, it can be understood as creativity field and working productivity. For the customer, the fulfillment of the need will become the reason of consuming product that is possible to be consumption culture. Finally, the three of those parties (producer, customer –designer) must be able to build value culture, namely a process of evalutioner and not a revalutioner of production – consumption system completely.

Without being aware, consuming packaging is a lifestyle that all at once representing image, social-cultural up to economic status. Finally, packaging product design and consumption are intercombined perspective standardly and difficult to be released. Even though, sometimes, it becomes false conscious for its lover but it will become the true truth that must be interpreted positively. Since the consumption process here constitutes a quite significant instrument

to clarify   the life style of consuming community and design itself. Design consumption or thinking field as being consumed?

Design is a practice that can not be separated from object and human, so that it must be prespective as a whole and complex willingly or not, consciously or not, necessarily or not. Once again, this paper shows that design is an approach toward object and human all at once, therefore its review needs more holistic and complex approaches.For field of design includes the aspect of object and human, physic and non physic, concrete or abstract, body-mind, material-non material, tangible-intangible which always involve consciousness-unconsiousness, feeling, emotion , idea, concept, intuition, even undescribable (unexplainable)-tacit knowledge to be differentiated from other sciences as well as data collection from multi disciplinary sciences. Packaging is an exchange of visual culture into design culture especially for food of Small – Medium Scale Businesses that at present time has full awareness of the importance of visual presentation in its food product packaging.

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Panel 4

The Local Survivals in Global Change Challenges

STRATAGEMS CULTURE IN PRACTICES OF *AJI MODERENG*

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Introduction

For the Buginese, *Aji modereng* is one way of expressing their understanding and experience of the hajj pilgrimage, as hajj is a worship that has an exclusive position in their social relations. This is due to the fact that pilgrimage has a dimension of worship as well as the social one. People who have the title of hajj or female pilgrim to Mecca is not only interpreted as an individual who has fulfilled the five pillars of Islam as a complement Islam, but also will get the high social status in the society.

As the sacred and exclusive worship, the pilgrimage of hajj was always expected by the Buginese. Awards and positioning the high society formations always persist despite undergoing many changes, especially since the modernization of the countryside into Buginese. Since the decade of the 80s, modernization in areas ranging permeated society Buginese systems in remote villages. The perceived influence of modernization and cultural impact is considerable influence of information technology. They seemed to get oriented lifestyle of the modern lifestyle treats they watch through a glass screen, the magazines they consume, or from the social contact and cultural contacts with other people, especially those from the city.

The effect of this modern lifestyle contribute varieties in their pilgrimage practice. Hajj is no longer understood as a mere religious practice and no longer purely oriented spiritual values, but it has become a commodity that is always

contested mark to gain legitimacy and symbolic benefits, such as identity, lifestyle, and strategies to achieve a higher social status . The practice of pilgrimage is called by the Buginese as *aji modereng*. Although not everyone Buginese interpret and perform Hajj pilgrimage this kind of practice, but the practice *aji modereng* give an overview of the socio-cultural changes taking place in rural communities Buginese nowadays.

Research Problem

The practice of *aji modereng* is a phenomenon of modernity is happening in Buginese in rural communities. The phenomenon of modernity into Buginese society due to globalization and modernization of the system of life in a variety of sectors, providing logical consequences for the cultural strategy for the Buginese community in expressing modernity they experienced. Cultural strategy is meant here is the adaptation strategies undertaken by the Buginese in meaning and plays a modernity that is present in their lives. In this context, the pilgrimage they practice is not meant merely as a mere religious ritual, but also as a strategy to gain positions and high social status in the society.

Modernity experienced by Buginese society is a product of Giddens defined globalization as the intensification of worldwide social relations linking the far-flung localities in such a way that a number of social events shaped by events occurring at a distance of many miles, and vice versa. In this case, globalization has four inter-related dimensions of the capitalist world-economy, nation-state system, the international division of labor and the military order of the world (Giddens, 2005; 84.93).

The relationship between global events to local events is a dialectical process because a local event may move to the front of the relationships that form within them (Giddens, 2005:84). In other words, globalization is a two-way process, which in turn can weaken the local culture, but also able to revive (Ritzer, 2005; 591). When the process that brought modernity globablisasi in the rural communities that still have the attitude of religious and strict social stratification basis, it is not necessarily a confrontation with tradition, but it did what it says Giddens as "reflexive monitoring of action" (Giddens, 2005 : 48). If the traditional culture, tradition is a way to integrate monitoring in a reflexive

action by arranging space-time in the community, then when modernity emerged, he had a reflexivity. He was included in the production base of the system, so the thinking and actions continue to get used to each other. Routine of daily life have absolutely no connection with the past (Giddens, 2005:49-51). This has resulted in social practices that actually structuring and synergize the past, present, and future have also experience with modernity reflexivity.

Religious practices such as *aji modereng* practices, also suffered the same fate. He experienced reflexivity with modernity, so that on the one hand the practice is tradition and legacy of the past, but on the other hand has been substantially completed by modernity. In this context, the process of globalization is a double meaning. On the one hand it can be defined as the ability of the local culture in taking advantage of the various new elements that come in, but on the other hand can also mean an effort to defeat global culture. This is referred to Friedman as 'Crystallization of global political culture' (Friedman, 1991; 72). Here, individuals put themselves in a position that not only allow them to gain access, but also control the meaning of culture, which in turn adopted the strategy trategi to ensure they are not marginalized by the system (Doulas and Isherwood, 1979:62 and Lury, 1998:16 -20), or in the language of Friedman as a form of cultural strategy of self-definition (self-identification form) (Friedman, 1991:312).

Discussion

The phenomenon of widespread practice of *aji modereng* in Buginese society is a symptom of cultural change that characterizes the Buginese community in a state of globalization. As a cultural dynamic and adaptive to changes in elements from outside, always adjust the time. Buginese culture as meeting the local culture with a global culture that comes through globalization and modernization of the Buginese people's lives in a variety of sectors, providing a significant influence in changing the face of Buginese culture today. Not only the efficiency and effectiveness of the work that occurs in the sector and their livelihood systems, but also on the changing patterns of thought (paradigms), and social practices that occur in the community.

Onslaught of globalization has been a continuous basis resulting in a shift in the cultural basis Bugis.. Social practices that are no longer going to make the local culture as the main reference. The basis of social stratification was disrupted due to the strengthening of the capitalist system in the community. Religion is no longer defined as part of the spirit of spirituality and cosmology community, but has gained a commodity and affairs of each individual.

The impact caused by the global culture of the Buginese community should be able to scheming and give meaning to modernity they experienced. But at the same time, they also experienced cultural confusion. On the one hand, village mentality (agrarian-maritime) is still very dominant, but on the other hand the influence of lifestyle they adopt industry has also slowly but surely through the "information technology into the village." In this case, the Buginese community has experienced a cultural leap that took place in instant, from traditional society based agrarian-maritime mentality, into a modern society based industry mentality. It's just an ongoing cultural leap quickly, it is not passed to the process of "industrialization" or mass production of commodities such as those in the Western world. But they adopt modernization more on surface area (surface) with skills and mentality are still based on agriculture and maritime. As a result, products and social practices that their adoption of modern culture, most of them taken at the level of image and symbolic meanings attached to products and social practices. These symptoms are referred to as cultural imperialism Giddens (Giddens, 2005:588) and Robertson as glocalization (Robertson, 1995:37), in which the global world interact with the world seen locally to result in something different. In the end, these conditions cause the birth of consumer culture through social practices Bugis.

Practice of *aji modereng* find social space in a state of society such as the above. Through globalization and modernization gradually led to a shift in the cultural basis Buginese, practice of *aji modereng* is no longer just a mere religious expectations, but it has become an instrument for the lifestyle. This then forms the ethos of consumerism in Buginese rural communities. Unlike in the city with a form of consumer culture as embodied in commodities capitalist "west oriented". In rural communities, the form of consumerism is embodied in social practices that were of old, but packaged and engineered meaning a capitalist commodity. As this is what happens in practice of *aji modereng* in

rural communities. He not only became the fabric of meaning and human experience in the form of implementation of mere religion, but has become a commodity that is always consumed sign, discourse are constantly debated and discussed, as well as social practices and strategies ever staged.

The influence of global culture into social practice and religious practice in rural communities, gave birth to the value and meaning that is different from before. Entered modernity does not necessarily destroy the base values in the society, but rather to 'negotiate' with the values base. Form of negotiation is applied in their social practices.

Practice *aji modereng* who was also born under the influence of globalization is a very widespread social practice today. This fact is also greatly influenced by the internal structure of the Buginese culture that always prioritizes women in the pilgrimage to Mecca and gave the room through the contestation of the lifestyle weddings are usually designed lavishly. In everyday life too, the practice thrives due to exclusion pilgrimage position built by the Buginese and the increasing number of references modern lifestyle that goes in the social and cultural systems. Linkage between these two poles, the internal structure of the global power Buginese culture through globalization and modernization actually be forming *aji modereng* birth practices.

Global power into the social system and cultural system of the Buginese actually also not accepted by their crude. Social structures built in the Buginese society has a very important role in the admissions process of global cultural influences. This is reflected through the practice of *aji modereng* who contested by the Buginese in different social domains. Although essentially modereng aji practice has the same form of practice, but the function and meaning differ according to their context and the social domain Additionally, it is also due to the differences in the expression and appreciation of each of the social space. from here it can be seen that although the actors could perform a charm *aji modereng* social practices as they want, but in fact they pentaskan social practices can not be totally separated from the social structures that surround them.

As implication of the 'dialogue' between global culture and local culture, practices *aji modereng* This provides an understanding of the occurrence of an upheaval and social change in Buginese society, particularly in rural areas.

Social change that spawned the practice of *aji modereng* among others, the shifting values   and religious practices, the establishment of modern tastes and lifestyles in rural communities, as well as a shift in the basis of social stratification.

This study shows the two sides of the former practice of *aji modereng*. On one side is an expression of the Buginese people understand and interpret the experience and practice of 'pilgrimage' in the context of their life experience changes, while the other side shows how the global culture through globalization and modernization will give new meaning to the practice of 'pilgrimage' Buginese. Relations between the two sides are inter-related, for social change in the Buginese society is really a process of dialogue that occurs between the Buginese who are in the context of the local culture with a global culture that comes through globalization.

As a cultural strategy, practice *aji modereng* is often used as a strategy to obtain the highest social status in society. There are two basic causes *aji modereng* practice is then developed into a strategy of struggle for identity, social legitimacy and the highest position in the social hierarchy. First, there are still strict hierarchy and social stratification patterns adopted by the Buginese in rural communities. Both are forms of the consequences of modernity that gives a large share of the development of capitalism in Buginese society, thus getting stuck lifestyles and social stratification base switch from pattern to pattern capitalistic nobility.

The pattern of social stratification in Buginese in rural communities, based on 4 (four) things, namely *to Panrita* (the clergy and religious leaders), *to acca* (intellectuals), *to sugi* (the rich), and *to warani* (heroes and who are brave). In this case, *aji modereng* practices that have socio-religious dimension, a symbol *to Panrita* and to toothpick. They are considered to have the ability in the field of religious knowledge and wealth, although subsequent shift very much.

The shift of meaning and understanding of the criteria to be Buginese *to Panrita* and a toothpick in the pilgrimage practices that eventually led to the practice of this *modereng aji*, is one part of the consequences of modernity that occurred in Buginese society. Intensification of worldwide social relations linking the far-flung localities in such a way that a number of social events shaped by events occurring at a distance of thousands of miles in a dialectical, as Giddens call as the process of globalization (Giddens, 2004:84), changing

tastes, the way angle and orientation of the Buginese in rural communities. When these conditions are converge with social hierarchy but relatively flexible, so practice *aji modereng* is also a political way of life (life style), which is present not only for appearance and showing off (display) only, but also to reinforce the view that lifestyle and consumption practices is an arena of struggle for social position.

In this case, the lifestyle (life style) interpreted as action patterns as well as different types of social groupings, which are embedded in the social order of modernity. In other words, the lifestyle is a patterned way in the use, understanding, or appreciation of material culture artifacts to negotiate the criteria for the game in the context of a certain social status. Thus, in everyday life, people use lifestyle to recognize and explain the complex identities and affiliations wider (Chaney, 2004: 51 and 91). In the context of *aji modereng*, this practice has also become a lifestyle patterned on the stage of the perpetrators and confirmed the creation of a certain social status. Here, individuals put themselves in a position that not only allow them to gain access, but also control the meaning of culture. Individuals adopt strategies to ensure they are not marginalized by the system (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979:62 and Lury, 1998:16 -20), or in the language of Friedman as a form of cultural strategy of self-definition (self-identification form) (Friedman, 1991:312). Forms of cultural self-identification strategies by individual actors *aji modereng* a cultural strategy they use in Buginese social system that has been mixed with modernity.

With this conditions, practice *aji modereng* developed into lifestyle politics and identity politics that is used by the perpetrator as a strategy to achieve a higher social status. As well as efforts to fight the social hierarchy that had only be achieved through conventional traditional criteria, such as nobility, intelligence, wisdom (expert in religion), and bravery. In other words, practice *aji modereng* can be shown that the lifestyle and practices of consumerism can also be used as a strategy to counter the strict social hierarchy.

Conclution

Modernity that comes through globalization on rural Buginese society today has spawned social and cultural change. The process of dialogue that occurs

between the two has given rise to social practices which constitute acculturation of values of locality and globality values . Practice of aji modereng which has a sacred worship was also filled with the values of modernity that has a variety of meanings. But practice *of aji modereng* is actually a cultural strategy practiced by the Buginese people of understanding of modernity that they experienced at the same time use it as a strategy to achieve certain social status amid tight base Buginese social stratification.

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HEGEMONY OF MASS MEDIA UPON THE ORDER OF THE CULTURAL VALUES OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES BUTON IN BAU-BAU

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Abstract

The issue of a fading cultural identity, in indigenous community, that gradually changing into a more popular cultural identity has occurred in almost every culture in the world. People lost control over their basic values that they have once embraced. Generation after generation was born with identity that moves further away from their origin. The fading of local knowledge, diminishing local language proficiency, the loss of unique perspective of world's view that represent characteristic values of a culture, or smaller extents of kinship that are the core of a society, are the simple indicators of a fading cultural identity that could be easily acknowledged.

Buton community in their daily lives is used to firmly hold the values and norms that have traditionally been handed down from their ancestors. The main value of their tradition is 'Po binci-binciki kuli' which is literally defined as two people pinch themselves, that when they feel pain while pinching themselves, they will realize that it would be the same pain they will inflicted if they pinch another person. This value is the social control in their communicative interactions in their community. Philosophy 'Po binci-binciki kuli', at a glance may be seem simple and naive but for the community, is considered has a deep and universal value. They believe if everyone live-up to this philosophy then

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*) This paper was written for and presented at an international seminar titled, "Indigenous Communities and Projects of Modernity," held in Jogjakarta from October 30-31, 2012.

there would be no dispute between members in the community. Philosophy 'Po binci-binciki kuli' was later developed into a more concrete four guiding behavior: po mae-maeka (mutual respect and apprehension among fellow members of the community), po m masiaka (mutual affection among fellow members of the community), po pia piara (mutual care among fellow members of the community) and po angka-angkataka (mutual uplifting). These are values that regulate social interaction in the community, that occurs between the leader and the people. It can not be denied that today, these great values only have a small role in the social life of Buton community. These values have only a sub-ordinal position under more dominant cultural values which is a form of hegemony brought by the mass media. A qualitative study was conducted in the city of Bau-Bau, Buton involving respondents that consist of Sultan of Buton, journalists from local media, and leaders and youth from Buton community.

K E Y W O R D S : Mass Media Hegemony, Order of Indigenous Cultural Value

Background

Culture that spread evenly in the society at any given time can be interpreted as the result or manifestation of hegemony, the embodiment of "consensual" acceptance of subordinate ideas, values and leadership by the dominant group of that society. According to Gramsci, the dominant group seems able to maintain its dominance not merely because of its power, the reason could be because the people themselves allow this dominance to be materialized. In this case, the mass media is an instrument to propagate and reinforce the dominant hegemony. The role of media is to build public support through influencing and shaping their minds by creating a formation of domination through the creation of a dominant ideology. According to hegemony paradigm, the mass media is the ruler tool to create reproductions of compliances. The mass media just like any other social institutions i.e. schools and hospitals, is seen as a powerful tool to reproduce and maintain public compliances.

In short, hegemony can be perceived as a tool to reproduce compliances and to create common ground in a moderate way. Thus, hegemony is made trough the mass media. Media slowly introduced, established and embedded a

particular view to the audience. It is not only presents in the political and economic affairs, but also presents in issues like culture, art, and even the trivial things such as lifestyle.

Speaking about culture, we have known Buton since a long time ago, the name of Buton was even mentioned in the oath of Gajah Mada in Kakawin Nagarakartagama, written by Prapanca as one of the are controlled by the Majapahit (Yunus, 1995:11, dan Zuhdi, 1996:5). This indicates that that area had been inhabited and had been interacted with the other communities at the time. The origin of the Buton, as being told by the local people, that in the end of the 13th century, four Malay nobles known as "mia patamiana" or "the four people", namely: Sipajonga, Sijawangkati, Simalui and Sitamanajo, had landed in Buton. Their arrivals were not done in one time but gradually over time. The first group Sipajonga and Simalui landed in Sulaa coast located on the south coast of the island of Buton. They carried Longa-longa flag (full of colors) that would later become the royal flag which is called "Tombi morning". The area where the flag was put up is called Sulaa which means put flags.

The second group Sitamanajo and Sijawangkati who landed in the east coast a little to the North that is Welalogusi or around the area of district Kapontori today, had continued to move to the south which finally arrived in the area known as the city of Bau-Bau today. Both groups that were only separated by a river is finally united in Kalampa. Their presence in Kalampa did not last long due to the disruption from the pirates that requires them to move to the hills called Wolio derived from the word "welia" which means to cut the grass when they opened the land for settlement (Zuhdi 1996:12), this place later become the center of the kingdom of Buton.

Buton kingdom was originally formed from the union of four villages called Pata Limbona (pata means four, limbo means village, na means its). The villages are Baluwu, Peropa, Gundu-gundu and Barangkatopa.

The discussion between the four chiefs of those villages (Bonto) had resulted the arising the kingdom of Buton. They then agreed to appoint a princess called Wakaakaa as the first king, legend said that she came from China. Further development of the kingdom - a small kingdom around the island of Buton then join the kingdom, thus, practically the entire kingdoms in the island of Buton and Muna are merged into the kingdom of Buton.

Every nation that wants to stand firm and have a clear direction to where its objectives could be achieved, is in need of a clear perspective of life. Through this clear perspective of life then the people will have a standpoint to face many issues in their life and could determine a good direction as well as the way to solve those problems. Without a clear perspective of life, a nation will be stirred uncontrollably when facing many problems that inevitably arise, whether problems in their own community and/or the problems in dealings with other nations. With a clear perspective of life, a nation will have a guidance and anchor in solving problems of political, economic, social and culture that emerge in the movement of more advanced societies. Guided by the clear perspective of life, the nation will build itself.

In this perspective of life, embodied the basic concepts about life, aspired to by a nation that contains the deepest thoughts and ideas of a nation about the manifestation of the good life. At the end, the perspective of life of a nation is a crystallization of the values held by the nation itself, that it is believed to be the truth and lead the nation's determination to make it happen.

Problem Formulation

The mass media has the potential to spread a dominant ideology. A dominant ideology is usually spread by the ruling order in order to perpetuate his power. In the midst of civilization that has been transformed into The Age of Media Society, no one doubted the power of media. The media not only become an icon of the times, but also a marker of every livelihood that take place in this century. Thus, the author intends to investigate the order of the cultural values of local communities Buton in Bau-Bau and what are the factors that influencing mass media hegemony the order of the cultural values of local communities Buton in Bau-Bau.

Methodology

The method used in this study is descriptive qualitative method of analysis, that gather facts through field interviews, academic literature review and a wide variety of relevant media review. The author then give analytical description of the problems and solution in accordance with the relevancy of these issues (Bungin, 2010).

Furthermore, the focus of this study are the factors that influence the hegemony of mass media on the order of the cultural values of local communities Buton in Bau-Bau, while the locus of research is in the area of the former Sultanate of Buton particularly in Bau-Bau area.

The respondents of this study consist of Sultan of Buton, journalists from local media, leaders and youth from Buton community. To obtain information from the key respondents, in-depth interviews were conducted, data that was obtained during the interview were analyzed based on objectives research.

Results and Discussion

Based on the data obtained in the field, the results of this study will be presented in the following sub-sections: the profiles of former region of Sultanate of Buton, the order of local cultural values in Buton society in Bau-Bau and factors affecting mass media hegemony against the order of local cultural values in Buton society in Bau-Bau.

a. The Profiles of Former Region of Sultanate of Buton

10Geographically, Bau-Bau city is located in the Southern part of Southeast Sulawesi province and it was the center of power of Sultanate of Buton. The region of Bau-Bau is bordered to the North by Muna, to the South by the Flores Sea, to the East by the Banda Sea and to the West the Gulf of Bone. This area astronomically is located in the southern part of the equator line and stretches from West to East. The region's topography is wavy and hilly, covered with karst rocks and layers of thin topsoil, thus the land in this area is generally less fertile.

The geographical conditions of Bau-Bau that consists of islands and vast ocean make its climate and community's activities strongly influenced by the sea life. The highest temperature in Bau-bau is 33.3 degree Celsius while the lowest is 26.4 degrees Celsius. Surrounded by the vast ocean makes this region suitable for the cultivation of seaweed and pearl. In facts, this area is also known with the many producers that produce a large quantity of seaweed

and pearl. Other than producers of seaweed and pearl, the livelihood of Buton society is mostly in other maritime sector such as fishermen, sailors and traders. The Buton society is also known as one of the most expansive populations in the Eastern part of Indonesia.

b. The Order of Cultural Values   of Local Communities Buton in Bau-Bau

In order to rule the increasing population and more expansive region, the leaders of the Sultanate of Buton negotiated and tried to establish a legal basis that can be used to govern their daily lives interactions. After much thought and reflection, they finally found the solutions that they are looking for. The solution that they are looking for is present in every heart of human being, this means that it exists in every heart of Buton community's member. They argue that, because the people themselves who will have to comply with the rules, thus the rules has to be come from the people themselves.

Based on that ideas, they have created a philosophical concept of Buton community. It is known by the term: "Pobinci-binciki kuli" that literally means that two people who are pinched themselves, could feel the pain that they themselves have inflicted, those they would realize that the same feeling would be felt by the people who get pinched. This means that all humans have the same feelings, the same dignity and the same human rights. Further development of "Pobinci-binciki kuli" philosophy are detailed in four basic patterns of behavior that should be developed by Buton society:

1. **Pomae-maeka** (mutual respect among members of the community)

    This means that all members of society should respect each other. The young respect the older and the older cherish and protect the young. Then, the same treatment applied between rich and poor, smart and less smart or between men and women and even between government and its people, they respect each other. The sense of mutual respect shows that everyone should respects the human rights, dignity, honor, possessions, family, and other valuable things of others. They must be maintained, take cared and protected in order to create a safe and peaceful life. For that every member of the community shall be afraid to do harmful things to others. When the

fear is gone and replaced with anarchy, it will cause harm to the other members of the community. This condition will trigger the changing of feeling of the victims' side, from fear to courage in order to defend their rights and dignity. When this happens, it can be predicted that chaos will occur in that community because there is no mutual respect among them.

2. **Pomaa-maasiaka** (mutual affection among fellow members of the community).

This means that among members in the community should love each (affection) other. Parents should care for the young and the young should also love the older, the same condition applies between the rich and the poor, the powerful and the weak, and so on. Thus, it will build a pattern of a good behavior such as mutual support and mutual benefit in their lives. When this feeling of love is lost, then the feeling of hatred, envy and jealousy will rise among the members of community. This will disrupt the harmony and peace that have been existed in the communities since a long time ago.

3. **Popia-piara** (mutual care among fellow members of the community).

This means that among the members of society is obliged to look after each other, protect each other both morally and materially, including one's position in society. When it is done appropriately, the Buton community will be prevented from destructive behavior such as destroying and incriminating each other down, or other behaviors that create instability in the community.

4. **Poangka-angkataka** (mutual uplifting among fellow members of the community).

This means that every member of the community who have given their devotion of good will to the community, such as the participation in battle against the enemy, contributed their knowledge and skills that are useful for the community or make a substantial donation of their wealth for the common good, have to be awarded in accordance with their devotion. Thus, the dignity and position in the eyes of society will increase. The rewards would be in the form of a piece of land that can be owned hereditary, or a rank and position in the kingdom. All of these rewards are rewarded in the objective of inspiring the sense of willingness to sacrifice for the common good among the people in the community.

At the time of the sixth King, Lakilaponto, governed around year of 1538 (Zaenu.1985: 35). Islam was brought in Buton by an Arab Muslim named Sheikh Abdul Wahid who had arrived in Buton around the year 1540. Due to the influence of Islam, then the term "the Kingdom" was changed into "the Sultanate" and called for "the King" into "the Sultan". Lakilaponto who was then serving as the king of Buton later changed his name into Sultan Muhammad Kaimuddin or Sultan Murhum.

Meanwhile, the vast territory of the sultanate resulting from the unification of regions such as Muna, Tiworo, Kolencusu, Tukang Besi Islands (Wanci, Kaledupa, Tomia, Binongko), Kabaena and others. This unification brings new problem to the community, there were growing number of security threats, these treats make the whole community in Buton realized that they need to reorganize their life philosophy further to complement the first philosophy of Buton, Pobinci-binciki kuli.

The second philosophy of Buton shows the order of importance that must be maintained and surrendered in accordance with the development of that situation. The order is defined as follows: Arataa (treasures), Karo (personal self), Lipu (State), Sara (the Government) and the religion (Islam).

Under that order, this philosophy were presented in a language that can inspire the soul and encourage the Buton people to fight and sacrifice for virtuousness as follows:

1. **Bolimo arataa somanamo Karo,** means put the welfare of being above welfare of property. Any individual, group or the State properties must be maintained, however, such properties must be sacrificed in order to protect the more important thing, which is Karo or human beings, as individuals and groups, for example: during the construction of the fort palace, the people were asked to sacrifice their properties for the purpose of constructing of the fort.

2. **Bolimo Karo somanamo Lipu**, means that everyone has to be ready to sacrifice himself in order to defend the country. This statement also means that the state's interest way above the personal interests. Each person must put the interests of the country above his personal interests. For example, each person must be ready to fight when the enemy threatening their country.

3. **Bolimo Lipu somanamo Sara,** means that if the enemy is too strong and the army has to be retreated and the Buton territories were taken over, the most important is to protect the existence of the government, because as long as the government still exist, it means that the possibility to acquire power and hit the opponent back to obtain victory still there.

4. **Bolimo Sara somanamo Religion,** means that if the government could no longer be protected and maintained, their belief and faith in the religion of Islam shall be protected to the end.

In Buton, especially in Bau-Bau, there are many arts that being created and performed, mainly in the form of traditional dance, almost every region has a traditional dance that different from the other regions. There dances are performed to celebrate events for boys, teenage girls who had just finished seclusion, or the elderly. Among various traditional dances that exist, some well known dances are as follow: Lariangi dance, Sajo moane dance originally came from islands tukang besi (wakatobi) and Mangaru dance. Lariangi dance is a very old royal dance, and has the same customs as the dance in old days. Sajo moane dance is a dance performed by children at age 6 to 12. This dance tells the merriment of children playing martial arts and war game. Mangaru dance is a dance that is widely perform in various regions on the island of Buton, this is a dance depicting skillfulness of the warriors in handling their weapons such as machete, dagger, spear and shield, it was originally performed at traditional events such as harvest party, but it is now also performed as a dance to welcome guests.

Others well-known dances are Galangi dance, Kenta-kenta dance and Lumense dance. Galangi dance was a dance that until now only performed in the palace of Sultanate by the family and staffs of the Sultan, now this dance has been performed to welcome guests who come to the city of Bau Bau. Kenta-kenta dance was originated from Tukang besi islands, this dance is performed by children, depicts a group of fishermen who have to conquered waves to catch fishes. Kabena island famous of its Lumense dance that depicts the knights who always defended their territory from any enemy attacks. This dance was actually a healing dance for the king's daughter who was ill.

All of the dance mentioned in the above paragraphs are traditional dances, the modern dances have not been created, the traditional dances still dominate any events in Sultanete Buton.

In Bau-Bau region, there are many local languages and dialects, but in general they are all can be divided into five categories:

1. Wolio Langauge

   It is the official language that mostly used in the center region of the Sultanate. This language is mostly used by people who are living in the district of Wolio, Bungi and Betoambari. However, this language was also served as common language that have been used during official meeting of the community leaders that come from different languages background.

2. Pancana Langauge

   This language is mostly used in Buton and Muna such as Lakudo, Gu, Mawasangka and Siompu districs

3. Cia-cia Langauge

   The users of this language inhabit Sampolawa, Sorawolio, Pasarwajo and parts of Lasalimu districts. The users of this language are quite large in numbers.

4. Wakatobi Langauge

   This language users inhabited Tukang Besi islands that consists of Wanci, Kaledupa, Tomia, and Binongko island. Nevertheless, each of the four language users groups has different dialects.

5. Moronene Langauge

   This language is used by Moronene tribe who inhabit the Poleang, Rumbia, Kasipute and Kabena region.

c.   Factor-Factors Affecting Hegemony Mass Media Upon The Order Of The Cultural Values Of Local Communities Buton In Bau-Bau.

It cannot be denied, in today's world, noble values and cultural richness are just taking a bit role in social life. They are belong in a sub-ordinal position under other, more dominant cultures. This noble values and cultural richness are located under others ideology and collective consciousness that are more comfortable to be

discussed, transacted within and across generations. Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), Italian philosopher used the term "hegemony" to describe this phenomenon.

In general, hegemony can be defined as the influence, power, or domination of one social group against another. Gramsci idea of hegemony was based on Marx's idea regarding false consciousness, which is a condition in which individuals become unaware of the dominance that occurs in their lives (West and Turner, 2008). With its ability to produce large-scale messaging system and its presence that very close to our daily life, the mass media have became a tool for creating false consciousness.

This study found that the media who supposed to serve as a watchdog, forum, and teacher for the community has been "hijacked" by the normative role of their owners and managers of media industry. These influences brought by the mass media industry to the ways of thinking, attitude and behavior of the community (society) were extremely great, to the extent that the term media industry is also often referred to as the "culture industry".

Why people are not aware of this and opted to turn in to the false consciousness that have been injected by the media? John Fiske (1842-1901), expert on media study, examined that phenomena was due to media's messages offering two economic value, the financial economic value, that offer exchange value that can be harness from mass media, and cultural economic value, that are more focused on the aspect that gives meaning, pleasure, social identity, or the persona that people longing to achieve during and after they have consumed media messages.

Fiske's opinion suggested that hegemony implies a "sincere approval" from communities that their cultural value has been dominated by mass media. Gramsci had also recognized that this approval is a major component of hegemony. We could found the evidence of this phenomenon from the behavior of the housewives who are into watching soap operas, children who enjoy singing songs that they have been listening in radio or television and imitate their lyrics. Soccer ball fans that wake up in the early morning just to watch their favorite team playing on television. People who buy and read newspapers, magazines, or website in the internet to get what they are looking for. Everything happens voluntarily. People have becoming affected by mass media hegemony because of their own consent, not by force.

Nevertheless, the audience do not always passively accept and believe what is given by the mass media. Sometimes the audience can also use the similar strategies to free themselves from that hegemony. This is what Gramsci called as a counter hegemony (West & Turner, 2008). Wolio's community whose culture has been cornered by mass media hegemony can use a counter strategy to overthrow the other ideological hegemony.

There is no one-stop solution for running a counter hegemony. Mass media hegemony runs in large scale of media system and networks. Thus, the counter hegemony must also be designed in similar way. First, there must be media workers who are committed to stand-up against ideology from mass media hegemony. Secondly, there should be a message that is designed to raise community awareness against false consciousness. Third, there must be a channel (perhaps through another media) that can be used to broadcast messages from the counter hegemony.

Counter media workers' efforts must be supported by the local communities, including their elite, in launching and running their counter hegemony. Then, this counter hegemony needs the messages, which contains the values of local culture wisdom. The values of local culture wisdom have to be replicated in the hegemonic messages. The messages that contain values of local culture wisdom should also have two economic values, namely financial economic value and cultural economic value, thus, this counter hegemony can be a worthy opponent against mass media hegemony that have interfere the order of the cultural values of local communities in Buton, Bau-bau.

Conclusion

Various things that have been found in this study ultimately emphasize that the philosophy of Buton's tradition is a system preference value that should be embraced by the society at the Bau-Bau and conducted in daily activities that receive influence from outside cultures. However, this perspective could not be comprehended by most of the Buton people especially the younger generation that are strongly influenced by modern values. The young generation today takes a new form of culture that more dynamic and attractive although with a

fragile perspective of life due to a shallow source of information that come from the media hegemony.

Therefore, it is necessary for Buton community to present counter hegemony against mass media hegemony that have large media systems and networks. The counter hegemony must be designed in such a way to reverse the dominant culture that has been embraced by parts of Buton community, including its young generation. This counter-hegemony have to be able to force the mass media capitalists to submit to the local culture that based on critical awareness, self consolidation, and network building with other agencies, through the use of local power culture such as local media, local people and local messages that have philosophical value in the society.

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Panel 5

The Local in
Global Media Discourses

LOCAL COMPLEX:
Projects of Modernity, Complicated Cultural Appropriations, and Fluid-hybrid Subjectivity in a Local Sphere

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Introduction

In one foggy evening at 5 August 2009, I had a talk with Handi, a 27 years old Tenggerese young man in Desa Ngadisari, Probolinggo. When I asked about his activities, he answered as follow.

> 'Time for planting vegetables means time for my mates and me to go to *tegal* [farm], because from the works in tegal we can get money. When a harvest comes, my parents give me money to buy some new clothes in Sukapura or Probolinggo. I also often buy new clothes before *Hari Raya Karo* [as *Idul Fitri* in Muslim's tradition] because there are many neighbours who will come to my home and I must come to their home too, so it is important for me to have a good looking by wearing the new clothes. Although we are accustomed to modern cultures, as buying and wearing up to date fashion, listening to popular music, and accessing internet, we here are tied to Tenggerese tradition. We need to be active in communal rituals. We cannot drink beer in public places. We cannot play gamble. We also cannot have free sex. However, I had viewed Ariel Peterpan's porn video, with Luna Maya and also with Cut Tari. Ha…ha…ha, I have them in my cellular telephone.'

All Handi's statements are discourses indicating, following Bhabha [1994], *cultural in-betwenness* and *hybridity* experienced by Tenggerese people as local subjects in responding the coming of modern cultures, particularly consumption practice and profane narratives of media. Indeed, being modern

in local sphere has become regime of truth and has made the local subjects identifying themselves with metropolitan life styles, although not completely. However, because of institutionalization of traditional cultures since their childhood, the local people are still practicing some important rituals communally, obeying some traditional taboos, and believing supernatural power. Bhabha calls such cultural condition as *vernacular cosmopolitanism* in which the local subjects desire modern progress of life without individualism [Bhabha & Commarof, 2002]. Although postcolonial perspective considers the local subjects have fluid strategy in articulating modernity and negotiating some of their traditional wisdom, the problem is not quite simple.

Indeed, the local people have been appropriating education, daily consumption and capitalism, democratization, and secularization as the forms of modernity projects that have been changing some traditional cultures, but they still have been preserving some other cultures as signifiers of essential identity. Those processes may emerge what I call as *local complex*, a complicated process of cultural appropriation in local sphere coloured by fluid-hybrid subjectivity. In this article, by applying postcolonial perspective without leaving political economy consideration, I will read field data from Tenggerese community in Probolinggo, East Java to discuss some cultural conditions in local complex in the following frameworks. Firstly, the local people appropriate modernity into their everyday life, but they still believe, celebrate, and preserve some traditional cultures essentially. Secondly, as the discursive effect of modern experiences, there are some changing in understanding traditional beliefs and practices as [a] celebrating rituals in more profane and luxurious ways and [b] having deconstructive meaning towards religious authority and ancient taboos. As concluding remarks, I will emphasize some strategic researches on local communities and give new considerations of postcolonial studies and.

Being Modern in Local Sphere

Indeed, modernity has been the most powerful ideological knowledge and movement in the human civilization that has changed and transformed the whole planet [Venn, 2000]. Although historically modernity has been a part of colonialism [Gillen & Ghosh, 2007], its discursive formation as the enlightening

and civilizing knowledge of human beings circulated in education, politics, and economy has re-configured socio-cultural patterns in postcolonial societies. In Indonesian context, the New Order regime under Soeharto authority with national development policy opened the gate for the coming of modernity projects massively through industrialization in cities, green revolution in villages, education in all levels, and media campaigns. Today, in the Reformation era, when the state regime adopts market political economy and media corporations—particularly television—represents more massive metropolitan stories, the local subjects can be easier for accessing and mimicking metropolitan cultural forms in their daily life. What I want to re-read then is a *bullet* paradigm in constructing the influence of projects of modernity towards the local people and their traditional cultures. In this paradigm, the state-sponsored-programs and media narratives position a superior role in determining all cultural moves in local communities. However, the projects will find rocky roads when the local people do not agree with or resist against them as showed by *Baduy Dalam* community. For me, it means that there can be internal factor which supports the acceptance of modern cultures in local communities.

In Tenggerese community there is a traditional wisdom called as *setya laksana*. It is a commitment to accomplish five ideal concepts of life [*walima*], namely enough for food [*wareg*], healthy life [*waras*], clothing [*wastra*], knowledge [*wasis*], and home [*wisma*]. This setya laksana principally encourages Tenggerese people to have hard workings. In the ancient times, they might accomplish it in subsistent ways. For having enough food, for example, they could plant 9 months-aged-white-corn as their major meal. For home buildings, they could use wood materials that would protect them from the very cool temperature. However, the coming of agrarian capitalism—firstly introduced by the colonial regime and continued massively under New Order regime [Hefner, 1999]—with its vegetables farming project have given Tenggerese people financial beneficiary that have changed the traditional commitment into city-oriented-ideals. Financial accumulation from vegetables transaction and tourism activities has made them consuming rice from the lower regions, wearing popular clothes, going to doctors when got sick, and building brick houses with city-looks-designs. In addition, Japanese car and motorcycle, television, gas stove, and refrigerator have become "new family members".

Education project by the state have introduced Tenggerese people to the importance of reason for human civilization.

Today, those cultural conditions become the dominant colour of Tenggerese community's and other local communities' daily life, particularly in the context of material accomplishment. Under market capitalism as they maintain in agrarian and tourism works, economic prosperity becomes hegemonic ideology in local sphere and makes the local people leaving subsistent mode of life. Subsequently, consuming industrial wares is ordinary practice that blurs cultural distinction between the rural and the metropolitan people. In addition, the intensive-huge representations of *metropolitan narratives* in media programs, particularly television with attractive signification, and education curriculum make modernity as the ordinate of continuous transformation and changing of traditional cultures that emerge a new local subjectivity. Once again, modernity—both as ideology and material practice—can be hegemonic in local sphere because some traditional teachings about earthly happiness encourage the local people to reach ideal-modern goals in their life.

The Politics of Being [not completely] Modern And its Complicated Process

In talking about modern education of Tenggerese children, teenagers, and youths that may detach them from traditional cultures, Sutomo, a *dhukun pandita*—a religious leader—in Desa Ngadisari, Probolinggo, says:

> 'They still believe and commit to Tenggerese tradition. Although being accustomed with city cultures, they do not bring them here. They still involve in sacred rituals, *Kasada, Entas-entas,* etc. If you have research in Tenggerese communities in Malang, Pasuruan, and Lumajang regency, you will find the same condition. Why? Since their childhood, their parents have taught traditional rituals and wisdom. Dhukun also always give them advices after praying at *pura desa* about our traditions and their importance for our life here. Further, for students of elementary schools, junior high schools, and high schools in Tenggerese territory, there is local curriculum on Tenggerese cultures. These familial process, religious meetings, and local content curriculum have made them afraid leaving our tradition because they will get *walat,*

a disastrous supernatural sanction when somebody leaving tradition and taboo.' [Interview, 29 July 2009]

In the new local subjectivity, besides the changing of traditional wisdom into modern pathway, the local people still negotiate some ancestor's cultures under preservation paradigm. In Tenggerese case, the main target for this preservation process is children, teenagers, and youths because they will determine the future of Tenggerese community. For strengthening their commitment, parents and dhukun pandita always socialize disastrous corollary, *walat,* for individual who does not believe and practice the ancestor's teachings. The socialization of walat has obvious effect in diminishing secular and free thinking among the young generation, although not all. Most of Tenggerese young people involve in rituals, both individual/family and communal rituals as *Kasada*, an annually offering ritual in Mount Bromo as thanksgiving expression for their success in agricultural and tourism works and *Entas-entas,* a final death ritual by burning *Petra*—a doll made from grasses—symbolizing the dead body.

This ritual preservation shows how the local people do not want to take modern principles completely, especially rationality and individualism, although in daily life they are being modern. This incompletely agreement of modernity is a deconstructive reading in the in-between space caused by ambivalence in absorbing and mimicking the hegemonic cultural discourses and practices that results fluid-hybrid subjectivity as subversive strategy. However, the existence of some local cultures remains some problems related to their ideological position in new cultural configuration. What I mean by ideological position here is how the local subjects conceive local cultures as the subordinate, but still can be mobilized for constructing to their cultural identity and how they perceive them under market law.

In traditional term, cultural identity is cultural symbols, practices, and values commonly sharing by members of community through long historical process [Gilbert, 2010: 2-3; Alcoff & Mohanty, 2006; D'Cruz, 2008]. Under formation of hybrid-fluid subjectivity, following Hall [1997], cultural identity is something negotiable, positioned, and becoming, based on the necessity of its members. Although modern cultures have become consensual members of the local people, for some reasons as communal scare of being cursed by

supernatural power and politico necessity in encountering outsider dominant influence, they can construct and mobilize essential forms of local cultures as rituals and traditional clothing to recall internal solidarity. For Tenggerese people, the mobilization and celebration of rituals as their cultural identity, besides obeying ancestor's tradition, is significant to empower their solidarity in preventing radical change caused by modernity. In this context, the fluid-hybrid-subjectivity, following Canclini [1994], becomes cultural strategy of the local people for entering and leaving modernity; appropriating its progress values, but rejecting its secularism and individualism—although this latter conception still can be criticized. Furthermore, the empowerment of essential cultural identity is significant for contending other religious missions which in some lower villages have conversed traditional religion—Tenggerese Hindu—into Islam and Christianity.

Because the preservation of traditional cultures has been maintaining under modern atmosphere, there are some unavoidable consequences relating to the emergence of new meanings in practicing them. Firstly, the more expensive and extravagant rituals mean the higher social position for the individual or the groups conducting them. In many local communities, as in Lamongan, Banyuwangi, and Jember, private or communal rituals need much money to pay tertiary supplements as popular entertainments. Today, in Tenggerese community, a rich family who will have *walagara,* a marriage ritual, with *tayub* performance, needs prepare 200 millions rupiahs as the budget of beer, meals, and tayub payment. This changing of ritual meaning as the consequence of green revolution policy that has made Tenggerese people, particularly the have, conducting the expensive rituals—especially the private one—which is implying social distinction with other people.

Secondly, the intervention of state apparatuses appears commercial and profane practices in communal sacred rituals. The state apparatuses incorporate sacred ritual under *cultural tourism* label and create additional programs to attract domestic and foreigner tourists to come. In 2012 Kasada, 2-4 August 2012, for example, there were some complement programs as dangdut live concert in Desa Wonotoro, flame parade from Desa Wonokerto to Desa Ngadisari, tayub and reog performance, volley ball competition, and celebration night at Ngadisari Hall. Although there is discursive tension between

the idea of preservation in strengthening communal identity and tourism market for commercialization—Huggan [2001] calls this tension as *postcolonial exotics,* the dhukuns do not abandon the incorporation and intervention because they always teach to the people a traditional wisdom namely 'loyalty to government'. However, the dhukuns can negotiate Tenggerese collective importance for preserving tradition in the celebration night, so the state apparatuses will give attention, especially giving facilities to the preservation.

Thirdly, although rituals are still conducted by following ancient heritage, i.e. mantras of offering, the other things as *sesajen*—important supplements for rituals—have been mixed with industrial products. Still, in 2012 Kasada, I found junk snacks used together with sesajen from crop as vegetables. This fact shows that modern products, as junk snacks, are becoming familiar things consumed in local milieu, so it is important for the local people to include them in the ritual. Although these snacks are small part of the ritual which is still conducted by following ancient teachings, i.e. mantras of offering, their appearance indicates hybrid cultural forms; including modern elements in the very traditional practice.

Fourthly, the coming of invited sponsors, especially for complement programs as popular performances, has coloured the sacred with capitalist discourses. It is common for the officials to give project proposal to some sponsors, usually cigarette companies, to give financial supports. As the consequence, the sponsors will place many banners for promoting their products and opening "the door to enter" the sacred activities. In critical sense, I see these banners, following Barthes [1983], as ex-nominating process of philanthropic discourse of the capitalist class and interpellation process that disseminate and naturalize the importance of capitalist products to the public [Althusser, 1971]. These processes are progressive step to incorporate the residual cultures into formation of dominant class, so the capitalist can be hegemonic [Williams, 2006]. The incorporation can succeed because the local subjects are having fluid-hybrid subjectivity in their cultural orientations and daily practices that makes them welcoming the capitalist as "important guests". In other words, despite of its strategic function in deferring completely modern influence, the fluid-hybrid-subjectivity may open the way for disseminating and strengthening market mechanism in local sphere.

Being Deconstructive towards Religious Authority and Traditional Taboos

Indeed hybridity for the local people can be, at once, a strategic and subversive way to defer the hegemonic influence of modernity and giving them a chance to recall cultural identity. However, as habitus, hybridity may also emerge *deconstructive readings* toward religious authority and traditional taboos when the local people have gotten economic problems. Because they could not plant vegetables and rent their jeeps for tourists during Mount Bromo eruption at 2010-2011, many Tenggerese people tried to find traditional answer for solving the problem. Mujono, the coordinator of dhukun pandita, explains:

> In Wonokerso, there was a person getting trance and asking dhukun there to call ancestor spirits in Bromo. Forced by the people, the dhukun conducted a ritual. When he had just spelled out mantras, sand and volcanic materials had been coming. The people blamed the dhukun for having wrong procedures or mantras in the ritual. The dhukun was very afraid and did not go outside home for 8 days. Because I had gotten *wangsit* [a supernatural mystical advice] from a messenger of our ancestors in Bromo, I decided to go there and explained to the people that the dhukun was not wrong. I told them the wangsit that said Tenggerese people need to be patient and always compact, do not blame each other. I also said that the gods will substitute all of damage with the newer welfare, from vegetables farms and tourism activities. Finally, they could understand the situation and did not blame the dhukun anymore. [Interview, 28 July 2011]

In traditional conception, the dhukuns have prestigious position because of his distinct capacity to guide religious rituals and guard the ancestors' heritage, so Tenggerese people do appreciate them. Because of this appreciation, they believe the dhukuns can solve the very dangerous economic problems caused by Bromo eruption. In this case, I see "cultural filtration" between modern economic and traditional religious discourse in their orientation. However, when the traditional ways failed to solve the problem, Tenggerese people were confused and, finally, protested against the dhukun for conducting the wrong ritual. The ancient belief toward the dhukun supernatural capacity had been deferred and ruptured by the people when their desire of economic welfare

threatened. Although, finally the coordinator of dhukun pandita could handle the protest by explaining mystical advice and discourse of welfare substitution after the eruption, it shows that Tenggerese people have been brave to deconstruct the religious authority—something forbidden in their local wisdom. Indeed the religious leaders are still becoming a residual-but-dominant subject that in collaboration with the formal leader will determine the communal acceptance of ancestor's traditions, but the people begin contesting their power when their modern economic orientation is in dangerous state.

In other context of deconstructive practice, today some Tenggerese youths begin having pre-marital sex. As a cultural taboo, the pre-marital sex will pollute the sacredness of Tenggerese territory as *hila-hila,* a sacred land, which requires the people avoiding the forbidden profane practices. If they did the practices, the people will get bad consequence as sickness. However, the coming of information technology as internet and media as television to this sacred territory that carries some profane narratives, as sexual freedom, gives a newer cultural discourse which can drive some youths to mimic it, contending the ancient taboo. Although they still join the rituals and hear the dhukun's wise teachings, their intensive watching of porn videos from internet and cellular telephone, make them brave to have pre-marital sex. In other words, the intensive teaching of traditional religious cultures cannot guarantee their completely acceptance when the people, particularly the youths, find a new way to express their individual freedom. Although individualism does not become hegemonic discursive formation in the local sphere, its effects for freedom begin seeding—although not at all aspects—and make some traditional taboos are being contended by some individuals who want to celebrate freedom as they saw from media narratives.

Still relating to taboo, Tenggerese people have unique deconstructive reading and practices toward *mendem,* drunk. According to Sutomo, mendem is not a new practice because since the ancient era, Tenggerese people have been accustomed to alcoholic drink, particularly in tayub show. As other local people, they drank *tuwak* and *arak*, two kinds of traditional alcoholic drink before the coming of beer. Today, beer is popular alcoholic drink consumed in tayub show. Although in every day life, beer is forbidden to consume, especially in public space, in tayub show, men from young generation to old generation

are free to drink it. Regional beer distributor supplies them with a box car. This practice is 'for a while freedom' which making the people free from the cultural taboo. The dhukuns do not inhibit this practice because it is only a kind of celebratory event and not in every day life they drunk. However, some dhukuns, as Sutomo and Mujono, begin realizing that drinking beer in tayub show will devalue aesthetic performance because many participants in the show do not concern about beautiful quality of the dance and only show drinking activity. It is different to the same practice in the past that still emphasized the quality of dance. Accordingly, in the internal structure of traditional cultures themselves, there is deconstructive potency, particularly when permissiveness of ancient profane practice transformed into modern practice is becoming ordinary.

Concluding Remarks

I had just explained briefly about local complex by using cultural appropriations toward projects of modernity in Tenggerese community to support my arguments. Once again, local complex is a complicated cultural condition in which the local people understanding, mimicking, absorbing, and appropriating some core patterns of modernity projects as economic progress, secularism, and education into their communal life that create fluid-hybrid subjectivity. This subjectivity, at least, makes the local people play in the core of modernity without loosing all their traditional cultures that are being transformed and preserved for the importance of their collectiveness in constructing cultural identity from which they can build ideological strategy to face dominant discursive influences. However, this subjectivity also emerges deconstructive potency towards traditional cultures caused by the local people's in-betwenness in which modern discourses being hegemonic.

For me, local complex becomes a starting point to discuss critically about local societies and their complicated cultures under the influences of modernity projects, particularly capitalism and rationalism. At least, there are four topics to discuss local societies and cultures. Firstly is the shifting and changing of cultural orientation in all aspects of life among the local people caused by the hegemony of market capitalism, particularly consumerism. Secondly, we can research the effect of metropolitan media narratives toward

local cultures, both in private and public sphere. Thirdly, the local strategies in appropriating modern narratives and their complicated process are interesting to discuss because we can see cultural tensions in negotiating and transforming communal cultures under modern pathway. Fourthly is the coming of capitalist agents who mobilize and incorporate local uniqueness and exoticism under label of cultural tourism projects and the response the local people toward the projects. Fifthly, following the hegemonic issue of ecological problem, it is important to study the local people perception toward their environment when economic desire may drive them to conquer and exploit the nature.

Finally, I want to give some new considerations of postcolonial studies based on my brief analysis. Not like as Parry [2004], Dirlik [2002], and Majid [2008] who criticize postcolonial studies for over-emphasizing narrative structures [signification/representation/discourse] and every day post-colonial cultures related to mimicry and mockery, in-betwenness, hybridity, that make postcolonial thinkers being not sensitive to capitalism hegemony, I conceptualize some seminal considerations as follow. The first, postcolonial studies need to include political economy consideration to analyze fluid-hybrid subjectivity in the local societies because it is important to read critically the influence of capitalism towards socio-cultural process. The second, indeed theory of hybridity can explain the complicated cultural process in the local sphere and the subversive strategy of the local people to appropriate modernity, but it is significant to see the ideological position of traditional and modern cultures under such hybrid identity. In addition, what needs to criticize more is the potency of fluid-hybrid-subjectivity in driving the post-colonial people to accept market capitalism. The third, paying attention on the changing of traditional cultures into modern direction and how the state and the capitalist incorporate it will juxtapose postcolonial studies and political economy perspective as a new bridge to do more comprehensive research in local sphere.

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MEDIA AND THE REPRESENTATION OF MADURESE PEOPLE:
Local Wisdomof Madurese People in Emha Ainun Nadjib's
Folkore Madura

NETTY DYAH KURNIASARI, S.SOS, M.MED.KOM

ABSTRACT

This study looks at how the notions of local culture have been articulated in the media (novel) by an Indonesia writer. The object of this research is Nadjib's novel entitled 'Folklore Madura'. The aim of this research is to analyze how media, c.q. novel, representsthe value of Madurese local culture. I use sociological perspective and semiotic analysis to unpack the meaning lies behind the creation of the novel in terms of Madurese local culture. This research is descriptive qualitative.The result shows thatEmhaAinunNadjib's novel *Folklore Madura*' contains the philosophical values of Madurese people. The noveldoes not only describe the nature and the human characteristicsof the Madurese, but also advise how humans are supposed to be.There are some values of local culture and philosophy in this novel. Firstly, Maduresepeople arefree to determine the will of a strong and principled; Secondly, they do not like pretending. Thirdly, they have kind enough thought to the fate of God. Moreover, they have the capabilityto suffer and the strength to overcome all the torments. They also have loyalitytothe Madurese community leaders who fit in their hearts.

KEYWORDS: media, local culture, folklore Madura

Introduction

Novel is a form of thoughts, feelings, and expectations of its authors are closely related to their natural life experiences. Novel is a medium for the author to respond to its environment. Content of novel are talk about thoughts, values, philosophies, traditions in society. That's why talking about the novel it means also discussed in terms of cultural and philosophical values of society.

As a member of society, a writer always take advantage of the surrounding life as material for his work, both in the form of realistic, symbolic, or something else.

According to Andre Harjana (1981:71) the imagination of the author is influenced directly or indirectly by its environment. Thus, something that is expressed by the author could be an attempt to respond to the realities around them, communicate with reality, and re-create the reality in his work (Kuntowijoyo, 1981:18).We could find the philosophical values of Madura literature in folklore, folk poems, folk songs, parodies, anecdotes, humorous stories, etc.

Madura, according SetyaSudikanYuwana as a source of inspiration for his poems. Madura is always interesting for the author and creator of literature. The values of Madurese philosophy inspired many writers.One of author who is often write about philosophical values of Madurese is EmhaAinunNajib. He is known as the author of the 'all-rounder', because he is writing not only in regards to literature, but also political issues, economic, social and cultural rights.EmhaAinunNajib is one authors who is quite productive and creative. Unfortunately, research about the values of Madurese philosophy is very limited and rarely researched.Based on the fact, I am interested in researching his works, especially novel . One of his works entitled 'Folklore Madura' is a collection of parodies, anecdotes, humour stories and everyday stories Madurese is chosen as object of my research.

According to Emha, humorous stories and daily activity Maduresepeople are reflect their personality. Maduresepoople are straightforward people. honest and assertive. (Najib, 2005:v).Maduresepeople have the ability to represent reality with simple that comes from everyday life. So the parody is also revealed to describe the philosophy of Madurese people.Byimaging Madura values in

Emha's novel, itmeansthatthereiscorrelationbetweenEmha's novel and Madura society. Madura society can affect the creation of the Emha's novel, while on the other hand the presence of the novel is a means to convey some of the problems in the Madura society.

Through the Emha's novel, Madura philosophy values can be communicated to the public (inside and outside Madura), as well as through the background Madurese culture that surrounded. EmhaAinunNajib can get a lot of inspiration in creating his works. Thus, it means that the Madurese culture can influence the creation of Emha's novel, while the novel may indirectly affect Madurese culture.

Research Problems

We will seen the interrelationships between this novel and Madura philosophical values if this novel is analyzed. This study therefore aimed to decribe and explore the philosophical values Madurese culture in the novel "Folklore Madura " by AinunNajibEmha. Sample this study is 'Folklore Madura' . This nobel is chosen because it contains philosophical values of Madura people. The study on this issue is very important because some reasons, Firsty, the result of the study is usefull for the readers to understand the purpose of the author and to know easily about values of Madura culture. Secondly, this study are expected to enrich the study of literature, especially folklore, anecdotes and humor. Furthermore, the study use semiotic theory. As consequence ,this study is one alternative to use of those theory. In addition, the results of this study will show the relationship between the humanities science with other disciplines.

Sociological Theory of Literature

This study used the theory of sociology literature and semiotic theory to analyse signs and language. Sociological theory is intended to explain the social reality (Mulder, 1973:3). Sociologyof literature does not solely explain the social reality or the interrelationships between the various social phenomena.Sociological theory of literature was also used to analyze the relationship between the author with his novel in the cultural sphere.

Sociological theory that is used in this study refers to the two theories proposed by Wellek and Warren, and Ian Watt. Sociological approach to literature classification proposed by Wellek and Warren (1989:111) are: (1) sociological writers, are concerned about social status, ideology authors, and others related to the author, (2) sociology literature, which questioned the work literature itself and the things implied in it, and(3) sociological literature, argue for a reciprocal relationship between literature and its readers.

Semiotics

This theories is regarding to the cultural symbol and sign by Roland Barthes (Barthes, 1974, and Hawkes, 1977:116-118). Barthes said that there are five language code which can help the reader understand the meaning of a literary work, namely (1) hermeneuitik code, (2) semantic code, (3) symbolic code, (4) proairetic code, and (5) cultural code. The purpose of this study is to understand the meaning in the text. There are two process of semiotics theory, heuristics (readings based on language conventions) and hermeneutic (readings by literary convention)

The Values of Madurese Culture

The values of Madura culture is including lifestyle, language, ways of thinking, thinking about the world, verbal forms of communication and social interaction, the rules and norms of behavior, moral values   and ideals, science, etc.Talking about Madura culture there is always talking about (1) the concept of Madurese culture, (2) cultural elements of Madura, and (3) cultural form Madura (Sinal, 1993:80).

Methods

This research used descriptive qualitative method. The researcher defines and developscontinuoslya specific focus, namely values of   Madurese culture in "The Folklore Madura". I chose qualitative methods because it has the characteristics of the study participant observation, It means that the researcher observed the object of research and understand continuously about the objects is examined.

Thereare some steps isused in this study. The first steps is to determine the object of study, namely 'Folklore Madura'; the second one is select and sort of signs (the code) that contains values of the Madura local culture; The next step is to classify the values of Madurese culture; the last steps is to analyze the research object using sociological theory and the theory of literary semiotics.

Results and Discussion

1. Madurese People are Free to Determine the Will of Strong and Principles

The characteristic of Madura people is free to determine the will. Some time they did't obey the rule. In some cases they have a strong principle if those principle is right in their opinion.It could be seen clearly in the figure of Saridin the man who prefer study in Sunan Kudus rather than in formal institution.

> "Saridin became SunanKudus`sstudent because his willingness.No body can persuade him. He is a subject related to knowledge and life experiencethat will he face after becaming student. ("Demokrasi Tolol Versi Saridinin Folklore Madura, 2005:5)

By studing in SunanKudus rather than in formal institution, in means that Saridindesign the curriculum by himself. As we know that there is different situation between formal school. and become student of Sunan Kudus. In formal shool the students did not free to determine curriculum. They must applied the currilum that has been provided, meanwileSaridin free to determine the curriculum because he did not chose formal school.

2. Madurese Do Not Like Pretense, They Like Honest

In the present context, when the students go to college, it means that they have mental intellectual, spiritual and moral standards towards *cosmopolitan*. But the fact the students did not learn the whole things, the learn just partial one *(juz'iyyah)*. University is the place pretending that seems create universal human. But the university is actually just a place to produce human facultative

even majors. It can be seen from the bellow sentences:

> "Saridin, he proved that the peole (teenagers) in education institution (university) is *ndagel*(people who like homour).They pretense make universities in order to create *manusia universal* (universal people).But, the quality and competence of students from universities is not more than *manusiafakultatif*(people who only study one science, or department). It means that the students only learn *juz`iyyah*(it means that learn something partially only the subject that related to department or faculty *(fakultatif)* ,they do not learn many things. ("DemokrasiTololversiSaridin" dalam Folklore Madura, 2005:2)

3. Whatever They are (Be their selves)

One of the most important characteristics of modern people existence is a 'tie' and 'shoes'. While typical Madurese are plain, not adventurous and prestige (whatever they are). Ties (according Madura people)   is a thing that can not really understand what it uses, except to get ready when users want to commit suicide by hanging himself or his neck (Madura Folklore, 2005:3)

The culture of modern people is always explained in the context of a tie polite, middle-class personality, a symbol of prestige, and so on. It's all on sight Saridin completely abstract. How could the personality associated or especially determined by a piece of cloth tied around the neck.The quote can be seen in this bellow sentences:

> "It is so funny. Saridin worries God can shake him head because this tie cuteness level is really low. Personality is a software issue, a matter of the mind, the quality of its spiritual value. How could this personality are determined by a tie. The joke modern people is not high quality. ("DemokrasiTololversiSaridin" dalam Folklore Madura, 2003:4)

The folklore is also illustrated how smart Saridin criticize about modern people style who are wearing shoes. The function of wearing shoes is to protect the feet but the fact the shoes is threatens feet. Here's his quote:

> "Put on your shoes," said Saridin imitating someone who he had heard of the 20th century, "in order to protect your feet from thorns or sharp gravel." However, in fact, the people who put on shoes are even more

frequent wearers foot on the floor with thick and soft carpet. "Then someone went on-" But before wearing shoes, first wear socks to protect your feet from the shoes. ("DemokrasiTololversiSaridin" dalam Folklore Madura, 2003:4)

That phenomena is so funny according to Saridin. The people who are instructed to wear shoes and socks must be confused. Certainly true this shoe protects the foot or leg threatened, so the legs should be covered with socks? "

4. Ability to Suffer and Having the Strength to Overcome All the Torments

It can be seen implicitly in folklore entitled "The Collapse of Scabies Pain Legend. 'It is no secret that there are at boarding school students are definitely affected by scurvy. The problem has become a regular sight in the neighborhood that someone scratched his arms, legs, chest, and even perhaps-sorry-crotch. If there are students who are exposed to scabies, then do not assume that the environment of the schools or students are unhealthy. The most important thing is the scabies could be one mental and spiritual lesson for the students. We can clearly seen this joke in bellow sentences :

> "...We know that one of the mental lessons in Islamic boarding education is the ability to suffer. In that case the presence of scurvy can be utilized for effective mental test materials for the students. Imagine, can the students pray in his circumstances itching? Can they learn, study in that situations? ("RuntuhnyaLegendaSakitKudis" dalam Folklore Madura,2005:20)

Scabies can also be a tool or driving a congregation form a very good effect on the mentality and the spiritual of students.It can be seen from the sentences below:

> "Germs scabies as if deliberately sown by the angels of God to be a facilitator of the necessities of students to meditate, uzlah, or solitude. This is serious. Thingking about it; students surrounded a germ scabies all over his body. The stars are scattered throughout the skin. Joints so nails, fingers can not bend. Can imagine how he was bathing, sleeping, praying, or exercising? "...So he becomes lonely. Excluded, even from

himself. He had to sit, or bask in the sun in the morning. It could hardly do anything. He should be imprisoned in his lonely. He was forced to ponder. Thingking and feeling the silence and solitude".

From the above quotation, the philosophical values is that a human should be able to control themselves, to shelter the ideas, and to sort out feelings. If humans can do that he will be humble and not arrogant know the meaning of life.

5. They Also Have Loyality the Madurese Community Leaders Who Fit in Their Hearts

The love and loyality of Madura people to the leader who is appropriate in their hearts can not be changed. Love of the Madurese to their leader can be seen from the following quote:

> "...Mr Haji Noor Muhammad, the former Governor from East Java,(Mayority of the people call him as the former Governor of East Java). For many people Madura, Moh Noor is not the former Governor. Nothing. ...So, for many people Madura, Governor of East Java is Mr Noor. If you try to argue, for example: " In fact the Governor of East Java have changed. There areMrSunandarPriyosudarmo, MrSularso, MrBasofi or Mr Imam. But, the Madura people said , all the men are not the real Governor. The real Governor is Mr Muhammad Noor" ("RT Spontanitas RW Alamiah" dalam Folklore Madura,2005:98)

6. They Have Kind Enough Thought to the Fate of God.

Madura is religious community. This is reflected in the attitude of understanding the fate of God. Whatever the fate of God they always think that that is the love ofGod to his servant. God may not torture people who are obedient to Him. God would not punish people who had no fault in him. The complete quote can be read in this following sentences:

> "If God hold the fortune the people who obey him, it means that the postpone of fortune might be a certain method in order to that those people are having higher scored. In other case, if someone who is obey to the God but he was given poverty or suffering, of course what

happens is one of the three possibilities ... reprimand, examination and punishment ("MbokNggakUsah Ada Neraka" dalam Folklore Madura,2005:11)

If God has not given fortune on the people who obey his order it means that there are three possibilities. First, it was a critics. Alhamdulillah (thanks God) that God would desire to criticize us. That means we have a chance to be better people. Secondly, it is a test. We must also saidThank God, because the only person who face the test that will pass examine. And third, it's punishment. Thank God . We need punishment because people are always in need of cleaning itself, requires a process of purification and rebirth.

7. Trust and Believe of God's Destiny (Death is the Fate of God not Because of Other Factors)

Whoever believes (who believe common sense) that dropped from the coconut tree can cause death, but Saridin (a character in folklore Madura) believes that it is not falling from the tree was the cause of death, but because the fate of God. Saridin belief in *syahadat*(creeds) that have grown bravery.The complete quote can be seen in the sentences below:

> "Reading *syahadat*(the creed) is managing and controling the tongue to make a sound and the number of words. *Syahadat* is the courage to prove that he really believes what did he said. Saridin wants to prove his belief. Heis dropping himself from the top of a coconut tree .... He belief that die or life because the fate of God, not other caused. If God wants me dead, now I could die without reason, eventhough I was sleeping. ('TarekatTerjunBebasdanJamu Air Gamping' dalam 'Folklore Madura,2005:24)

8. Straight Forward (mot long-winded), Effective and Efficient

The characteristic Madura people is effective, straightforward and efficient. It can be seen from the following quote:

> "On another occasion, Emha has been invited to attend and speak at the event of kyai (Moslem leaders) in Madura. Commonly,

EmhaAinunNadjib felt bored with the ceremony. Because, usually the host arrange the schedule with bored formal and ritualism.For example 90% of ceremony commonly full of *acarasambutan* (formal welcome) and the rest (10%) is the real content. However, in Madura, Emha surprised. Because suddenly there is student on the podium, love greeting, then immediately read the holy Qur `an. Afterward, the host, who was not on the podium, saying: "Now we just invite the Cak Nun ..." ("Kelugasan Madura vs CV PolitikPribadi" dalam Folklore Madura,2005:147-148)

9. Respect to the Women

Madurese culture aware that women should be protected and saved. The some elements of a woman was allowed to go public, but there are some elements that just only for her husband. No one (no men) can touched and looked it. If the man did it, so it means brush! sickles! carok!. This is illustrated in the quote below:

> "The flow of blood from the body does not mean anything compared to a form of cruelty and violence that eroded the value of human dignity. Man called humans because they can protect his wife from other men. The Madura man brave to do *carok*if that is happen.("From Sumenep to singset Oriented "in Folklore Madura, 2005:128)

Based on the quote above, we can see how a man willing to do*carok* (duel)because of his wife.Thats way in Madura Island the rape case is very rare. It is because traditionally there is strict social control, and it's certainly better than a free sex that are prided by modern civilization.

Conclusions

Thenovel 'Folklore Madura' by EmhaAinunNajib is riched with values of Madura culture . Folklore is not only describes how the real the nature and character of the people of Madura, but also advise how the man is supposed to be. The philosophical values in this novel are: free to determine the will of a strong and principled; does not like pretense (honest), the ability to suffer; trust and believe of fate from God; love and loyalty to the leader of the Madurese

appropriate in their hearts; uphold the honor of women; straightforward (not long-winded), effective and efficient people.

I suggest for other researchers to examine other novel. So we can know how the majority of imaging the ethnic Madura in other novel. Interviewing with the author also important to know about the principles and mission of authors.

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FRAMING INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY:
Media Representation of the Collective Identity of the Pro-Tapanuli Activists in Indonesia[1]

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Abstract

This paper explores how collective identity is framed within the context of the unified national identity in the Post-Suharto Indonesia. The importance of religion and ethnicity as the markers of group boundaries in Indonesia not only colors discussions about what serves as the basic element for the emergence of a nation within a modern and new democratic system, but most importantly how particular groups identities and unified national identity are constructed . Focusing on a local movement demanding the creation of a new province in North Sumatera, Indonesia, this paper discusses how a local media outlet frames collective identity of the movement activists. Applying discourse analyses of newspaper articles published between April 2009 and December 2010, this paper shows that a local newspaper frames the identity of the Pro-Tapanuli activists as an indigenous community, while at the same time linking this identity to the unified national identity.

Keywords: indigenous community, media representation, and unified national identity

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Background

The transition from Suharto's New Order to a more democratic system is marked by local elites' attempt to express grievances using identity politics (Bertrand 2004; Colombijn 2003; Heffner 2005; van Klinken 2003). For example, current study demonstrates the salient of using the politics of identity in local and provincial general elections in Medan (Aspinall 2011). These studies suggest that religion, ethnicity, and region can be politically used to re-invoke groups' boundaries. The question then is not only what it is that serves as the basic element for the construction of the future of the nation-state, but most importantly how the unified national identity, particular groups' and collective identities are constructed in the Post-Suharto Indonesia.

In 2004, a group of Tapanuli leaders proposed a new Tapanuli province separated from the North Sumatera province. Later, in 2007, a rally took place demanding the formulation of the new Tapanuli Province. And again, in February 3, 2009, around 2000 protesters gathered in front of the legislative building demanding that the legislative body discuss a proposal for the new province. Because of the emotional involvement in such a public demand, a council speaker, Abdul Azis Angkat, died a few hours after the rally had turned violent. The police announced sixty seven activists as suspects and categorized all the suspects into several different groups, namely protest initiators, field coordinators, those who paid the protesters, and those who mobbed the council buildings or destroyed property. The suspects included university students, university teaching staffs, members of local parliamentarians, priests, and some lawyers. Those found guilty were sentenced between two and a half years and twelve years in prison.

The protest did not merely gain local media attention. Two national newspapers, *the Jakarta Post* and *the Kompas* daily newspaper cover the story widely. In Medan, two local newspapers, *Waspada* and *SIB*, intensively reported the event, and framed in differently. So contrast was the content of the newspapers that a week after the protest, the Association of Independent Journalists (AJI) urged PWI, the national organization of journalist, not only to investigate but also to sanction *SIB* for its unbalanced reports.

Following up AJI's demand, two media studies centers in Indonesia, KIPPAS and LSPP, collaborated to publish a report of a content analysis of the

two local newspapers. Based on 109 newspaper articles in a two weeks period—a week before and a week after protest— sixty one articles in SIB were in placed as headlines or at least in the front page. In comparison, *Waspada* only published forty eight articles on different sections including the headlines. The report also notes that the two local newspapers emphasized opinions rather than facts, and concludes that *Waspada* and *SIB* neglected the importance of the two-sided coverage in their reporting. Consequently, the two newspapers are considered violated the standard of objectivity of media report, and contributed in constructing symbolic violence. KIPPAS and LSPP conclude that *Waspada* and particularly *SIB,* therefore, violated journalistic ethical conduct (Anto 2009). The PWI finally demanded an explanation from *SIB* and urged this local newspaper to control its journalists' reports so as not to violate journalist ethical conduct (PWI 2009).

Research Question

The report published by KIPPAS and LSPP suggests that *Waspada and SIB* exclusively cited two different religious groups (Chistians by *SIB* and Muslims by *Waspada*). The report is failed, however, to notice that whereas *Waspada* targeted Muslims as well as Malay, South Tapanuli, and Minangkabau, *SIB* had Christian and Toba Batak readerships in mind. Focusing only on *SIB,* this paper takes account the overlapping two categories of *SIB's* readers, and explores *how this local newspaper frames the collective identity of protesters as an "indigenous community," and links this idea to the concept of the unified national identity.*

Methods

As a pilot project and part of a broader study comparing four newspapers framings –*SIB, Waspada, the Jakarta Post,* and *Kompas*—this study particularly focuses on the way in which *SIB* frames the collective identity of the protesters demanding a new Tapanuli Province. Based on my initial analysis of *the Jakarta Post* adapting Semetko and Valkenburg's conceptualization of five framings (Semetko 2000), this national newspaper emphasizes three frames in portraying the protest. First, the newspaper focuses on those who were

responsible for the death of North Sumatera council speaker (*responsibility frame*). Second, the newspaper pays attention to the protesters violent attack on the council speaker (*the human interest frame*). Finally, the newspaper emphasizes the antagonism between the protesters and the council speaker, and the disagreement between different authorities concerning the death of the council speaker (*the conflict frame*).

The death of the North Sumatera council speaker gained *the Jakarta Post online's* attention to the extent that all of its articles about the Pro-Tapanuli protest from February to April 2009 (39 articles) contain a paragraph portraying the death of the speaker. The paragraph describes in detail the way the protesters attack the speaker physically, suggesting that the Jakarta Post's construction of the protest focuses mainly on a particular aspect of the event that is the death of the North Sumatera council speaker; the newspaper failed, however, to capture the grievances of the protesters.

This paper starts exactly from the grievances of the protesters as represented by *Suara Indonesia Baru*'s online articles and photos published from April 2009 to December 2010. The total 144 online materials include 132 photos and twelve articles. To check these online sources, sixteen printed articles containing photos published from May 2009 to May 2010 are compared to their online versions. I purposively use Tapanuli as keywords on *SIB* online then selected articles that reported the protest demanding a new Tapanuli province. On December 2011, all the articles and photos were downloaded and saved in *MS Words* formats. This strategy allows the current data analysis although since 2012 *SIB* online is no longer available.

Although framing analysis is useful to identify the extent to which the frames emerge in the news (Semetko 2000), the standardized yes-or-no answer does not allow us to see deeper into the issue. Taking account of this limitation, I created framing codes from themes and concepts that consistently emerged from the data. In this regard, data analysis was conducted simultaneously at the same time the framing code was developed. This qualitative approach is beneficial to identify frames that *SIB* online used in its stories about the protest after the event.

Findings

Although media agenda does not always overlap with the public's agenda, media framing can influence the public, public opinion, and public agenda (d'Haenens 2002). So important is the role of the media in the process of social construction of protest, that Gamson and Meyer define the media systems as political opportunity variables and as sites of struggle for the nature of opportunity (Gamson 1996). The media is also influential in constructing grievances and success expectations for collective action although this does not mean that media has a direct impact on its audience and social movements because the actual formation and transformation of collective beliefs take place in exchange within the groups and categories with which individuals identify (Klandermans 1992).

It is also important to note that the media are bias in transforming the information that it transmits. As Klandermans and Gosslinga (Klandermans 1996) explain, Space limitations alone introduce selectivity in the production of media discourse. Mass media select and interpret available information according to principles that define news value. In so doing they produce a transformed reality which diverges from the reality as a social actor defines it. For example, in their analysis of meaning construction for individuals who join collective action concerning disability allowance (DA) in the Netherlands, Klandermans and Gosslinga (1996) show that the media does not cover issues in details, instead the media puts emphasis on the debating actors. Their study suggests that, unintentionally, media bias potentially provides support for a movement. This is explained through the process of a dynamic interaction between the media and social activists in influencing public discourse and individuals' raising consciousness. Such dynamic is generated in the multi-organizational field, a place for selecting and adapting information for consciousness raising. In this sense, as parts of an alliance system of an actor, groups and organizations facilitate individuals accessing information, discussing their experiences and the moves of their opponents, and learning about their new situation. The awareness of the issue and their positions reinforce individuals' conception of an us and them dynamic. Such a process drives them to become radicalized (Klandermans, 1992: 98).

Adapting Klanderman's multi-organizational field, this paper assumes that to understand what behind the framing, and how media outlet (in this case *SIB*) constructs the collective identity of the protesters, it is important to see the relationship between the owners or the management of this newpaper and the Pro-Tapanuli movement, and then the post-event coverage of the protest. These relationships can be identified from the newspaper's stories and other secondary sources. I have not triangulated this information with those behind the news –for example the owner, editors, journalists, etc— suggesting the limitation of this initial study.

1. The Link Between SIB's Management and the Pro-Tapanuli Movement

Some studies have already discussed the ways in which local newspapers in Medan frame their coverage aiming at maintaining and if possible raising their market, while at the same time represent and perpetuate particular groups' identities. Studies on local media in Medan suggest that local newspapers pay attention to group identities of the targeted audience, and pragmatically frame their stories to gain public interests. A study on how two local newspapers (*Waspada and Sumut Pos*) frame a bank robbery in Medan demonstrates that particular framings that the editorship decided are based on the calculation of profit, the analysis of angle of issues that their audience might be interested in, and the ideology of the newspaper (Priadi 2011). Another study by Susan Rodgers (1991) insightfully connects three main newspapers in Medan 6 to the ethnic and religion background of the newspaper's management[3]. Whereas *Waspada* is seen as a Muslim, southern Batak paper and *Analisa* has tie to Medan's large Chinese-Indonesian community, *SIB* is managed by a group of people identified as Christian Toba Batak. Based on her study on cultural page on *SIB* and *Waspada*, since the mid-1970s, Rodgers argues that these local newspapers functioned as an intense arena for defining ethnicity and relating it to a national framework (Rodgers, 1991: 88).

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3 According to Rodgers (1991), despite the specific groups' backgrounds, however, the newspapers targeted broader North Sumatera readerships

The studies above suggest that newspapers' stories are partly shaped by the management and the journalist behind the media. Presumably, interrogating the relationship between these actors and the event that they represent is important to understand why newspapers select particular framings. *SIB*'s coverage on the pro-Tapanuli protests, was prompted by a strong connection between the owner and management of this newspaper to the Pro-Tapanuli movement. Concerning this, although *SIB* targets a broader audience than Christian and Toba Batak readership (Rodgers 1991), its stories about the Pro-Tapanuli protest highly represents this particular ethnic group.

SIB was founded in 1970, by GM Panggabean, a Christian Toba Batak man who also led the management of the newspaper until 2011. He placed members of his family in various positions in the management of the newspaper, including his son, GM Chandra Panggabean who held the position as the second chief editor. The later Panggabean was also the leader of the movement aiming at the creation of a new Tapanuli Province. Soon after the event, GM Chandra Panggabean was taken to prison under the accusation of being responsible for the chaos protest that caused heart attack and then the death of Abdul Aziz Angkat, the North Sumatera council speaker, amidst the protesters. Chandra Panggabean was sentenced eight years in prison on July 12, 2009; yet SIB continued its reportages until the end of 2010. As the following sub-section discusses, this circumstance partly explains the persistence of *SIB's* coverage and the framings that the newspaper applied in reporting the protest after the event.

2. Framing the Indigenous Community: Tapanuli Province for Tapanuli People

SIB framed the collective identities of the protesters by centering on Christian-Toba Batak identity, re-invoking the idea of indigenous Tapanuli community, and linking this image to 7 the concept of the unified national identity, particularly after the event of the protest. First, the newspaper emphasizes the protesters' demand for creating a new Tapanuli province as a response to the economic marginality of Tapanuli people. Then, *SIB*

describes these protesters as heroes[4] of Pro-Tapanuli or *pejuang Pro-Tapanuli.* The construction of the protesters' collective identity this way, marks the beginning of SIB's representation of the idea of Tapanuli *indigeneity*. It re-invents and perpetuates this idea, by frequently including Tapanuli songs, *ulos*, *boras sipir ni tondi* rituals, *and upa-upa.*

For example, SIB highlighted in details, the scene when the protesters sang the O Tano Batak song, while their families, particularly mothers, were watching in tears. *SIB* also made sure that their readers were aware of *Darah Juang Tapanuli,* a new song created by the activists in prison expressing their grievances while at the same time emphasizing their sacrifices for Tapanuli people. A more explicit message can be captured from pictures of two activists who handsomely dressed in Toba Batak outfit, while reading their statement of defense in court.

In the same vein, *SIB* published pictures and stories where a national leader and a priest gave the *Boras Sipir Ni Tondi*[5] to two student activist and the leader of Pro-Tapanuli movement. The first picture portrayed a moment when the two student activist sitting on the ground with *ulos* on their shoulders in the front of Sabam Sirait, a national leader, who stood and bent to touch the head of one student. This moment took place in the front of the Human Right Commissions office in Jakarta, where the students and small numbers of protesters voiced the same demand as in Medan earlier. The caption under the picture informs the readers that Sabam Sirait, gave *boras sipir ni tondi* or encouragement to the students. The second picture shows the same ritual involving different actors. Readers are presented the spectacle when the Pro-Tapanuli leader, GM Richard Panggabean stood with *ulos* on his shoulder; while an *HKBP* priest lifted his hand pouring a small amount of rice on Panggabean's head.

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4   SIB's construction of these protesters' collective identity is in contradiction to that of, for example, *the Jakarta Post*. In my analysis of this national newspaper line articles, *The Jakarta Post* explicitly defines the protesters as anarchist and violent. In general, the newspaper identifies those who participate in the protest as suspects, the mob, the protest and protesters, demonstrators, the rally, mass, and a group of people. The newspaper uses adjectives such as angry protesters and links them to the attack of Abdul Azis Angkat. Also, frequently "the mob," is used in combination with adjectives such as angry and violent.

5   This ritual symbolizes community support to its members who need strength and encouragement after encountering calamity in their lives.

While SIB's framing might persuade its audience to see Tapanuli people as an indigenous community with the right to have a new Tapanuli province, the framing is in juxtaposition to its emphasis on the idea that this community also belongs to Indonesian nation-state. This latter framing is obvious from SIB's coverage of its staff's donations to various orphanages managed by Muslim as well as Christians groups, SIB's reports of local and national leaders from diverse political and ethnic backgrounds that visited the protesters, particularly GM Richard Panggabean in the prison. Or, from *SIB*'s a picture of an activist who had a small red-and-white symbol on his black t-shirt during the hearing in the court.

The juxtaposition of the two framings suggests that not only does *SIB* have two specific readerships in mind: the Christian-Toba Batak groups and beyond, but it also emphasizes that the Tapanuli indigenous community is a part of Indonesian nation state. To understand what prompted *SIB* to shape its stories this way, we need to look at the shifting landscape where SIB's management stood, a point that is discussed in the following sub-section.

Discussions

The dynamic between activists and media construction of protests is inevitably related to their context. As Tarrow suggests, … contentious politics is not born in organizers' heads but is culturally inscribed and socially communicated. The learned conventions of contention are part of a society's public culture (Tarrow 1998). Moreover, there is a particular repertoire that serves as a constraint (Tilly 1999). Studies from different locations (Auyero 2003; Bayat 2007; Boudreau 2002; Scott 1990), clearly show that different contexts have different repertoire of contentions.

In Indonesia, under the Suharto regime (1971-1998), cultural production was regulated in the following way. *First*, the government repressed media with its strong corporatist control (Boudreau 2002). It authorized a representative for each media organization responsible to implement government prescriptions and proscriptions for the industry (Sen 2000). Trough this practice, the government eliminated undesirable participants and suppressed any conflict in industrial relations or in the news media reports.

Second, the Suharto regime defined media as vehicles for the creation of a national culture' and made guidelines on what to say, what not to say and who could speak in which medium. In this sense, the media played an important role as a mediator between culture and politics. As Sen and Hill write, the media mediated the translation of culture into politics and politics into culture (Sen 2000). Hand in hand with media's self control, the government barred communist sympathies from media, and it eliminated left-wing cultural institutions. Most importantly, the regime banned any text that possibly inflame primordial' ethnic, religious, racial or group' tensions abbreviated as SARA which was used to hinder media's reports of ethno-religious tensions (Sen 2000).

However, ten years before the regime collapsed, the press began to work as an industry and at the same time responded to its middle class readers and demanded greater freedom for the press. In terms of corporatist control, there was a successful attempt of journalists to challenge the government's version of press representative organization through the founding of Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) in 1994 (Sen and Hill 2000:54). Underground press was also an important alternative for social movements' activists aiming at eroding the legitimacy of the New Order and Suharto (Menayang 2002) as well as the internet upon which the government's control was very limited (Sen and Hill 2000; Sen 2002).

In the Post-Suharto Indonesia, the media, particularly newspapers, operate in a more relaxed atmosphere although Suharto's successors' policy concerning the openness of media is highly debated (Nyman 2006). For example, after Abdurrahman Wahid abolished media restriction by closing down the Department of Information (Sen 2000), the next president, Megawati Soekarno Puteri, brought back media restriction. Despite the debatable intensity of the impact of this new restriction, media pays more and more attention to forbidden topics such as labor issues (Nyman 2006). Moreover, due to the process of democratization in Indonesia that provides political opportunities for redefining identities, media are more confident in reporting what was considered as inflame primordial' ethnic, religious, racial or group' tensions (abbreviated as SARA) (Sen 2000).

At the same time, elites practice the politics of identity to gain voters at national, regional and local elections. Particular identity also becomes a reference for proposing new provinces and municipalities. Since the implementation of the law on regional autonomy in 1998, there are six new provinces and 198 new regencies and municipalities created in Indonesia. Currently, Indonesia consists of 33 provinces and 491 regencies and municipalities. It is within this context that the Pro-Tapanuli movement emerged, and the juxtaposition of its framings gains its political significance.

Concluding Remarks

This paper explores how collective identity of protesters is constructed in the Post-Suharto Indonesia. Focusing on a local protest demanding the creation of a new Tapanuli province in North Sumatera, this paper discusses how a local media outlet, the *Suara Indonesia Baru* (*SIB*) frames the collective identity of local protesters. Taking account of the relationship between who behind the news, the protest, and the framings that the newspaper applied in portraying the protesters, this paper shows that *SIB* used two framings: the indigenous Tapanuli community and its link to the unified nation-state. This paper also demonstrates that the juxtaposition of these two framings provide an imagination of an indigenous community that fits in Indonesia as a modern nation-state.

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Panel 6

Cultural Commodification Within and Without

SEA NOMADS IN BATAM:
A Phenomenon in Development Policy in Bertam Island, Batam

Atik Rahmawati

Abstract

Sea nomads are one of the indigenious people that inhabit the waters of Riau Island with the greatest number recorded in the Department of the Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia database 1988, with which 11,23% is concentrated on Batam waters, located in Malaka and Philip Straits, and South China Sea. It is called Sea Nomads since its people live nomadic by doing the whole life activities in a boat or watercraft covered with *Kajang*. Nomadic Life in the Sea Life certainly does have risks that can sometimes be life-threatening if the sudden bad weather comes, besides the lack of social services affordability they should get as citizens including education, health, and housing. It is also recalled that since 1973 Batam as a strategic area of border regions grew into regional industry, commerce, shipbuilding, and tourism which has the authority of developing the region. The rapid development in Batam certainly has an impact on the lives of the sea nomads, including the development program proposed the Ministry of Social of the Republic of Indonesia, particularly their placement in the settlement since 1989, which involved the elements of the local community, the Social Organizations called Social Communication and Consultation (SCCF) of Batam located in Bertam island, Batam. This paper attempts to describe the life of the sea nomads who have experienced life changes that are settled on the Bertam island of Batam by presenting the impact caused by the development policy.

Keywords: Empowerment, Policy Impact, Indigenous Communities, Sea Nomads

Introduction

Remote Indigenous Community Empowerment (*Pemberdayaan Komunitas Adat Terpencil*, PKAT) Program for sea nomads on the Bertam island is the flagship program of the government under the coordinations of Department of Social Affairs and is a pilot project through the Sea Nomads community participation, in cooperation with the Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and a social organization called Social Welfare Activities Coordinator (Koordinator Kegiatan Kesejahteraan Sosial/KKKS), formerly known as Batam Communication and Social Consultative Forum (Forum Komunikasi dan Konsultasi Sosial/FKKS).

PKAT is one of the government's concerns and commitments to accelerate the development process for those who still have not been reached by the national development process which is generally located in remote areas that are difficult to reach2. As a pilot project, the program involves a lot of support from a number of parties: The government of Indonesia through the Ministry of Information, Ministry of Coordinator for Social Welfare, Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Research and technology; also supported by non-governmental organization such as KKKS Batam including NEBA (Nedherland Batam) foundation as international donor; and the academicians of the University of Indonesia and the Bandung Institute of Technology.

This program brings Bertam Island transformed into a bustling settlement with the construction of additional housing units and some supporting facilities, ranging from housing construction carried out from 1988 until 1993, the buildings of posyandu, Elementary School and mosque, multipurpose hall, monument of boats, wells, *yetti* (wharf), paths on land that have been disseminated, ring roads, until the solar-based electricity.

The Problems to Discuss

With Bertam island as a pilot project, it does not make the island grows into a well-developed settlements from the increasing the number of facilities and infrastructure as well as the number of sea nomads who settled on the Bertam island, as revealed by the Secretary of RT 20 of Bertam island, as the interview

results the author recorded as follows:

> First time I entered the settlement, a lot of help came from the government, KKKS Batam, also groceries from NEBA, home-making, and the bridge which now has a lot of holes, also health facility with doctors and nurses, school buildings with teachers assistence.. but now the government rarely come, more help, likewise, comes from Mrs. Dar (Mrs. Dar is Mother Sudarsono, the chairman of KKKS Batam), groceries every Ramadan, fasting break, school uniforms and shoes for children. Even now there are many people who go back into the sea or move to the back of the field. The house is not there, fallen. The only owned is the boat. So, it now remains 114 people. If this continues Bertam could be more quiet (September, 2009).

The life the Sea Nomads community has been through especially after their placement in Bertam is that they experience various problems such as in terms of economic, social, health, and education. This study attempts to answer the question of "How Community Development Policy the life of Sea Nomads Communities on the Bertam Island, Batam?".

From Nomadic Life in the Sea to the Residential Communities on the Bertam Island, Batam

Bertam Island is one of a group of islands in the region of Batam, Riau Island province, precisely in the Kasu village, Belakang Padang district about 7 miles away from Batam Island to the port of Tanjung Uncang or 10 miles away from the port of Sekupang Batam. Geographically, Batam has an area of 1570.35 km^2, consisting of 186 large and small islands with which the largest one is Batam island with 415 Km2 or known as the Bonded area, meanwhile the surrounding small islands called the Hinterland region includes the island Bertam therein.

The output of the PKAT program for the Sea Nomads communities in the Bertam Island is that one of those to which the Sea Nomads communities can live permanently on the Bertam Island, Batam. Living permanently causes a change in life that would be certainly very different from his previous life as the sea nomads at the surrounding waters of Batam.

Based on the results of the study indicate that they tend to choose to have a permanently stable life in the settlement compared to the previous one they lead. Stable preference to living in the settlements is closely related to the realization of which the desire of citizens prepare their future generations primarily through formal education and maintaining the safety of their family life because it can avoid the danger of malignancy marine weather, and the condition of the body began to adapt to the ground so that their body will begin to feel pain when they live on the ocean for long time.

Therefore, the stable life they live will permanently affect the peace of mind/spirit so that they can plan for a better life for their family, especially for the future of their children through education. Education is a means for improving the quality of people; the quality of social human serve as community assets that are beneficial to the community development. Adi (2008) mentions it as human capital.

Sea Nomads of Bertam Island Batam as an "Already Empowered" Community

The legal basis of the Empowerment Program for the Sea Nomads communities on the Bertam Island Batam is motivated by the Development policy for Social Welfare and Pattern of Social Welfare Problems handling by the Ministry of Social Affairs through the Social Welfare Development Society Alienation (PKSMT). In the implementative level, this program has experienced several nomenclatures (code name) changes from which it was firstly referred to "Remote Tribe", then "Remote People" until later in 1992 it was called as "Remote Indigenous Communities" in accordance with the Presidential Decree of The Republic of Indonesia No. 111 entitled "Fostering the Social Welfare of Remote Indigenous Communities".

These changes are not made spontaneously, but through an assessment and evaluation of the previous program. It means that there are methods reforms and improvements in the implementation. Similarly, this change is also applied in nomenclatures from "Remote People" to "Remote Indigenous Communities ". The difference can be seen in terms of its execution, where the program puts forward the concept of empowerment PKAT (bottom-up)

with its emphasis on aspiration, initiative, and participation of the target community in every activity started from the preparation, execution, until the evaluation phase. It is done to grow the attitude and confidence of the Remote Indigenous Communities in managing their potential to break away from the remoteness, geographical and psychological barriers and poverty. While the implementation of empowerment PKSMT is packaged in the form of coaching and tends to be top-down.

Both approaches above are opposite ones for they tend to apply *top down* atau *bottom-up* approaches in their implementation which can affect differently on the targeted community. Pressman and Wilavsky in Parsons (2008, p. 468) explain that the top-down model contains ideas of "implementation is to make people do things instructed, and to control the order stages in a system". Similarly, Kusumanegara and Nugroho (2010) mention the similar proposition that the *top down* approach is only focused on bureaucracy to implement only political decisions, rule out interactions and men's feelings. Fermana (2009) and Parsons (2008) further state that in a coercive social relation which discusses about who the object of decision is, the *top-down* paradigm fails to create social justice for all people for it is tyrannical and elitist. It has too much emphasis imposed on the objective definition above, not on the role of the workers in the field.

This is of course different from the use of bottom-up approach, as expressed by Parsons (2008), Kusumanegara (2010), and Nugroho (2010) that the bottom-up approach is more prescriptive approach and puts forward the elements of decentralization in the implementation of the program and has a requirement of a public policy that embraces democratic model formulated from the bottom (bottom-up) so that it enables the emergence of empowerment for those who are considered as the target of the decisions.

The implementation of community policies on sea nomads based on the data from the Ministry of Social Affairs recorded in 2006 which was updated in 2008 showed that the sea nomads knowsn as the remote Indigenous Communities (KAT) on the Bertam island, Kasu village, Padang Belakang District, Batam, has been recorded as "already empowered", with the implementation of the program at beginning of the year 1989/1990 until the end of the year 1993/1994. The updates suggest that the original program which

tends to be top down (PKSMT) is then necessarily categorized as bottom-up program (PKAT).

The Fading Arts of Cultural Traditions "Silat Jung and Joget"

The sea nomads are a developed nation (Neolithicum), part of the ethnic groups (Indigenous People) as the natives occupying Batam waters who can live for centuries with traditional values passed down from generation to generation and attached to their daily life. Involvement of cultural traditions can strengthen the indigenous cultural communities and effectively help them have a real control to their own group. Cultural participation is an important way to build social capital, strengthen communities, and affirm identity, as revealed by the Ife and Tesoriero (2008). Similarly, Putnam disclosed in Suharto (2008, p.98) mentions that "social capital will not be depleted if used, but increasing. The destruction of social capital is more often caused not by use, but because it is not being used".

What happened in the Sea Nomads communities on the Bertam Island related to aspects of the current culture is the fading tradition of their culture including Silat, Jung, and Joget which are originally institutionalized in their lives as a medium of entertainment where people unwind after a day at sea looking for fish. One tradition that still exists today is "Joget". However, it also begins to change from the procedure and equipment used. If Joget is previously free entertainment media in the Sea Nomads community, it has turned into entertainment media which can encourage people to behave an extravagant life. "Joget" Shows are performed by 10 dancers who are all still in their teens and come from outside Bertam with stomping modern music and no fixed rule and conditions about how the dancers have to move their body. This custom takes place spontaneously every three months as a residential entertainment to unwind after a day of fishing.

Therefore it typically starts at 12.00 am after they return from sea and ends at 2:00 am or less than 2 hours. For once shaking dance, a person should pay IDR 4000 with duration of less than 5 minutes. Thus, the total money paid by all people for Joget performance is (2x60 min) / 5 min x IDR 4000 x 10 dancers, or approximately IDR 960 000, and for 1 year they can collect money

approximately IDR 3.84 millions. Ife and Tesoriero (2008) call it as the commodification of culture.

Besides the direct negative impact that can be viewed from the cultural aspect is the emergence of the people's dependent attitudes on aid. Dependency properties arise resulting from a negative view towards the Sea Nomads community; the result tends to spoil the people in implementing the program with the help of a charity. The programs are accidental (one shot program) or charity is a program that is less visible benefits in the long term, as revealed by the Adi (2008). Dependency is not an objective of public policy, as proposed by Nugroho (2006, p. 22), that the best public policy is to encourage all citizens to build their competitiveness, and not to get into the pattern of dependency ".

This dependency is caused by, one of them, the implementation of the program which tends to spoil the community to accept grants as charity, resulted in an assumption that when a program is accomplished, it indicates that the grants such as the constructions of facilities and infrastructure are completed. By the end of the PKAT program for Sea Nomads community on the Bertam Island, the Batam FKKS is no longer responsible for the program sustainability. For further actions, the development program for Bertam people will be adjusted to the program distribution mechanism decided by the government or through MUSRENBANG. Meanwhile, the MUSRENBANG mechanism encourages prioritizing the local needs with which the prerequisite is by submitting prioritized need analysis-based proposal. This condition complicates Bertam people, because most of them, old men in particular, cannot read and count so that to meet the prerequisite is a hard thing to do.

This often happens because it is also caused by the *disfunction* of the RT officer; unsupported health condition and physical performance are no longer enabled. The local government is less concerned with the current situation and condition of their people which in turn make this problem never last. Another consequence is that there have not any people who received capital financing for productive economic empowerment, as revealed by one of informants who are noticeably the head division of community empowerment, market, cooperatives and small medium enterprises of Batam.

It indirectly indicates that in evaluating the program implementation, the executor has not involved people participation and is less aware of human

resources from the targeted community. Adi (2008, p. 252) mentions "Evaluation as monitoring process from community and officers toward the running program on community development is suggested to be conducted by involving people participation; involving them is expected to create a community system in doing internal monitoring so that for long-term purposes it is expected to make the community more "independent" by utilizing the existing resources". If this monitoring activity does not involve the targeted community, it will only affect on the people dependency on aid.

Further impact is that low awareness to maintain and possess facilities and infrastructure obtained from the program implementation. It can be seen from the facilities and infrastructure conditions: decayed and even collapsed house, bridges and *yetti* (wharf), broken and no longer used modem as solar electricity tool, collapsed multipurpose hall, broken and no longer used health facility, monument of boats and even broken houses into pieces on land.

The nature of dependency, low quality of human resources and encouraged by the government's lack of attention to the needs of local residents lead to the emergence of Bertam people mobility moving to another place, such as the island of Linga, Batam, or even back to the previsous life as seanomads in the oceans, as revealed by the informant (Hs) as follows:

> So if the government is now not strong to formulate our sea nomads, we will go back into the sea again. If the government is not strong to lead us.. Yach we will move to the origin again. Our men are still strong down the sea. Yach..we could move out to sea again as the others. (Hs, Beneficaries Program, October 19, 2010).

This condition indirectly confirms the emergence of the negative impact of the cultural aspects arising from the implementation of the PKAT program especially for sea nomads Community in the Bertam Island-Batam.

The Increasingly Tainted Environment

The use of semi-permanent house model on the land with wooden stakes as a buffer and wash bath house and latrine models (MCK), which are directly thrown to sea trigger the habit of people who litter. This habit causes the

environment to be dirty, the garbage dumped cannot be carried by ocean currents so when low tide arrived the rubbish is still left in the vault under the house-stakes caught by the buffer.

This condition may indirectly cause environmental pollution. Meanwhile the environment is one of the capitals, by which Adi (2008) refers to the "environmental capital" as community assets that support community development. Polluted environment adversely affects the people's health, or it can be the negative impact of the environment.

The Reduced Catch Affecting on Income

The findings of the Research indicate that pollution in Batam waters is caused by the wastes from the shipping industry that exists around the island of Batam. A relatively close distance between Batam and Bertam Islands causes the pollution spread to the Bertam waters. Further result of this pollution is the decrease of fish habitat thereby affecting Bertam people's catches, which directly affects their earnings.

Considering the majority of their main occupation is fishing, their income is highly dependent on fish catches. This condition also shows that the feasibility study to determine the location of settlements conducted during the preparation has not considered the environmental conditions around the Bertam Island which may result in the future life. With the least catch fish in Bertam waters and based on knowledge and experience before settling in Bertam make most people do "being like at home (bertandang)".

"Being like at home (bertandang)" activities are carried for days even months to fish in the waters around the Riau islands, bringing with them their wife and children unless they are still at school. As a result, this activity further makes children skip affecting the learning process.

Awareness of Land Tenure

The emergence of Bertam people awareness of land ownership is driven by their anxiety concerning the legality of land ownerships which do not have land ownership certificates. Ownerships of Bertam islands are generally divided

into two communities: the location where the settlement stands belonging to some Bertam people and forests in which there is a rubber plantation owned by those from the Kasu Island (the neighbor island), where the first ownership of land for Kasu people is then followed with the established settlements of Bertam people. As expressed by Ife and Tesoriero, the issue that often arises is the tract of land and indigenous spirituality (2008). The statement implies that the executor is less sensitive to the central issues surrounding the indigenous communities when the program is planned and formulated, implementers tend not to consider the assessment of the sustainability aspects of the implemented program activities.

The Emergence of Hoping Attitude on Returns without Hard Work

The Indirect impacts of the PKAT program for sea nomads community on the Bertam Island is the resource earnings for Batam SCCF Organization and quality of life improvement from the companion officers (Community Workers) when the program is implemented. The successful implementation of SCCF Batam provides benefits in addition to the resource earnings from the activities, primarily from the trusted institutions/organizations having similar goals that can indirectly increase the organization's existence.

However, the activities promoting the Sea Nomads community in Bertam by SCCF also trigger the attitude of expecting returns without hard work, which is caused by the lack of Bertam people's awareness that he has a high sales value to make money, or may trigger the negative aspects of the culture.

Conclusion

As a pilot project of community development, the implementation of PKAT program for Sea Nomads community on the Bertam Island-Batam has basic weakness that is it does not consider the need assessment on the targeted community, rather than rule out cultural aspects and customs of the targeted community and low human resources indicated with high illiteracy causing the limited *Participation for Material Incentive* at phase level "calm" or

categorized as "tokenism". Tokenism at the worst circumstance will make powerless people more powerless and remote. As consequence, today Sea Nomads community on the Bertam Island is less developed. It is indicated by the existence of the people who move to another island or live as they used to do, *seanomads*.

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COMMODIFICATION OF EXOTIC CULTURE THE CASE OF THE BAJO IN WAKATOBI ISLANDS, SOUTH EAST SULAWESI

Benny baskara

Abstract

The Bajo people are the maritime ethnic group who live spreadout through South East Asian waters, including in Indonesia. The Bajo were formerly known as the sea wanderer, sea nomads, or sea gypsies, because of their sea nomadic life with their traditional boats. However, almost all of them now are living in sedentary communities. They build their settlements in shores or atolls, but still above the sea water, and not on the land. Their life cannot be separated with the sea, and are always attached to the sea. Because of their maritime way of life, therefore, the Bajo are also known as the sea people.

The maritime way of life of the Bajo is a unique way of life, which fascinates and invites curiosity to the others to know and explore more on their life. At the same time, this curiosity becomes an opportunity for other parties to introduce and sell the uniqueness of the Bajo to wider market. Commodification of the Bajo culture then arises as a bridge to connect both sides. This paper focuses on the Bajo community who live in Wakatobi Islands, and describes the commodification of the Bajo culture, either by Wakatobi regency government or by other private parties, for the sake of tourism and other interests.

The form of commodification of the Bajo culture is capturing their cultural activities and exposing them in several media, and then distribute the result to the public or sell them to wider market. The commodification activity done by Wakatobi regency government is producing documentary film on the Bajo, and distribute the film to the public for tourist promotion. The Wakatobi regency government is also sponsoring the performance of the Bajo traditional

ritual, *duata*, to the public as performance art and tourist attraction. The making of documentary film on the Bajo is also done by private televisions and broadcast it as public consumption. The other form of commodification done by private parties is producing merchandise with Bajo cultural theme and selling them as souvenirs.

K E Y W O R D S : Bajo, commodification, Wakatobi

Introduction

The Bajo are the maritime ethnic group who live in the sea. Formerly, the Bajo lived nomadic in the sea, they always wandered the sea in their traditional boat called *leppa*. Because of their sea nomadic life, the Bajo were formerly known as the sea nomads or the sea gypsies (see Sather, 1997; Chou, 2003, 2010). With their background as the sea nomads, therefore the Bajo are dispersed around Southeast Asian waters, including in Indonesia. In recent times, almost all of the Bajo are already live in sedentary communities. However, they still build their settlements in the sea or above the sea water, and not in the land, which shows that their life is always attached and cannot be separated to the sea. With this maritime way of life, then the Bajo are known as the sea people (see Zacot, 2008).

The maritime way of life of the Bajo in the sea becomes a unique and exotic   way of life, especially for most people who live in the land. The unique life of the Bajo is fascinating and interesting for the land people, and invites curiosity to know and explore further about their life. The common questions raised by the land people about the Bajo for example are how the Bajo can survive in their life in the sea, what activities they do in their daily life in the sea, and why the Bajo choose to live in the sea rather than in the land as the most people live? Meanwhile, for those who already have a little knowledge about the Bajo, they acknowledge that the Bajo are the sea people who have an excellent ability in sailing and maritime world in general. The Bajo are also known as the excellent fisherman, who are able to dive and endure underwater to catch and hunt fish, which cannot be done by most of the land people.

Departed from the curiosity above, now the exploration on the life and culture of the Bajo is intensively conducted. In the hand of economic and industrial interests, this curiosity and its continuity to the exploration of the life of the Bajo is transferred into commodification of the life and culture of the Bajo. In the eyes of economic interest, the curiosity toward the life of the Bajo becomes an opportunity to capture their life and culture, and expose the result to the public or sell it to the wider market. As it is driven by the basic economic principle, if there is a demand, then it becomes an opportunity to fulfill it by providing supply. The commodification of the Bajo culture then becomes a bridge to connect both sides, the life and culture of the Bajo on the supply side, to fulfill the curiosity toward it on the demand side.

This paper focuses on the Bajo community who live in Wakatobi Islands, and describes the commodification of the life and culture of the Bajo who live in Wakatobi Islands. The agent of commodification itself can be Wakatobi regency government or other private parties. The purposes of commodification of the life and culture of the Bajo are mostly for the sake of tourism and also for other interests. This paper also describes whether or not the commodification of the life and culture of the Bajo has impacts or contributions toward the life of Bajo itself, and how the Bajo response to the commodification that happened toward their life and culture.

Research Problems

Based on the background stated above, research problems that can be formulated are as follows:
1. How the commodification of the life and culture of the Bajo who live in Wakatobi Islands take place and take forms?
2. How the Bajo in Wakatobi Islands are responding to the commodification that happened to their life and culture?

Discussion
1   The life of the Bajo in Wakatobi Islands

The Wakatobi Islands is located in the South East of Sulawesi and Buton Island. The name "Wakatobi" itself is taken from the acronym of its four major islands:

*Wa*ngi-Wangi, *Ka*ledupa, *To*mia, and *Bi*nongko. Before the independence of Indonesia, the Wakatobi Islands was belonged to Buton Sultanate. In the colonial era, when the Dutch conquered Buton Sultanate, the Wakatobi Islands was called Tukang Besi Islands, because these islands were known for its blacksmiths (*tukang besi*).

Nowadays, especially under the spirit of regional autonomy and the emerging of new autonomous regions, the Wakatobi Islands become the autonomous regency (*Kabupaten* Wakatobi), and belong to South East Sulawesi province. Formerly, the Wakatobi Islands was belonged to Buton regency (kabupaten Buton). Meanwhile, each of four major islands becomes its districts (*kecamatan*). The map of Wakatobi Islands can be seen in the picture below:
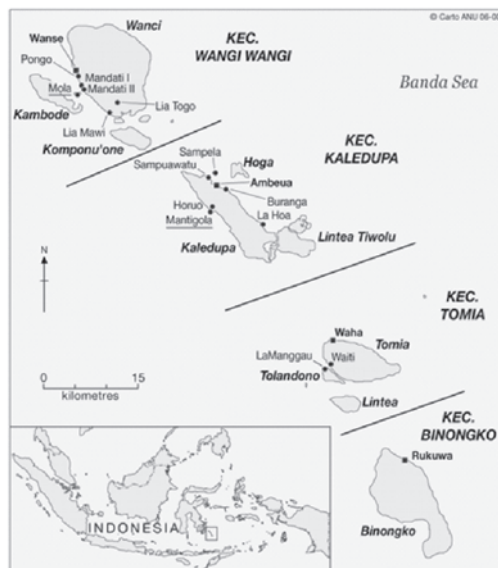
Picture 1. The map of Wakatobi Islands (source: Stacey, 2007)

There are five Bajo villages or settlements located in Wakatobi Islands. Those Bajo villages are: Mola, which located in the coastal area of Wangi-wangi Island, then Mantigola, Sampela, and La Hoa, which located off shore near Kaledupa Island, and La Manggau, which located in the coastal area of Tomia Island (see the map above). The observation is focused to the Bajo who lived in Mola village, because they are the most possible target for the

commodification process to expose their life and culture. The most significant reason is because the location of Mola is near Wanci, the capital city of Wakatobi regency, in Wangi-Wangi Island.

Although the Bajo build their settlement in shores or atolls, they still build their house in the sea, upside the sea water, and not in the land. Firstly, they build their houses as a wooden stage house upside sea water, built upon wood log pile erected on the sea bed. They bit-by-bit collect coral stones from the sea bed, and embanking the sea surrounding their houses to strengthen its foundation. The more houses built, their settlement getting wider and forming a village. In this settlement, in their houses built upside water, the Bajo are spend their life. Their life in the sea settlement offers an exotic way of life, which invites curiosity and fascinating to other people who live "normally" in the land, and opens the opportunity to expose them.

2   Commodification and Tourism

In a quick sense, commodification is the change of ordinary things become commodity, or giving economic value to things that do not have economic value before. Commodification also means the market expansion toward non-tradable goods, and turns them into tradable commodity in the market. The more detail definition is given by Cohen (1988, cited from Thu Thuy, 2012) who said: "commodification is a process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in the context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services) ...in which the exchange value of things (and activities) is stated in terms of prices from a market." Meanwhile, according to Fealy (2008, p.16-17): "Commodity is something that has the quality of being desirable or useful, or as an article of commerce or object of trade. Commodification means turning something into a commodity that capable of being bought and sold for profit."

One of influential factors evoking commodification to take place is tourism. The present of tourists in certain place bring along their curiosity and enthusiasm, which create a demand at the same time. The demand will stimulate the ordinary things in that place, which usually used by local communities for example, to be sold to the tourists. For Chris Rojek (in Gottdiener, 2000, p. xi),

even tourism itself is a form of commodification. He said: "Tourism is a form of consumption that, by definition, is liberated from the world of work. Tourism is simply a packaged, commodified form of consumption that is skillfully marketed as a respite from the economic content of the working life, but in reality it is merely an extension of late capitalism. Tourism today is characterized by its highly commodified nature."

In tourism, commodification usually happened to local cultures, especially to cultural products. However, cultural product itself cannot fully represents the culture, which Can Seng Ooi (2002) said the cultural products are only a "decentring" culture, because there is a gap between cultural products and the real culture itself represented in the products. In explaining this phenomenon, Can Seng Ooi said:

> "The essence of local culture is decentred from the cultural product because the product is only a representation. The packaged product, however careful and detailed its presentation, cannot offer the bridge to the gap between representation and the aura of the object. In tourism, this gap is made wider by the economic motivation in representing the culture; the profit motive influences how the culture is represented." (Can Seng Ooi, 2002, p.23)

3 The Policy of Wakatobi Government on Tourism

As the new emerging regency, Wakatobi regency government make tourism as a leading sector for regional development. Intensive campaign to promote tourism has been conducted to introduce Wakatobi to wider public and to attract tourists to visit Wakatobi. As archipelagic region with most of its areas are water, the promotion for tourism in Wakatobi is mostly exposing beautiful beaches and exciting underwater panorama, by which Wakatobi wants to be a "place must visit" for underwater activities, such as diving, snorkeling, and other water adventure activities. With the slogan "Wakatobi: the heart of the world coral triangle" which offers the "underwater paradise", Wakatobi government want to invite as much as underwater adventure tourists to visit Wakatobi. Meanwhile, the expose of the richness of local communities' culture, including the Bajo, becomes the supporting sector for underwater tourism as the leading sector.

The program of Wakatobi government to make tourism as the leading sector for regional development is in line with Scheyvens' opinion, which stated that "(since) 1970s, tourism became the major economic sector, and government pursued tourism development with a passion" (Scheyvens, 2002, p.23). The tourism program focusing on ecotourism and cultural tourism, such as Wakatobi government did, also become an attractive field in tourism itself in general, as Scheyvens maintained: "not only tourism industries, governmental agencies and tourism academics have been caught up (attracted) in the 'new' forms of tourism such as ecotourism and cultural tourism" (Scheyvens, 2002, p.12).

To implement and realize the ecotourism program, the Wakatobi government is collaborated with international conservancy institutions, such as TNC (The Nature Conservancy) and WWF (World Wildlife Fund), national institutions such as Ministry of Environmental Affairs and Bureau of Natural Resources Conservancy (BKSDA), founding a conservational water area called "Wakatobi Marine National Park", which officially accepted by Indonesian government. In the areas of the marine national park, the zoning system is created to divide two main activities: the zone for exploitation and the zone for conservancy that becomes restricted areas for exploitation. Ecotourism   can be applied freely in the open zones, but it should have permission to apply it in the conservancy zones.

4   The Form of Commodification of the Bajo Culture
4.1 The Bajo Merchandise

The Bajo merchandise is accessories or other decorative things, such as key holders, stickers, or T-shirts, with the theme of anything concerns with the Bajo, and to be sold as souvenirs. One company who produce and sell the Bajo merchandise is Bonti. Bonti company itself even is not located in Wakatobi, but in Kendari, the capital city of South East Sulawesi Province, which its distance is more than 200 km from Wakatobi, and do not owned by the Bajo. The main product of Bonti is T-shirts, but they also have other products such as key holders and stickers. The marketing strategy of Bonti is mainly based on order via online marketing, either via internet or via Blackberry Messenger (BBM),

then the merchandise will directly send to the customer. Therefore, Bonti only have one outlet in Kendari, and generally consign their products to some stores in other areas, including in Wakatobi.

Actually, Bonti do not produce their merchandise by themselves. The production is conducted in Bandung, West Java, by other company. Bonti only send the design to the producer, and after the product is finished as stated in the order, the producer send it back to Bonti to be sold. The general theme of Bonti products is concern with South East Sulawesi, but they have special attention to Wakatobi, including to the Bajo. The general theme of Bonti products are popular theme in South East Sulawesi, especially Kendari, as the center of popular activities. The popular themes generally are quotation of popular words or saying that usually said by Kendari people. However, when concerning Wakatobi, the themes changed into exploration of natural beauty, beach and islands scenery, and underwater scenery. While concerning the Bajo, the themes changed into exploration of their cultural activities.

One example of the theme of Bonti T-shirt concerning the Bajo is the picture of a Bajo woman riding traditional boat carrying several things, particularly water containers and a pail of fish or food, with a text "Orang Bajo, Sea Gypsies Community, Wakatobi, Southeast Sulawesi". Although the picture looks simple, but it can capture the cultural activity of the Bajo. The Bajo women usually go to the land to get water or to the market to sell fish and to buy other supplies, while the men are go to the sea to catch fish. It reflects the gender role, or at least the division of labor based on gender, in the Bajo society, which expressed in the Bajo proverb "*dinda ngala boe, lilla palilibu*", which means "women go get water, men go to the sea" (see Anwar, 2006; Saifuddin, 2009). Another example of the Bajo theme on Bonti T-shirt is a picture of a Bajo girl with a text "Bajau Girl, Wakatobi, Southeast Sulawesi". The picture seems can sharply portray the Bajo girl using traditional masking powder in her face. Indeed, the Bajo women usually use traditional masking powder made from grinded rice and curcuma (*kunyit*) to protect their face from the heat of the sun.

4.2 "The Mirror Never Lies" and Other Movies on the Bajo

"The Mirror Never Lies" is a title of the movie on the Bajo, and take the life of the Bajo in Wakatobi Islands as its main setting. "The Mirror Never Lies" was produced and launched in 2011. The producer of this movie is collaboration between Wakatobi government, WWF, and SET Films, and the director is Kamila Andini, the daughter of Garin Nugroho. This movie attempts to portray the life of the Bajo in Wakatobi Islands, and told a story of two Bajo children, a boy and a girl, whom their fathers were missing when they sailed in the sea. The girl missed her father and attempted to find out him using a mirror as a keepsake from him. This movie is successful enough in introducing Wakatobi, especially the life of the Bajo in Wakatobi, to wider audiences. However, some critics said that this movie is only successful in portraying the life of the Bajo, but the story itself is not based on the life of the Bajo. The Bajo have nothing to do with mirror in their tradition, and the idea of the story is completely introduced from outside, which seems exaggerating and not suitable with the real life of the Bajo.

The other movies portraying the life of the Bajo are mostly documentary movies. The documentary movies are usually produced by private televisions, purposed to expose and broadcast the unique cultures of local communities to their audiences. The unique cultures, including the Bajo culture, are interesting to expose, because it is fascinating and invites curiosity of the public. With exposing and broadcasting the unique culture of the Bajo, it will attract wider audiences and increase the rating of the program, which means it will increase the income of the television from commercial advertisement attached in this program. The Wakatobi government itself also produced some documentary movies, which purposed to promote Wakatobi tourism. One of them is a documentary movie on the Bajo greatest ritual, *duata*, and distributed in the form of Compact Disc (CD), to introduce the Bajo culture to wider public.

4.3 Public Performance of Duata, the Greatest Bajo Ritual

Duata is the greatest ritual of the Bajo, as the expression of religious identity of the Bajo. Originally, *duata* is a healing ritual, which purposed to heal someone

from sickness. However, almost all aspects of the Bajo culture, such as their philosophy, cosmology, and way of life are expressed in the *duata* ritual. That is the reason why *duata* is considered as the greatest Bajo ritual. The commodification process toward *duata* by the Wakatobi government is not only captures it as a documentary movie and distribute it, as stated above, but the Wakatobi government goes further by sponsoring the performance of *duata* to the public as tourist attraction. This commodification process toward *duata* actually also means "desacralization" process of *duata*, from the greatest ritual of the Bajo to be merely as performance art.

The real *duata* as a healing ritual is performed in seven days and seven nights continuously, including for its preparation. The leader of *duata* ritual is called *pawang duata*, who usually is a *sanro* or Bajo traditional shaman. The real *duata* ritual should   be conducted indoor, usually in the house of the sick people, because in the Bajo traditional belief, it is *pamali* (forbidden) for the sick people to go outside or get contact with sea water. To begin the ritual, firstly the sick people are being bathed with fresh water to purify them, and then they are being wiped and slowly smashed by a bunch of coconut flower to remove the sickness. All the process in *duata* ritual is accompanied by the beat of the Bajo traditional music, which are *gendang, kulintangan*, and *gong*. After a while, it seems that the spirit or supernatural power enters to the body of the *pawang* and all of the sick people. They are dancing under trance or unconscious condition along with the beat of the music. When the spirit went out from their body, they suddenly stop dancing, and it means that the sickness is already removed.

Meanwhile, in the public performance of *duata*, it is performed for 2-3 hours only. The public performance of *duata* is conducted outdoor, usually in the raft created from several boats tied together. The boldly shown aspects in the public performance of *duata* are the music and the dancing. The dancers are not the sick people, but seven girls who symbolize seven angels. They are dancing in conscious condition completely, only the *pawang* who got trance in this performance. The dancers are not being bathed in this performance, and all other process in the real *duata* ritual are conducted as formalism only, just to show them off without any purpose for healing.

Picture 2. The public performance of *duata*

5   The Impact of Commodification and the Bajo's Response

The process of commodification toward the Bajo culture seems do not give contribution or positive impact to the life of the Bajo themselves. The expectation that the economic condition of the Bajo is increased along with the commodification of their culture probably is too optimistic. However, at least the expectation that the Bajo are actively involved in the process of exploring and exposing their own culture to wider public, in fact it still far from reality. In this case, it can be said that the Bajo are being exploited in the process of commodification of their culture. This is because, in some extent, the Bajo do not have sufficient knowledge and awareness on tourism.

This situation is in accordance with Scheyvens' description: "communities are typically lack information, resources, and power in relation to other stakeholders in the tourism process, thus they are vulnerable to exploitation." (Scheyvens, 2002, p.9). While the ideal condition is: "community based tourism ventures are those in which   the members of local communities have a high degree of control over the activities   taking place, and a significant proportion of the economic benefits accrue to them." (Scheyvens, 2002, p.10). If it is seen case by case for example, in fact the Bajo do not receive economic benefit at all in the selling of the Bajo merchandise and the expose of their culture in the Bajo movies.

In the performance of *duata*, only the Bajo who involved in the performance may receive financial incentive from Wakatobi government as its

sponsor. In response to the public performance of *duata*, the Bajo community in general is split into two sides, those who agree and those who disagree. Those who agree said that the public performance of *duata* can be accepted, because *duata* is a representation of Bajo culture, while those who disagree said that the public performance of *duata* cannot be accepted, because it is similar to undermine and humiliate *duata* itself from the greatest ritual into merely a performance art. Indeed, the Bajo do not have a cultural mechanism yet to maintain their culture in facing challenges from modernity, especially tourism. Compare to the Balinese for example, they already have the "ajeg Bali" (see Allen and Palermo, 2005) to maintain their culture against the challenges of tourism, which it is better for the Bajo to have such mechanism in facing the similar challenge.

Conclusion

The process of commodification of the Bajo culture in Wakatobi is taking place mostly because of the influence of tourism. The agents of commodification of the Bajo culture in Wakatobi are the Wakatobi government itself who expose the Bajo as part of their program to make tourism as the leading sector of development and other private parties who want to expose the Bajo culture mainly to gain profit. The various forms of commodification of the Bajo culture done by private parties are the production and distribution of the Bajo merchandise, and capturing the life of the Bajo in the movies and distributing or broadcasting to the public to gain profit. Meanwhile, the Wakatobi government also produces a movie on *duata*, the greatest Bajo ritual. The Wakatobi government even goes further by sponsoring the public performance of *duata* as part of the tourism promotion program.

The process of commodification of the Bajo culture in fact do not give positive impact or contribution to the life of the Bajo themselves. To expect the increasing economic condition of the Bajo from the commodification process happened to their culture seems too far afield, because the Bajo themselves even do not involved in the process of commodification itself. Indeed, the Bajo do not have sufficient knowledge and cultural mechanism yet in facing challenge from tourism and commodification process toward their culture. Therefore,

the commodification of the Bajo culture is nothing more than merely using the Bajo as an object to dredge up profit, or in other words, the commodification means the exploitation of the life of the Bajo.

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EXPLORING THE LIFE OF INDIGENOUS SOPEK FISHERMEN:
Between Economic Pressure and Local Wisdom

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to deeper quarry the life of fishermen who use sopek boat at the city of Tegal - Central Java. Sopek is the smallest type of traditional wooden boats with a day head seaward. As it has been known that the amount of fish in Java Sea has begun to diminish especially in closest areas to the mainland, this situation requires larger ships such as purseine and over 30 GT ships with big engine. However, there are many fishermen who still use sopek boat for fishing and this lead any problems arise. Sopek boat characteristics and the sea conditions do not allow them to be able to get the fish catches in large numbers. It can not be denied that sopek fishermen increasingly squeezed by the economic pressures for families.

Sopek fishermen generally consist of native old fishermen who had ever been the vessel crew at young. The focus of this research is to know the reason of using sopek boat in the thick of technology progress and the condition of the sea with minimum fishing gear at this time. The findings obtained are that the indigenous sopek fishermen had hereditary traditional culture with unchanged boat design from ancient times. Sopek fishermen decided to use the boat as the implication of their acceptance of risk preference. They are also facing economic constraints by lack of capital. From the findings above we can conclude that the culture of fishing communities suffered of declining in technology and risks preference. However, the above conditions are not

instantaneous occured but caused by systemic change of marine and fisheries policy by the government.

Introduction
1   Background of Study

Indigenous fishermen are a group of people who occupy in coastal area, live, and develop in a certain transition area between land and sea. They have symbols of culture which is reflected as daily behaviour. Those culture and behaviour factors distinguish indigenous fishermen from other societies. Fishermen society becomes the principal component of Indonesian maritime society construction. They depend on the result of sea fishery to support their life.

So far the fishermen's fate is similar to the farmer's and become category who obtain lack of government interest. Whereas Indonesia is an archipelago and agrarian which there are a lot of fishermen and farmer societies, however their fate is not going better (Astutie, Hartati, dan Widiati, 2008). Kusnadi (2006, p. 35-68) stated that social-economy pressure which is faced by fishermen household is rooted to related factors, such as natural and unnatural. Natural factor is like the season change of fishing and structure of fishery source. While unnatural factor is connected to the problem of restricted of fishing technology reach, the unstable in production sharing and there is no exact medical and financial support from government, the fading of marketing web and fishermen cooperation which is not in maximum function, and also negatif effect of modern fisheries policy by the government in lasted for 25 years.

Thus condition commonly occurs in coastal area where there are a lot of fishermen families live in poor category. One of them is in Tegal – Central Java. Tegal has long coastal area called "Coastal Water" (Perairan Pantai). Along this coastal water consists of variety of fishermen boat for fishing to fulfill family economic needs. The number of sea fishing means such as fishing

boat is around 1.041 units which consist of motor temple, purseine, and mini purseine with fishing tools.

Theory of classical economic which is pionerred by Adam Smith (1870) stated that economic problem is a unity process consists of production, distribution, and consumption problem. The prosperity of society is influenced by local and global economic problem. The life of traditional fishermen is not be rid of this problem. However this research has special interest to the reason of use of traditional sopek boat as production tool including the problem faced by fishermen. Kusnadi (2009. P. 37-46) stated that generally problem faced by fishermen revolves to issues such as: 1) poverty and social asymmetry, 2) restricted of capital access, technology, market, 3) low qualified of human resource, 4) degradation of environment source, and 5) establishment policy which does not optimally take side to fishermen society. Those problems widely raise negative effect to the life of fishermen.

The previous research which is related to the fishermen life concern more to the root of poverty and also endeavoring of coastal occupier. There are only small number of researches about sosiology of traditional fishermen society especially about fishermen who use sopek boat or smallest or simplest kind of boat for sea fishing. Although other kinds and size of boat are already existed, sopek boat fishermen are still in great number. That is the focus in this research.

2   Statements of Problem

This research purposes to explore the existence of traditional sopek boat phenomenon through traditional fisherman in Tegal coastal area. Tegal is one of town in Central Java which is nearby the sea. The potential of sea resource is great enough but until 2009, human resource is not optimally benefited caused by the restricted of human resource and budget. The size of coastal water is 7,5 km in length and 10-80 meter in width. The number of sea fishing means such as fishing boat is around 1.041 units which consists of motor temple, purseine, and mini purseine with fishing tools. The amount of catching during 2010 is 20.591.440 kg. The total of fish auction is 3 units.

According to the situation above, frame thinking which is prefaced by the following questions appear as follow:

1. Who are fishermen who use traditional sopek boat as fishing means in Tegal?
2. Why do fishermen use traditional sopek boat as fishing means?
3. How is the economic condition of fishermen family who use traditional sopek boat?
4. How is the value of culture and tradition which is possessed by the fishermen who use traditional sopek boat?
5. What problem which is faced by the fishermen who use traditional sopek boat related to production process?

3   Objective of the Study

This research aims to answer questions at point 1.2 statements of problem above using approach of *instrumental case* study. Study case is conducted to externally comprehend certain phenomenon, regularity, and specific case. This research explores life economic and culture of fishermen who use traditional sopek boat as the smallest industry of fishing in Tegal.

Review of Related Literature
1   Theory of Abraham Maslow Motivation

Motivation is an activator from someone's heart to conduct or reach a purpose. Motivation is also a plan or desire to get success and avoid life failure. In other terms, motivation is a process of purpose achievement. Someone has a motivation means he/she has power to get life success.

Abraham Maslow (1943-1970) stated that basically people have prime needs. He tells 5 levels in a pyramid where people start demand of needs from beneath. Those five needs are called Hierarchy of Maslow Needs, which is begun by basic biology needs until more complex psychology motive which will be important after the basic needs are completed. Needs on certain level at least must be completed before the needs on following level become determiner of important action. (See figure 2.1). When food and safe are hard to obtain, completion of those needs will dominate someone's action and the higher motives

will be less significant. People have time and energy to occupy aesthetic and intellectual interest when the basic needs have already been fulfilled easily. Work of arts and science will not grow healthy in society where the members are in great difficulty in finding food, protection, and safe.

2 Theory of Macrosociology Conflict

Main idea which is contained in Theory of Dahrendorf Conflict (1976, p.162) with assumptions of conflict theory is: 1) Every society is bent down to change process; change is everywhere, 2) Conflict or dissensus is everywhere, 3) Every society gives contribution to disintegration of society change, and 4) Every society is grounded to force from a few members to the others. Karl Marx's contribution to sociology can be found in Class Theory. Marx argues that human history until now is class struggle history, (Coser, 1977, p. 48). Capitalism cause sharp separation between master who own production tools and people who only have manpower. According to Marx prediction, proletar will win the class struggle and create society without class or country.

In Marx's frame thinking, determiner factor of society structure is the production way which can be found in society. Another important concept which is developed is alienasi concept. Alienasi is a history process where human go isolated from nature and product from their own creativity which is considered by following generation as lost and pressed power. This opinion is gained from the effect of production process in capital industry. Marx views that human history shows the increasing of human governance to nature and human alienasi (Sunarto, 2004, p. 213-228).

3 Previous Literatures about Traditional Fishermen

The previous literatures related to research about traditional fishermen are Sobari, Kinseng, dan Priyatna (2003) who stated that with local wisdom which is owned by fishermen indigenous, so an approach of resource management which can be executed is co-management which is expected be able to solve current problems. While Unus (2004) concluded that there are a lot of regulations/policies about fishermen safety which have not been accommodated yet, even though some of them are proper to international policy. Haryono

(2005) found that family fishermen should be able to fulfil family economic needs. Economic needs demand them to be able to find alternative of another income source, including working housewife and children. While Ustriyana (2005) stated that fisherman change (NTN) in regency of Karangasem Bali is one which the meaning is there is no allocation of saving from fishermen income. And Wijaya, Rohmah, dan Ismani (2009) concluded that conflict between traditional fishermen and modern fishermen can be muffled with territory admission, clarity of sailing route, company encouragement and fair law system, and also corporation.

Research Method
1   Research Design

Research design which is used is single instrumental case study, that is study case to explore more in a certain case/phenomenon about fishermen life who use traditional sopek boat. Another purpose is to comprehend certain social circumstance, event, role, interaction, and group. Data obtained in various methods is then analyzed and categorized so that it results further case study. Case study is illustration of single event, a single example from a wider phenomenon, (Gerring, 2007, p. 42).

2   Research Method/Technique

Action which is conducted related to research technique is to choose needed data, source, suitable data finding technique that is constructively where purpose appears after interacting to the fact, and process data and interpret it. Narration data interpretation is divided on theme and sub theme which is taken based on information contained plot. The case which is explored in this research is conducted in order to a perspective about issue or theory improvement is provided.

3   Data Collection and Analysis

Data is collected in several ways such as; in-depth interview toward the fishermen sopek boat user, observation of fishermen life and family, and also

literature study of Tegal Fishery Department document. Data analysis technique which is applied in this case is analysis technique type interaction which is stated by Miles dan Huberman (1994) that is analysis consists of four firm steps (see figure 3.1). To determine the trustworthiness, data is required to be examined. Creswell (2007, p. 202-220) states that there are some perspectives and conditions in qualitative validity and reliability. One of them is perspective using condition which applies the natural truth which is stated by Lincoln dan Guba (1985, p. 180).

Finding and Result
1 Life of Tegal Fishermen Sopek

Sopek fishermen live in settlement in Tegal coastal area. Most of them occupy simple house in certain group based on type of boat used. Residence where fishermen live is including to the poorest settlement of all. It is because the low income to fulfil their daily needs. The education level is also in the lowest rank where most of children of fishermen family can not go to school.

Sopek is the smallest type of traditional wooden boats. Sopek is usually used by 1 until 3 crew members and sail only for one day for fishing. Pak S (a fishermen respondent) tells in an interview:

> I sail together with my son, leave at 4 in the morning until 5 in the afternoon or sometimes until 7 in the evening. Sometimes I get fish, but other time I get nothing, just based on the condition of sea wave. The average of income per day is Rp 30.000,-. I do not go sailing when the wave is big, but looking for jobs on the land like being web maker labourer.

Sopek type which is used by Pak S is sopek raweh (pancing). Raweh is kind of fishhook where each of it consists of 300 fishhook which is bounded to a long bamboo. So, before fishhook is thrown to sea, it is must be filled by small fish one by one. This is the lowest and most traditional type. Another one is web type where fishermen only throw it to the sea and wait for the fish come together.

2   Boat Selection as Production Tool

The sequence of boat type starting from the simplest one is sopek, cantrang, mini purseine, pursein, dan vessel >30 GT. Unfortunately sopek is the neglected most of government contribution, like Pak W's (a fishermen respondent) as follow:

> The fishermen in this settlement are never assisted by government, like condition of river gully which keeps precipitating but it is not dredged soon. It is difficult for boat movement when leaving or going home from sailing.

However they keep using sopek boat until nowadays. Fishermen have working experience before as pursein crew and use another type like sampan. The motives that are given are various. Pak W as sample, he said:

> I am not interested being pursein crew anymore. I only earned low income. A friend of mine earned Rp 700.000,- after sailing during 3 months using pursein.

While Pak S gave different personal statement as follow:

> I want to keep in touch with my family. I prefer sopek boat since I may go home everyday to control my family. My wife does not have a job, while I am getting old. I am not as brave as at young, especially facing big ocean wave.

Pak S' statement is in line with family function stated by Horton, 1980 on Wahyu (1980, p. 241-56) where family function consists of: 1) sexuality arrangement function, 2) reproduction function, 3) social function, 4) appreciation function, 5) status function, 6) protection function, and 6) economy function. The reasons which had been stated by Pak S execute family function as protection and economy.

3   Local Wisdom of Sopek Fishermen

Sopek fishermen inherit ancient tradition which is kept holding. It is proved by the culture of holding sopek shape until nowadays. Sopek boat is created in Tegal territory. For those who are not able to create it themselves, they can

order to local creator around them. From 1.041 boats in Tgeal, about 25 percents of them are sopek. However the number of sopek fiherman is lower, similar to Pak W's answer:

> There were 42 sopek boat fihermen in my settlement. There are only 32 left, lately. It was decreasing since some boats were sold and the owner went old.

Beside holding culture of boat characteristic, sopek fishermen also have local wisdom which is agreed like sailing territory boundary and also save the everlasting of sea environment and ecosystem. Further, Pak S explained as follow:

> My sailing boundary is appropriated to boat type. If my boat is only able to sail around closest areas to the mainland, I will not compulse to the middle. It has own part. I decline using soft web, since it may take small fish which should be let growing.

4   Economic Endure of Sopek Fishermen

Sopek fishermen family has the lowest economic endure, they must face economic pressure sacrificially. They do face capitalism economic law where they who are great squeeze them who are small. Pak W explained the broker practical which he experienced as follow:

> Fishing result is sold to broker, because I must pay sailing capital and debt which is used for daily needs completion. Fish cost is totally defined by broker, and it occurs to all sopek fishermen who live in our settlement.

While Pak S' respond to the question about fish auction is:

> Once, I sold some fish to fish auction, but there I was like getting deceived of fish cost. I predicted that some fish of mine would be highly coasted, but it was up side down. Besides, sopek fishermen only got less concern. It was hard to get credit since the too high requirement.

This is fishermen background and manifestation as stated Siswanto (2008, p.15-35). The term which is used by Siswanto for relationship condition between fishermen and broker above is "hanging system" where fishermen are exploited by broker.

5   Obstacles Faced by Fishermen

With sopek boat characteristics, some obstacles which are often faced by fishermen are technical and nature obstacle or natural and unnatural obstacle according to statement of Kusnadi (2006). Pak S told in an interview:

> Problem which I face is like leak boat or broken caused by big wave. If this is so, boat must wait until the wave calm down, but engine must keep going on for moving. Sometimes I wait until evening. Another problem is when my fishhook hits friend's and damage both of them and need a couple days for repairing.

Sopek fishermen condition which all of those problems and also government minimum contribution similar to Kusnadi's statement (2006) about Philosophy of Coastal area Occupier Efficiency where fishermen is community "without a country" because their ability in encountering social-economy problem without government worth contribution.

Conclusion, Implication, and Limitation
1.   Conclusion

Based on finding during the research and depth interview and also discussion as presented above, the conclusions are drawn as follow:
1. Sopek boat fishermen have been vessel crew at young. There are several sopek fishermen settlements who occupy in a group in coastal area.
2. The reason of preferring sopek boat than the modern one is because being vessel crew is not expected anymore, the older age, the implication of their acceptance of risk preference, and also desire to be closer to their family.
3. Family of sopek fishermen face high economic pressure because of the low ability to earn more income. The fishermen change of sopek user is on number <1. This fact is appropriate to Theory of Maslow Motivation where fishermen are only able to fulfil basic need, that is physiology, so that they are not able to fulfil the higher need.
4. Sopek fishermen keep holding local wisdom and ancient heredity which is proved by high spirit in holding sopek boat characteristic and caring sea environment.

5. Production problem which is faced by fishermen is low capital for sailing and maintenance cost. Contribution and care from government are really expected to create prosperity even distribution of coastal beach occupiers. Fishermen sopek boat is according to Theory of Class by Karl Marx.

2. Implication

This research is expected to contribute implication as benefit to several parties such as: 1) Adding literature for theory which is tried to be tested in this research especially about theory of motivation and alienasi concept, 2) Knowing illustration of fishermen family life directly and quality, and 3) Giving addition reference to government in determining policy of fishermen efficiency.

3. Limitation and Suggestion

Case/phenomenon which is only conducted to a boat type aims to deepen illustration of life and also problem faced by fishermen sopek boat, because of the emphasis of the research is boat type selection. Another limit is on research setting in a certain area only. The following research about sopek boat can be developed in various setting research.

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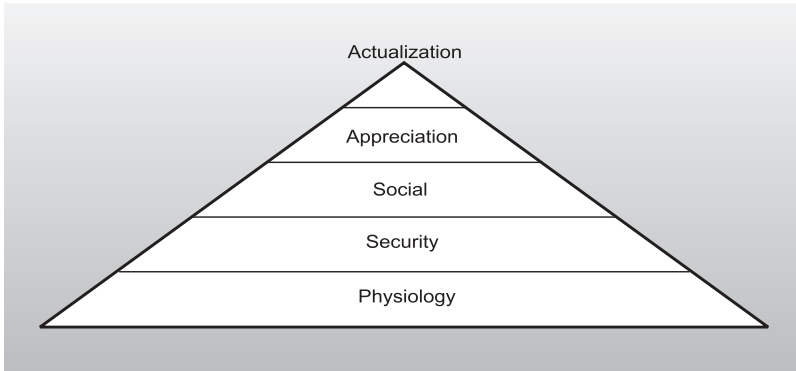
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Appendix

Figure 2.1. Hierarchy of Maslow Needs

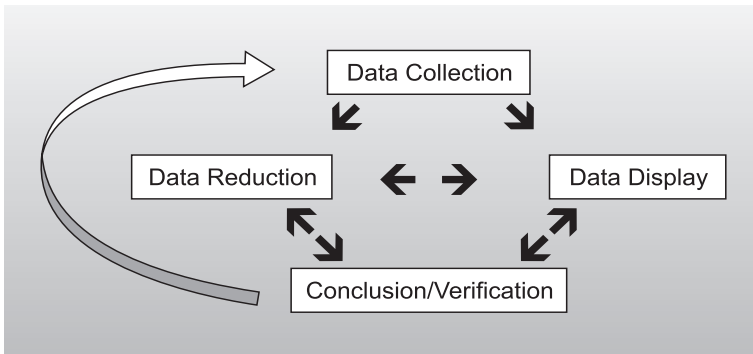**Source:** Corr, P. J., & Matthews, G (2009)

Figure 3.1. Component of Data Analysis Model Miles and Huberman Interactive

Source: Miles and Huberman (1994)

Panel 7

Doing Cultural Agencies in the Social Challenges

TOURISM COMMUNICATION FOR BETAWI COMMUNITY IN JAKARTA
A Case Study in Kampung Setu Babakan, Jagakarsa, South Jakarta

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Abstract

The growth of Jakarta is really remarkable. As a metropolitanor even a megapolitan city, a lot of changes have occured. The growth has great impact upon the communities living in this area. Betawi, as an'indigneous' community of Jakarta, will be slowly extinct iftheir culture is not protected by the Jakarta Government. There are several villages or residences being conserved, such as Kampung Condet in East Jakarta, and Kampung Sawan in Bekasi, aside of Kampung Setu Babakan in South Jakarta. These villages are being treated as a conservation area for Betawi traditional culture. Hence, these places have the prospect to be the objectsof tourist destination.

The community of KampungSetuBabakanstill use the Betawi style designs and furniturein their everyday life. Their typical house designs such as lamps, chairs, even the fences are unique of Betawi culture. It is remarkable to see how the Betawi communities live and still survive under the vast modernization. However, the communication for tourism for Kampung Setu Babakan are still minimal. Jakarta's Government should provide some supports

to promote the culture and tradition of these indigenous communities. Today, there isstill deficiency in the tourism communication regarding the said object. This research is using qualitative approach and descriptive method. The indigenous communities at Kampung Setu Babakan is the main subject of this research. Data collections were being done by documentation, observation and interview to those Betawi indigenuous communities.

K E Y W O R D S : Tourism Communication, Kampung Setu Babakan, Indigenous Communities

Introduction
1   Jakarta at a Glance

Jakarta as the capital city of Indonesia is a benchmark of Indonesian citizens for its modernity. And yet, aside of its modernity, there are needs to maintain its traditional culture also. Betawi race is the original Jakarta citizens.

But as a capital city, number of other races from outside Jakarta come to work in Jakarta. As a city with 9,500.444 (2010) population, it is undeniable that the indigenious communities of Betawi race has become lesser and lesser. This figure for sure does not represent the Betawi race only.

Of course the Government of Jakarta will not let Betawi as one of Indonesian indigenous communities to become extinct. Every effort has been made, such as to promote its art and culture as tourism destination. Aside of preserving the culture, the local communities could also increase their income from the tourism. It is not difficult for Jakarta to create events to invite tourists to visit. As Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia has decided 13 prime destinations of MICE (*meeting, incentive, convention and exhibition*) in Indonesia. And Jakarta is the first rank, followed by Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Bali, Balikpapan, Medan, Bintan-Batam, Padang-Bukittinggi, Makassar, Manado, Palembang, Mataram and Bandung.

Based on IAPCO (the International Association of Professional Congress Organizers) publishes a book called "Meetings Industry Terminology" which functions as a dictionary for the meetings industry. These are the definitions as put out by IAPCO:

Meeting - general term indicating the coming together of a number of people in one place, to confer or carry out a particular activity. Frequency: can be on an ad hoc basis or according to a set pattern, as for instance annual general meetings, or commitee meetings.

Incentive - meeting event as part of a programme which is offered to its participants to reward a previous performance.

Conference - participatory meeting designed for discussion, fact-finding, problem solving and consultation. As compared with a congress, a conference is normally smaller in scale and more select in character - features which tend to facilitate the exchange of information. The term "conference" carries no special connotation as to frequency. Though not inherently limited in time, conferences are usually of limited duration with specific objectives.

Exhibition - Events at which products and services are displayed.

However, the questions are for its modernity for meeting or conference and exhibition, most probable Jakarta would be able to provide best services. But in terms of "*incentive*" , does Jakarta well prepare to show the priceless art and culture of Betawi traditional life?

2. Setu Babakan Betawi Cultural Village

Setu Babakan Cultural Village is one of the places that represents the local culture of Betawi. It has been selected by the Governor of Jakarta Province as one of Indonesian tourism destinations. It features cultural, agro, water and recently culinary tourism. On January 20, 2001, the Governor has inaugurated the preservation of the buildings and town's heritage conservation . Setu Babakan Cultural Village is a place whereone can find and enjoy the lifestyle of Betawi communities, for its nature, traditions and culture. The village is 289 hectares wide land, in Kampung Kalibata, Srengseng Sawah, under Jagakarsa sub-district, South Jakarta. The Setu itself, is a lake which was used for the purpose of water drainage.

In the year 2000, based on DKI Jakarta Governor's decree No. 92, it is elected that Betawi Cultural Village is a territorial for conservation of nature, enviroment, ecosystem, and traditional art culture of its communities without hindering the citizens development in order to improve their welfare. In terms

of the management and development, Betawi Cultural Village is regulated to develop its cultural, agro, and water tourism based on Regional Regulation No. 6/ 1999 about Jakarta Situ Babakan as Tourism Facilities.

Setu Babakan Betawi Cultural Village does not only cover for 3 types of tourism. Recently, culinary tourism has been added to the agenda. As it is impossible not to be allured by their food and beverages upon arriving at this place. we could divide the concept of setu babakan tourism in several categories, as;

A   Cultural Tourism

Every Sunday from 2.00 pm to 4 pm there are performances of music, dances and theater of drama. Cultural events such as marriage ceremony, circumcision, seven monthly pregnancy, and others are annuallycarried out in the month of July. We can also watch children and youth practice self defense called *silat.* Aside from this, the typical Betawi houses can also be visited and can be used as gathering places, or performances such as Betawi classical music.

Delman, a typical carriage drawn by a horse used in the old daytransportation is also available for hire. It can be used to go around the lake.

B   Aqua Tourism

At Setu Babakan aside of cultural events, there are also economicand recreational activities. For example, fish cages and fishing activities. People who live in the area surrounding the lake grow fishes by using fish cages. This aqua culture business creates an economic development;which however, on the other side the increase in the number of the fish cages can trigger the deterioration of the biota of the lake.

Setu Babakan and also Setu Mangga Bolang, which are nearby, are good spots for fishing. If fishing is not one's interest, the ubiquitous duck-shaped boats are available for hourly rent.Or just sitting nearby the lake would also be nice. The view of the nature is beautiful. Several benches are available to sit around the lake.

C Agro Tourism

Communities at Setu Babakan have been encouraged to plant rare fruits and other type of house plants. Starfruits, guava and rambutan (*Niphelium lappaceum*) are common plants. But, the area also blessed by rare fruit plants such as Buni (*Antidesma bunius*), Matoa (*Ponnetia Pinnata*), Mengkudu (*Morinda citrifolia*), Namnam (*Cynometra cauliflora*), kecapi (*santol, sandoricum koetjape*), Kemuning (Orange Jessame; *Murraya Paniculata*) and Durian (*Durio zibethinus*). It is believed that the soil is suitable for those rare plants to live and grow.Other rare fruits that can be found in the area are Menteng (*Baccaurea racernosa Muell*), Gandaria (*Bouea Gandaria* or Marian plum), Jengkol (*Archidendron Pauciflorium*) and also Krendang (Natal Plum).

Ornamental plants (*tanaman hias)* are also well grown in this area. Some of them were being planted in the garden, but can also be sold to tourists. The type of the plants are Kuping Gajah (*Anthurium crystalilinum*), palm, asoka (*saraca indica*), heliconia, orchid and others.

Aside of rare plants and ornamental plants, there are also plants good for medicine. It is called, TOGA stands for "*tanaman obat keluarga*" which means "medicine plant for the family". Ginger, kencur (*Kaempferia galanga*), Mengkudu (*Morinda citrifolin*) are some of the examples.

D Culinary Tourism

The food stalls that are available at the side of the lakeseem to be endless. Typical Betawi food such as soto betawi (betawi soup),kerak telor (grilled egg with coconut shred and sticky rice with shrimp powder topping), serabi (betawi pancake), roti buaya (crocodile shape bread, popular for Betawi traditional wedding ceremony)and even the semur jengkol (*Archidendron pauciflorium* cooked with soya bean sauced) that can only be enjoyed by acquired taste. Krangi cake and bir pletok(healty ginger drink), which taste like jamu (medicine herb) ,sayur papasan (mixed vegetable soup), pindang serani Marunda (a fish dish with vegetables), are also available. Therefore, we do not have to wait for Jakarta Fair to eat and drink those food and beverages, as they are always available at Setu Babakan Village.

Research Problems

1. Definition of Tourism Communication

Taken from a journal of tourism, it is stated that tourism communication is a human activity in conveying information about traveling to a certain place or a tourist destination which will be visited. The informations given should attract the persons who read it, and decided to make a journey to the intended place.

Therefore, it is a challenge to communicate to the public to attend Kampung Setu Babakan. It is suggested to either using a promotion board, information brochures, to attract visitors to attend a cultural event in Setu Babakan Village.

Culinary attraction, could also be one of the event. Such as promotion on*Kerak Telor* (egg crust). It is a type of appetizer, made from rice cook with egg with fried coconut is poured on top of the rice which has blended with the egg. Along with the traditional cooking equipments, the Kerak Telor can be a good reminder of the Betawi cooking culture in the past.

2. Low Infrastructure for Tourism Destination

As a tourist destination, it is important to have a proper infrastructure enabling tourists reach the destination comfortably. Based on Seetanah, B., that number of authors, including Gunn (1988) and Inskeep (1991), have cited the infrastructure base of a country as a potential determinant of the attractiveness of a tourism destination. Infrastructure forms an integral part of the tourism package. For instance, road infrastructure enhances accessibility of tourists to different parts of the destination country while sound airport infrastructure ensures that tourists experience a comfortable transition from the plane into the borders of the destination country and vice versa.

The road to Setu Babakan village is only 2 lanes. Such narrow roads, would be troublesome for tourism buses to approach the village. It will create a traffic jammed, which become inconvinienced for the communities as well as the tourists.

3. Low Promotion, tourists hardly aware about Kampung Setu Babakan

As an Indonesian, it supposed to be easy for us to reach Setu Babakan Village. Unfortunately, the sign boards are minimum, and we tend to get lost. There are no road signs to advice the drivers on the distance to reach the destination. The road signs needed are signs with "SETU BABAKAN" written on it, which will prompt drivers that they are on the way to Setu Babakan. The road signs needed should also tell the direction between the road to the lake of Setu Babakan or to the direction of the Betawi Preservation Cultural Village.

Discussions

Jakarta, Betawi people as one of the indigenous local citizens should be proud. Because in the middle of developing era and the entry of foreign culture that make Betawi culture seems to fade away, born is the Perkampungan Budaya Betawi Setu Babakan. We can see the core of Jakarta culture here. Starting from art performance like mask dance, *gambang kromong*, *lenong* up to *tanjidor*. This Betawi culture site is located in Srengseng Sawah, Jagakarsa, South Jakarta.

Entering the "Betawi Village" in area of 289 hectares, we are welcomed with big arch which is written, "Pintu Masuk I Bang Pitung" (The entrance Gate I Bang Pitung). From there we will see rows of houses with Betawi architecture. But don't imagine that all residents here are the indigenous people of Jakarta. Immigrants from Java Island even from outside of Java Island can also stay and build Betawi house in Perkampungan Budaya Betawi Setu Babakan.

After walking through some Betawi houses, then we arrived in the center of the village with main stage in Betawi architecture. On this stage, art performances like music, dance and theater are held on every Saturday and Sunday at 13:00 up to 16:00.

Mice tourism as an activity that is a blend of leisure activities and business, usually involving a group of people together, a series of activities as meetings, incentive travels, conventions, congresses, conference dan exhibition.**(Wahab, 2003; 25)**

Suggestion for MICE Implementation

1. **Meeting**

   It is a meeting or hearing held by groups of people who are members of associations, societies or associations. With the aim of developing professionalism, human resource, cooperation, dissemination of information, publications, public relations. In this study, one such mass organizations (Forum Betawi Rempug, Betawi Cultural Association) in Setu Babakan often develop tourism in the form of monthly agenda.

2. **Incentive**

   Incentive was a gift or award given by a company to employees, clients, or customers. It could be money, packages or items. Giving incentive was conducted between Lembaga Budaya Betawi to the agents/ travel agencies, in this case the traveler's involvement in the show held monthly at Setu Babakan.

3. **Conference**

   Conference between Betawi residents done with the annual meeting, through mass organizations (FBR, LKB, etc.). One of the important meetings are Silat Betawi Brotherhood Silaturrahmi 2012 that opened (Governor Prov. DKI Jakarta,Babe H.Fauzi Bowo or Bang Kumis). This activities carried out in celebration of 1 Muharram 1433 H. Activities has been performed on Sunday, January 22, 2012.

4. **Exhibition**

   Exhibition in relation to the tourism industry, the exhibition is included in the tour business convention.In the village (Setu Babakan) often held art performances, one of which is the Tempo Doeloe Betawi art performances. The event centered on the Betawi Cultural Village and held in cooperation with the Department of Tourism and Culture, Jakarta and Betawi Cultural Institution (LKB). Art performances Betawi Tempo Doeloe featuring 40 different kinds of Betawi art edge zones, central and coastal zones, from a single show like Shohibul Hikayat to colossal performances such as dance Nyai Dasimah. The event involved around 3000 performers also feature a

wide range of culinary Betawi. Before entering the show sessions show begins with the release of fish and (finches) as many as 485 head, according to figures anniversary of Jakarta.

5. **Accomondation**

There are no hotels / inns in Setu Babakan, this is due to the development of Setu new chapter will begin in 2014.As the Betawi Cultural Reserve, Setu Babakan has been equipped with adequate public facilities, such as places of worship, performing arts stage, playground, outdoor theater, guesthouse, office manager, galleries, and souvenir shops. There is also found photo studio that makes the visitors taking pictures using the typical Betawi traditional clothes at any desired location

Conclusion

In order to be a proper tourism destination, Setu Babakan Betawi Cultural Village needs a lot of rooms for improvement. Eventhough there are numerous references available through websites, but that would not be enough. As tourist would only believe of what they see and feel.

The local government should give more efforts to improve the facilities. It is essential to be competitive with other countries in terms of cultural events. Singapore for examples, does not have its indigenous communities. However their tourism destinations are so diverse for each of their typical races.

The rich natural resources, can be developed into "a go green " tourism. The strength of Agro Tourism can be a "niche" of Setu Babakan Village. As rare fruits and plants are available here, which have been extinct in several places already. If not seriously developed, then those plants will vanish forever.

The available cultural events, food culinary, and aqua tourism, could also be improved further. Therefore this place could be a one stop tourism for tourist. Visitors can spend the whole day having fun in this area. But the question is whether it is properly managed?

In Batu, East Java, there is a place called Jatim Park 2, to attract tourists to see the museum of animals. And playground such as Dunia Fantasi in Ancol. In this case Setu Babakan Village, does not have to build a new one.

As the area hasbeen conserved already. Therefore, it may be necessary to have a profesional company to properly manageSetu Babakan Betawi Cultural Village to be well recognized as a tourist destination and can be one of the icons of Betawi culture, not just domestically but even internationally.

It is not very hard for the Indonesian Government to promote foreigners or domestic tourist to visit this village. As numerous of meetings, conventions, and exhibitions are surrounding Jakarta as the capital city. Hopefully with the new Governor of Jakarta, a focus of tourism will be better improved. Whether we like it or not, tourism can also affect the economy of local communities, aside of the preservation itself.

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REGULATIONS AND POLICIES ON BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY AS PROTECTION TOWARD INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES IN INDONESIA
(Post Nagoya Protocol)

Anugrah Adiastuti

Introduction

The usage of biodiversity, most of all, comes from developing countries. It is undeniable that Indonesia as part of the world specifically in biodiversity has a lot natural resources that can be used for the development of the world. Indonesia itself has diversity within in local people, indigenous community, biodiversity and natural resources. Based on the fact of Indonesia's richness, especially indigenous community and biodiversity, it can be expended as part of international trade which origins from Indonesia.

Referring to the development of international trade, there are three major pillars that are related to biodiversity. They are, first, conservation; second, the sustainable use of resources for future generations; and third, the alleviation of poverty through the fair and equitable sharing of resources. The last pillar that was mentioned is the important part of the protection for indigenous community specifically in Indonesia.

The limit of ability and facility owned by indigenous community in accessing the fair and equitable benefit of their knowledge including in biodiversity reveals the problem regarding indigenous prosperity.

To support the acceleration of the third objective and to effectively implement international regime on access to genetic resources and benefit sharing[1], so the Nagoya Protocol was made on October 29th, 2010, Nagoya, Japan. This Protocol was formed in order to guide and give the technical parts

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[1]   Article 15 on The Convention of Biodiversity.

that should be fulfilled by all the parties who included and ratified The Convention on Biodiversity. This protocol had signed by more than ninety countries, but to be effectively entry into force it must be ratified at least by 50 charter and 90 days after the fifty charters has been ratified.

Research Problems

The main problems of the protection of Biodiversity Convention concerning to indigenous community in Indonesia are implementing the Nagoya Protocol through the regulations and policies. Besides that, the stressing point of this research is to minimize the raise of poverty and increase the number of welfare among indigenous community in Indonesia through specific ways or procedures which usually happen in these society whose have the ancient, important, and remarkable knowledge.

Discussion

The complexity and diversity in biodiversity and indigenous community have become the vast range of issues involved- from trade to conservation, intellectual property rights, biotechnology and traditional knowledge and its related to the policy concerns with globalization, corporate behavior, and the disparities among developed countries, developing countries, and least-developed countries (rich and poor countries).

First, we have to know the definition form each term. Indigenous people or indigenous community can be interpreted as: *"locales that document interactions between those human and non-human persons who have come before present generation and as importantly who continue to interact in contemporary times"*[2]. The story of this community it just likes a multimedia production involving the communal creation (it can be anything such as story, medicine, etc). Indigenous community is also related to indigenous knowledge. The Director General of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

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[2]   Anne Rosse, et. al. Indigenous and Scientific Knowledge. p.31.

Organization (Mayor, 1994) defines traditional knowledge:

"The indigenous people of the world possess an immense knowledge of their environments, based on centuries of living close to nature. Living in and from the richness and variety of complex ecosystems, they have an understanding of the properties of plants and animals, the functioning of ecosystems and the techniques for using and managing them that is particular and often detailed. In rural communities in developing countries, locally occurring species are relied on for many - sometimes all - foods, medicines, fuel, building materials and other products. Equally, people's knowledge and perceptions of the environment, and their relationships with it, are often important elements of cultural identity"

From above, we could see that indigenous community cannot be separated with indigenous knowledge. These things are also related to the protection of biodiversity. The meaning of biodiversity is the variety of life and reflects connectivity variation at all levels of biological organization. In definite terms, it means that "biodiversity means the variability among living organisms from all sources including, inter alia[3], terrestrial, marine, and other aquatic ecosystems and the ecological complexes of which they are part; this includes diversity within species, between species and of ecosystems"[4]. Biodiversity encompasses all forms, levels, and combinations of natural variations and served as a broad unifying concept. Three other important aspects to be understood about biodiversity[5]:

- ❖ **Center of origin:** is a geographical are where a taxon originates or is developed for the first time. Taxon is a unit of taxonomy, the science that classifies all living organisms in the world.
- ❖ **Center of diversity:** a geographical area with high species or genetic diversity. A center of origin is not necessarily a center of diversity. Indonesia, for instance, is considered as the center of origin of banana

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3   Means among other things.
4   Vide Article 2 the Convention of Biodiversity.
5   Indonesian National Document of Biodiversity. BAPPENAS. 2004

and sugar cane, but is also a center of diversity for plants, which did not originate here, such as rice, mango and the ginger family.

✤ **Center of endemism:** a geographical area with a high number of endemic species at the local level.

The connectivity and the important of those things above are getting more important especially after the signed of the Nagoya Protocol regarding access to genetic resources and equitable and fair benefit sharing and this protocol is the next step post Convention on Biodiversity in 1992.

The protocol is a derivation regulation from the Convention so it can be applied in world indigenous community (more specified in technical procedures) and the objective of this protocol is equitable and fair benefit sharing from utilization of genetic resources in order to give contribution toward conservation and sustainable consumption from biodiversity and also as instrument in achieving the third purposes of biodiversity convention.

In Article 5 Number 1 on Nagoya Protocol, it is explicitly said that utilization of genetic resources (including in here the use of indigenous knowledge from indigenous community[6]) shall be shared in equitable and benefit sharing[7]. The calculation of equitable and benefit sharing must be determined in specific and definite assessment. These principles[8] recently also adopted by United Nations Declaration on The Rights of Indigenous Peoples, that stating :

> "Indigenous people have the right to maintain, control, protect, and develop their traditional knowledge… and the manifestations of their sciences, technologies, and cultures including genetic resources, seeds, medicines and…. (knowledge) of properties of fauna and flora….They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions"[9].

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[6] Indonesia has about 336 cultural groups with their diverse cultures. Diverse local cultures are also associated with knowledge systems on biodiversity utilization and conservation, often known as traditional wisdom.
[7] Previously has been regulated on the Convention on Biodiversity 1992 and also Bonn Guidelines 2002.
[8] Equitable and Fair Benefit Sharing Principles.
[9] Article 31.1 United Nations 2007.

The regulation of equitable and benefit sharing in Nagoya Protocol is divided into two types of utility, monetary and non-monetary. Transfer of technology is one kind of non-monetary activity, and when the product are published into market and commercialized, it becomes monetary activity.

At present, the process of adoption of Nagoya Protocol in Indonesia is in the middle of ratification process. This protocol is submitted before the parliament together with the Rotterdam Convention. From Nagoya Protocol, there is guarantee that fair and equitable benefit sharing in consuming genetic resources are must be based on Mutual Agreed Terms (MTA). Mutual Agreed terms are formed as legal basis in regulating of fair and equitable benefit sharing of genetic resources either financially or non-financially. This legal basis has is also connected to strengthen the state sovereignty and jurisdiction, as stated in Article 33 and Article 18 The 1945 Indonesian Constitution (UUD Tahun 1945).

Before the ratification of Nagoya Protocol in Indonesia as national regulation, The Ministerial of Population and Environment has already provided for protecting the biodiversity. One of the agendas provided by The Ministerial is establishment of biodiversity and the prevention of biopiracy[10] Park *(Program Taman Keanekaragaman Hayati-KEHATI dan Pencegahan Pencurian Hayati-Biopiracy)[11]*. This project is a program to support the implementation or Nagoya Protocol in Indonesia who developed every region's. This action is actually to increase the protection and the preservation of biodiversity and its already regulated based on Population and Environment Ministerial Regulation Number 29 of 2009 regarding Guideline of Biodiversity for Districts. The program heads for sustain the back up of the genetic resources in order to save any kind of local plants where in high threats level. The development of the agenda is conducted by observing the benefit and the function of ecosystems.

The high-priority of ratification of Nagoya Protocol as Indonesia's national regulation (act) because of the reasons of conflicts between the "biodiversity-rich" developing country providers and "technology-rich" developed country users of biodiversity.

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[10] The definitions are : (1) appropriate or reproduce (the work or idea etc. of another) without permissions for one's own benefit and (2) plunder. In essence, it is conducted by individuals and companies accused of one or both of the following acts : (1) the misappropriation of genetic resources or traditional knowledge through the patent system, (2) the unauthorized collection for commercial ends or genetic resources or traditional knowledge. Biopiracy is not only about the law but also related to morality and fairness.

[11] Long time before this project, the Ministerial already built The National Park as efforts of conservation.

In Indonesia itself, right now, there are more than fifteen regulations in national scope starts from acts, government regulations, President's commands, until technical regulations that released by ministerial. Apart from that, from all existing regulations which linked to biodiversity, there is no one regulation that controlled and maintained the protection over the indigenous community specifically. It is quite miserable when we remember that Indonesia has a lot of genetic resources and diverse society (local people and indigenous community) but in reality lack of legal protection before the law. The government of Indonesia shall consider the certainty of the common heritage of humankind and the state sovereignty[12]. Over and above, the concept of justice is also needed in regulate the benefit sharing especially the economic aspect for indigenous community and whole national society. We (the government) should think that the justice concept must be "a justice in exchange" which means mainly establishes the fairness of transactions specifically in the usage of biodiversity (genetic resources)[13].

Indonesia's government should make sure about the indicators of well-being, poverty and sustainability of indigenous community and its refers to the international indicators because it strongly support human rights based-approach to indicators development[14]. It is not only establishing the indicators of well-being, poverty and sustainability, but also the government should bring the key policy issues that access and benefit sharing regulation (right now in the middle of the legislation process) must cover all the complex elements such as technologies, conservations, trade, and legal aspects that fit into whole regulatory.

The Nagoya Protocol as well regulates the intellectual property rights. So, at least there are two proposals that should be submitted regarding to this part. First, it is that intellectual property laws be modified, possibly through Article 29 TRIPS to include strong disclosure mechanism, which would require all the applicants for intellectual property rights to disclose the country of origin of genetic resources, the sources of relevant traditional knowledge and positive

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[12] The resources exploitation must be carried out as the benefit of humankind as a whole. It is also stated in the Non-Binding Statement on Benefit Sharing by the Human Genome Project's Ethics Committee.

[13] Doris Schroeder. "Justice and Benefit Sharing" in Indigenous People, Consent and Benefit Sharing. Springer. New York. 2009. p.19.

[14] Tebtebba Foundation. Indigenous People's Indicators of Well-being, poverty and sustainability in Indicators Relevant for Indigenous Peoples : A Resource Book. Tebtebba Foundation. Philippines. 2008. p. 59.

proof of benefit sharing and prior informed consent. The second, it could occur concurrently with the disclosure mechanism, would require the international certificate demonstrating origin, the source or legal provenance of genetic resources and possibly also proof of prior informed consent and benefit sharing[15]. But these proposals are not as easy as what we think to be implemented in the real situations especially in Indonesia as developing countries[16].

It happens because of the strict oppositions by some users and industries on one hand, on the other hand the mega-biodiversity developing countries such as Brazil and India argue[17] that the protection of traditional knowledge and genetic resources will be more effective if international mechanisms are established within the framework of the TRIPS agreement to require patents applicants to disclose the origin of genetic material and traditional knowledge. This would increase transparency and assist in the enforcement of access and benefit sharing agreements. At the same time, in Indonesia's condition, it is quiet difficult because of the society condition neither the common society nor the indigenous community are still in the low levels of the urgency of the classification and the registration of their intellectual property rights including in patents. This condition are getting worst because the government itself also in the stagnancy situation. Even though there is adjustment, it just in little movement that not quiet significance.

The other aspect that must be considered by Indonesia's government when they want to ratified the Nagoya Protocol into national regulations are also made concepts of clear guidelines, code of conduct and standard technical regulation of the ratified Nagoya Protocol eventually. Most of these benefits are expected to be generated in the industrialized urban centers. The truth is, the biological diversity and traditional knowledge associated with it are found in rural areas, where production of such resources is in the hands of local community and they bear very little state power and authority to resource governance and are devoid of any advanced technological development and communication.

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[15] Rachel Wynberg and Sarah Laird. Bioprospecting, Access and Benefit Sharing : Revisiting the Grand Bargain in Indigenous Peoples, Consent and Benefit Sharing. Springer. New York. 2009. p. 79.

[16] The way of life of indigenous people remains vulnerable to domination by more assertive and dominant cultures, which partly explains the rapid loss of culture and traditional knowledge common to these peoples worldwide.

[17] Ibid. p. 80.

These technical regulation as guidelines to implement the Nagoya Protocol are needed to obtain the right to grant access by the indigenous and local communities after the traditional knowledge that related to genetic resources have been established through some provisions[18].

The emerging biodiversity laws shall set up new institutional mechanism responsible for bioprospecting. For example, the Biodiversity management committee on the local levels[19]. Therefore, the incentive to the traditional and marginalized communities to protect their system and culture, and get benefits from their knowledge and resources is in threat. Another ways, to optimize the accomplishment of Nagoya Protocol objectives, some tools already started in Indonesia and the other not yet. For example the establishment of National Focal Point already operate by Ministerial of Population and Environment, the maintainability of ex situ conservation and in situ conservation including the National Park. By having the ratified Nagoya Protocol into national regulation, it will accelerate and strengthen the ability of indigenous community (from the use of their knowledge, innovations, and practices).

Conclusion

From all the explanation above, it can be concluded that the concept of equitable and fair benefit sharing that is proposed in the Convention on Biodiversity and then more specified regulated in Nagoya Protocol shows that it is new idea that needs to be improved explore in more details regulation. This idea is trying to guarantee that the conservation and the sustainability of genetic resources in biodiversity still sustain in the good way especially for the indigenous community (by ensuring that its custodians are rewarded and hence encouraged to promote conservation).

Furthermore, the protection of Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) in traditional knowledge that also related to genetic resources whose owned by indigenous community must be regulated by national acts or regulations in order to maintain the utilization of origins indigenous knowledge which use by

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[18] The Secretariat of The Convention on Biological Diversity. Benefit Sharing. UNEP. p.4.
[19] Krishna Prasad Oli. Access and Benefit Sharing from Biological Resources and Associated Traditional Knowledge in the HKH Region-protecting community interests. International Journal of Biodiversity and Conservation. Volume 1 (5). 2009 p.113.

corporations and its commercialized still in a proper mechanism by following the rules (national regulations).

More and more, however, Indonesia shall require more partnership (among companies, research institutions, government itself and indigenous community and others) in having joint collaborations in order to implement the objectives of Nagoya Protocol and to acquire togetherness prosperity among states (specifically in here is Indonesia), indigenous communities, and users.

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COMMUNITY'S LOCAL KNOWLEDGE OF FLOOD-PRONE AREAS IN EAST JAVA AS DISASTER-ALERT EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS

Mutmainnah, S. Sos. M.Si and
Devi rahayu SH. MHum.

Introduction

The flood disaster is a natural phenomenon that cannot be separated from the global warming that has swept the world. The disaster is the result of damage that humans do, such as deforestation, soil dredging massively in ecosystem buffer areas and water absorption areas, or mineral exploitation that do not take any consideration into the surrounding environment.

Things became important after a natural disaster is how to respond to the disaster. Reality shows that almost the whole capacity of central and local government is *weak* in solving problems which are caused by the disaster. As the result, the people must prepare toward the loss of the availability of food, shelter, clean water, a healthy sustainable environment, and of course the public service.

A flood annually hit the East Java province and inundated nearly 12 counties and cities. The total material loss in 2009 caused by flood in East Java reached 389 billion IDR (Media Indonesia). The impact is material loss because of crop failure and inundation number of settlements. Various efforts have been made by the government of East Java province and, even, offered to relocate the community in flood-prone areas, but the community rejects it.

Disaster risk reduction activities as mandated by Act 24 of 2007 on Disaster Management asserts that disaster-alert education, both given informally and formally to public, becomes one important factor in disaster risk reduction activities. The strategy for public education strategy can be given in three main

activities, namely mass campaigns and short-term non-formal education, as well as long-term formal education.

Every family has strength / power in facing natural disasters (cooping strategy). Family's strength is derived from experience (learning process) acquired from good interaction with their physical and social environment. The community has already had information about signs of natural disasters especially floods, disaster-prone location point and the point of a safe location for salvation, and handled strategy. The information has been socialized from generation to generation through socialization institution (family). Yet, the values, norms and community understanding of such natural phenomena are often less in line with formal institutions which concern to natural disasters. Community participation on the rescue time (emergency response) has potential to be developed. Community participation can not be fully accommodated in disaster prevention management. From the above explanation, therefore, models on how community could have the same perception about natural disasters and its prevention, should be developed.

This research is important to do because (1) in the year of 2009, there were 12 districts / cities in East Java experiencing flood, (2) the total loss due to floods reaches 389 billion, (3) there were 1473 refugees, (4) there is no disaster management agencies exist, (5) spontaneously family's response system toward disaster.

This study will analyze the community's perceptions toward disaster and its prevention management, so that the community will get the same perception about disaster, prevention management before disaster (pre-disaster) and prevention management after disaster (recovery). Therefore, the efforts on improving the social institutions for a better society in managing disaster will be done. This study analyzes the disaster-alert education that has been done in the family and society.

Research Problem

The problems that are going to be analyzed in this research are (1) how is the flood-prone areas and their policies of disaster management, (2) how to formulate local knowledge as a model of disaster-alert community education.

Discussion
Government Policies Related to Disaster Management

In order to cope with natural disasters, acts of non-natural and social disasters, Indonesian Government on 26 April 2007 published the Disaster Management Act. The publication of this law marks a new era in dealing with disasters. Before, if the previous disaster management centered on the time of the disaster, then today, as written in Article 33, the disaster management focused on the management in three stages: pre-disaster, emergency response and post-disaster. In the pre-disaster phase, activities that can be done including disaster planning, disaster risk reduction, prevention, integration into development planning, disaster risk analysis requirements, implementation and enforcement of spatial planning, education and training, technical standard requirements for disasters management (Article 34).

Furthermore, in order to implement this law, the Government established the National Agency for Disaster Management (BNPB) held by the Minister-level officials (Article 10). It automatically replaces the establishment BNPB National Disaster Coordinating Agency that has overcome the disaster with Unit (SKPD). At the local level, the Local Government Act commissioned establishes Disaster Management Agency (BPBD) with lower-level officials in the Governor (at provincial level) and lower-level officials at the Regent (at district level). Article 83 clearly mandates at least 6 months after the law was created, BNPB must be established, and at least 1 year after the law was enacted, Government should establish BPBD. BNBP and BPBD composed of supervisors and implementers. Functions and Duties of BPBD BNPB are coordinative in nature, mean that they make coordination at the pre-and post-disaster and perform the function of command during disaster response.

As a continuation of Disaster Management Act, the government established the National Disaster Management through Presidential regulation No. 8 of 2008 on January 26, 2012. Furthermore, according to the Head of Regulation of BNBP No. 3 of 2008 on Guidelines for Establishment BPBD, the Region can establish BPBD.

Apart from the institutional form to the Regional Center in the flood disaster, the government has also worked with local NGOs, national and

international disaster management. For example, Jember Government has worked with JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) in the procurement of flood early detection tool. The Indonesian government also cooperates with United Nations concerning the health, food and children's welfare.

Although the central government, through the Disaster Management Act, has mandated the establishment of BPBD but some areas, such as Surabaya and Jember do not have BPBD. Disaster management is the responsibility of the Disaster Implementing Unit (Satlak) or Disaster Coordinating Unit (Satkorlak). In practice, Satlak PB cooperates with the relevant SKPD, for example *Dinsosnakertrans*, Irrigation Office, municipal police, military / police, *Dinkominfo*, Department of Transportation, Department of Agriculture and others. In addition to the central and regional governments, disaster management also involves private sector and public. Some companies, such as Sampoerna, Djarum and other business sectors have been involved since the beginning of the disaster. Satlak PB also cooperates with the victims and public.

Problem that is currently faced related to the formation of BPBD is the lack of qualified human resources to achieve the tasks given by BPBD related to the 3 stages of disaster. One of the BPBD Province staff complained about the lack of software and operational equipment because the Center Government has not laid out the rules. For example, every time there is a disaster, the Pusdaop (Center for Disaster Operations and Control) should manage it, but BPBD of East Java does not have Pusdaop. So that, if there is a disaster, each element just directly build shelters and other action, while they should coordinate to decide who is in charge, who commands and how to command, as stated in the contingency plan. Not all disaster office in East Java has already contingency plans. There should be 400-500 contingency plans to be made according to the new data, but the fact is only a few. Nowadays, from 29 BPBD that have been formed, none of them has a disaster plan and only 8 BPBD have disaster plan.

Another problem is related to the coordination between BPBD and agencies involved in disaster management. Before BPBD was formed, agencies had been accustomed to work without having coordination with BPBD. They have their own duties and functions as well as funds for disaster relief. This condition makes them, sometimes, failed to coordinate with the first BPBD,

especially in emergency response. Even, Government of Surabaya City does not have plans to set up BPBD because of PB Satlak is able to do disaster management.

The existence of BPBD with a new paradigm of disaster management has not fully accepted by society. It can be seen from the number of NGOs that have an interest in disaster response is still focusing its activities in the domain of emergency response and have not done much to raise public awareness in the pre-disaster and post-disaster.

Some Counties Experiences in Managing the Flood
Sampang Regency

Floods in Sampang district due to: first, high-intensity rainfall, especially during the rainy season. Second, the condition of the river Kemuning which is winding and turn as well as additional water discharge from pre-line Kemuning river so that the water overflowed into residential areas, third, due to sea rising level, and, fourth the overflow of river from District Kedungdung, Robatal and Coral Penang.

Floods in 13 villages in the district Sampang frequently happen in: Banyumas village, Paseyan Village, Village Stage, Kemuning village, Village Tanggumong, lowland village, the village of Mount Maddah, Pangelen Village, Mountain Village Sekar, Village Rongtengah, Dalpenang Village, Village Polagan, and Village karang dalam. When the floods came, around 5758 216.5 ha of paddy / farm / plantation flooded. The greatest disaster occurred in 10-year cycles, the largest one happened in 1991 and 2001. The last disaster occurred last February 7-8, 2012.

Under Regulation of Sampang district no. 4 of 2010 dated 26 July 2010, the tasks of flood disaster management is delegated to the Regional Disaster Management Agency (BPBD) Sampang. BPBD serves as a coordinator with the other SKPD that have the same tasks; they are *Dinsosnakertrans*, Department of Transportation, the Environment Agency, Army / Police and municipal police.

In the response to this disaster, the Provincial Government has established Tagana (Midshipman Disaster Response), FPBI (Forum Disasters Indonesia)

in District Dalpenang and Banyuates and Tangguh Village in District Dalpenang, Sampang. Head of BPBD Sampang said that there is no problem in communication and coordination related to disaster issues in Sampang. To cope with the disaster that could have been predicted, BPBD Sampang proposed pump house program, shunt, elevation of Kemuning embankment dam and the dam controller. The proposal has been proposed to BNPB (National Disaster Management Agency).

Local knowledge exists in the community flood-prone area is the understanding that when the river flow exceeds the threshold then the public would prepare to deal with flood. When rain falls in the higher regions such as in the area Kedundung, people should be aware because, usually, flood will come in the following day. Regarding to the condition of the houses, the community finally makes their houses position even higher, so that water does not easily fit into the house. Beside, people know when to evacuate or not. Those habits emerged as a spontaneous response in the community because there had been no disaster management education derived from community's customs.

So far, there has not been established social institution for flood disaster management from flood victims. They rely on government aid completely.

Surabaya Municipality

The flooded area in Surabaya is Benowo, kelurahan sumberejo and kecamatan Pakal, kelurahan Jagir kecamatan Wonorejo. Flood comes from Kali Lamong which is overfloaded due to high water levels in Gresik, Jombang and Mojokerto. In addition to these main factors, a river which is full of rubbishes also becomes another factor that can cause flood because it is potential for clogging drains. Therefore, since the Banyu Urip canal was built last year, flood became subsides. The worst flood in Surabaya occurred in Sumberejo in 2010 which resulted in the damage of school building and health center buildings.

In order to control flood in Surabaya, its government has established a Disaster Management Implementation Unit (Satlak PB) by the rule Surabaya's mayor No. 49 of 2011 on Guidelines for Disaster Response. Satlak PB consists of sections that deal with certain matters and they are: Social Assistance Sector coordinated by the Head of Department of Social Welfare, Department of

Health coordinated by the Chief Medical Officer, Division of Rehabilitation and Reconstruction coordinated by the Head of Department of Public Works and Highways and *Pematusan*, Communication and Information Sector coordinated by the Head of Communications and Information Technology, Division of Transportation is coordinated by the Head of the Department of Transportation, Shelters and Logistic coordinated by the Head of Social Services, Division of Safety coordinated by the Police Civil Service and Operations sections coordinated by the Head of National Unity, Politics and protection Society.

PB Satlak does its duty since the pre-disaster, in disaster and post-disaster. At the pre-disaster, Satlak disseminates disaster response community (tough village socialization) 2 times a year with participants more than100 persons. In the event, community elders, the RT / RW, PKK and Youth in disaster-prone areas in Surabaya were invited. In addition, infrastructure improvements are also conducted such as embankments, plengsengan, river dredging, repairing roads and water sewer. At the time of the disaster, Satlak PB coordinates with the related sections to conduct disaster relief. At post-disaster, Satlak PB does the rehabilitation and reconstruction in cooperation with relevant SKPD.

Bojonegoro Regency

Flooding in Bojonegoro occurs every year during the rainy season. Worst flood occurs in the village of Leduk Kulon RW 2 RT 5. So great was the flood that the citizen activities have to stop for entire month. The flood came from Bengawan Solo River. In addition, sand mining in the river that can cause erosion.

In order to cope with the flood disaster, Bojonegoro Regional Disaster Management Agency was established based on Regulation No. 11 of 2010. It was established due to regulation about Organization and Administration of other institutions in Bojonegoro. In performing its duties, the Head of BPBD establishes Quick Reaction Force and Search and Rescue Team who served primarily during the disaster.

Besides the efforts made by the government, the community also helped to overcome the problem by working hand in hand to create embankments,

river and sewer cleaning. All was done in community service that involves all mass parties. When the flood came, the citizens help each other to prepare boats and evacuate casualties.

Jember Regency

Floods in Jember happen every year when the volume of rainfall is in high level. The main cause of the flood is the overflow of water from Mayang River which across the region. The geographical position of Jember between mountain valleys is also another factor of becoming flood possibility areas. This condition became worse when deforestation carried out continuously. As a result, floods and landslides become a major threat. Largest flood occurred in 2006 in the district and sub-district of Panji and Rambi Puji. As the result, 108 people died, 399 homes were destroyed and 1,400 hectares of farmland damaged. Areas that regularly experience floods every year is in District of Mayang, Panti and Tempurejo.

To cope with the disaster, the Government of Jember establishes the Regional Disaster Management Agency. In a disaster management especially when the disaster occurred, the government formed disaster coordination and implementation of Disaster Management and Refugees by decree of Bupati No. 63 in 2006. Moreover, the role of the community is also enhanced by involving them in disaster mitigation training. Similarly, in other areas of disaster management, the government complained about the lack of knowledge and awareness of community participation in disaster relief efforts.

Disaster-alert Education

Education in Greek language means pedagogical sense. It is a knowledge used for guiding children. The Romans saw education as Educare, which means creates and guides the action that implement potential matters that is already exist in early life. In the Javanese language, education means process, changes the psyche, grow feelings, thoughts, wishes and change the child's personality. Indonesian dictionary says that education comes from the basic tuition (educational) that maintains and provides training on the character and

intelligence of the mind. Education means the process of changing attitudes and code of conduct a person or group of people in maturing people's mind through teaching and training, the working process and ways to educate.

Stages of disaster management consist of three; pre-disaster, emergency response in-disaster and post-disaster. In the pre-disaster stage, a number of activities are done such as vulnerability and risk mapping and disaster evacuation, counseling, budget preparation and others. At the stage of emergency response, activities such as observing disaster areas quickly, determining the status of emergency states, and others, are conducted. At post-disaster stage, rehabilitation and reconstruction of physical, mental and spiritual recovery of victims and others are well conducted.

Handling the aftermath is also important than the disaster-management itself. Neglecting the post-disaster problems is potentially creating the causes of social illness that can disrupt the stability of social life. For those people who become poor in sudden and cannot establish their life again has a high possibility to commit criminal acts, or be exposed to traumatic on psychological disorders after disaster. Therefore, looting and theft becomes a common thing that happens although they are still in disaster condition. Moreover, many victims who get depression and stress are vulnerable to commit suicide because they cannot endure the suffering. Loosing of family members and belongings, sometimes, can cause some people to lose their spirit of life. Therefore, social endurance to continue living with a sense of optimism after the disaster is something to be fight with. Empowering the potential improvement, confidence and opportunities building, have encouraged the improvement of social problem-solving skills in order to enjoy a decent life and play a role in social development. In the other side, the definition of family is institution, the smallest social unit consisting of husband and wife, or husband and wife and son, or father and son, or mother and child.

Community organizing is one of potential or ability strengthening forms. Organizing is an attempt to establish a working group in order to empower the community and facilitate the planning and implementation activities. This organization is responsible for all activities undertaken. Member of organizations are selected from the families of the victims of disasters who attended the board and the elements meeting, and the selection is in accordance with the collective agreement and adapted to the prevailing and agreed organizational structure.

These organization or work group consists of family elements and community official. The members of such groups are expected to be significant in the empowerment of the family in order to enhance community alert in facing disasters.

The task of these work groups is to manage information (obtained from the improved understanding and motivation) in the implementation of family's activities. They are fully trusted to plan activities (planning), provide activities assessment that is being carried out (monitoring), and measure the final assessment of the results achieved (Evaluating).

Each steps in the scheduled activities is assigned as the responsibility of work groups toward the community, institutions (Family Trustees (Village Chief / Chief of), and agency sectors. Therefore, society at large can (1) provide an assessment on the benefits of the activities carried out by family (2) determinate participation activities in coaching family.

In order to build the ability of communities and administrators, training and workshops can be conducted, so that, a high possibility to results achieved during the training, directly, has real value in the implementation of activities.

The concept of local wisdom is rooted from knowledge and local or traditional governance (Bruce Mitchell et al, 2003). Local communities, traditional or indigenous can be found everywhere on every continent and even in many countries. The definition of indigenous and local are quite varied according to Durning (1992). There are five elements namely: (1) the descendants of indigenous people of a region which was then inhabited by a outside group that is stronger, (2) a group of people who have the language, traditions, culture and religion that is different from the dominant group, (3) they always associated with some types of economic conditions, (4) descendants of hunters, nomadic, shifting cultivators, and (5) community with social relations which more concern to group, decision making through agreements and resource management groups.

Community involvement in economic and social development basically has to be started from the bottom that is through good citizen-based forums such as forums administrative of RT, RW, village consultation and forums that are succeeded in institutional and community (Community Based Organization / CBOs) such as study groups, group of *yasinan / tahlilan* , a group of farmers,

ranchers, etc. merchants and so on (Suparjan: 2003: 48). This effort is done by utilizing the forums not only as a mean to socialize, study or social gathering, but also can be used to discuss various issues that are going on in people's lives as well as disaster alert educational efforts.

Conclusion

The community local knowledge is still partial in nature and requires disaster-alert education efforts formulated from the local knowledge so that such disaster can be coped with. The disaster-alert education can be carried out in the flood-prone areas by informal education through a number of local community forums such as youth organizations, social gathering, and other social organizations. Such education is expected to minimize risks and prevent disasters.

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Panel 8

E(value)ating the Meanings of Local Wisdom

EDUCATIONAL VALUE AMONG THE "SEDULUR SIKEP" IN KALIYOSO FAMILY, THE SUB-DISTRICT OF UNDAAN, KUDUS REGENCY, CENTRAL JAVA[1]

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ABSTRACT

"*Sedulur Sikep*" society runs their education through family - parents to their children. Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso never submit and even never wants to hand over their children education to formal, non-formal, and informal institution. They set out the education value. Education value appears in the form of an ethic that forbids to: *drengki; srei; panasten; kemeren; dahwen; nyiyo marang sepodo; lan bejok reyot iku sedulure, waton menungso tur gelem di ndaku sedulur.* It exists in a taboo tenet: *bedok; colong; jumput; pethil; nemu wae ora keno.* Beside that it also exists a basic tenet in self principled: *kudu weruh tek-e dhewe; lugu; rukun; lan mligi.*

Viewing the education value that is practised in the family of Sedulur Sikep in socialization and enculturation viewpoint, will show how the family role as a social agent and enculturation plays an important and strategic role. Therefore when their children arrive outside world, they have a basic strong value in their life. So they can not be influenced by their friends, school, surroundings and mass media easily.

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1   Presented in the *The 4th International Graduate Student Conference on Indonesia, Graduate School Gadjah Mada University, October 30-31 2012*
2   Bachelor of Education (S.Pd.) and Master of Arts (M.A.)

It is their right when Sedulur Sikep does not give their children education to formal, non-formal, and informal institution. But they should realize that it is less appropriate to apply in Indonesia. Government has determined the policy of basic education for 9 years. This inexpediency should not be a problem. However government must be able to protect Sedulur Sikep as one of their citizen who live in constitutional and democratic state, in which a minority group deserves to exist and sustain their cultural practices.

K E Y W O R D S : education, values, sedulur sikep

Background of The Research

Education is one of the important factors in improving human resource quality. Therefore education sector hold a strategic role to create human resource which is productive, innovative, and appropriate personality with culture value of the society. The process of education not only gives human cognitive and skill value, but also can be used to apply values that should be had by people in their life. Ki Hajar Dewantara (2009:3) explains the meaning and aim of education (*opvoeding*) generally as "the guidance of life and children growth". It means that education is to guide all of the nature power that exists in children, so they can achieve the highest welfare and happiness, as the human or society.

Education and the process is a long continued process, starting form people's birth to the death. In the process, education has a wide scope that is family, society, country, and even the world. Family is the first and primary education. It has an important and strategic role and responsibility as suppliers the basic life values also forming someone's personality.

Looking back to the meaning and aim of education from Ki Hajar Dewantara, family education is a life guidance and children growth in order to hold the basic values to achieve the highest welfare and happiness as an individual or the member of society. Essentially, family education is the value of education. Nevertheless, family teaches and educates many kinds of skill. Then they also provide other life provision in one's self.

Educational value held by each family. Family is the smallest part of a society and a nation. Sedulur Sikep Kaliyoso Dukuh Kaliyoso Desa Karangrowo

Kecamatan Undaan Kabupaten Kudus, is an example of the people who carry out educational value in a family with strongly   and hereditary. Sedulur Sikep knows no education other than education in the family, so the role of family as the first and primary schools is very important and strategic.

In the context of "The 4th International Graduate Student Conference on Indonesia", this paper presents the results of research on the educational value of the family of Sedulur Sikep Kaliyoso Dukuh Kaliyoso Desa Karangrowo Kecamatan Undaan Kabupaten Kudus which are unique as a local community can survive and exist in the midst of a global life Modern and embody the spirit of education for all.

Statement of The Problem

How does Sedulur Sikep Kaliyoso Dukuh Kaliyoso Desa Karangrowo Kecamatan Undaan Kabupaten Kudus implement the education for their children?

Objective of The Research

The purpose of this research is to find out:
1. Educational value in the Sedulur Sikep Kaliyoso Family Dukuh Kaliyoso Desa Karangrowo Kecamatan Undaan Kabupaten Kudus
2. The values that are applied in Sedulur Sikep Kaliyoso Dukuh Kaliyoso Desa Karangrowo Kecamatan Undaan Kabupaten Kudus to their children

Theoritical Framework
Educational Value

Educational value is a process of guidance through good example, education-oriented of investment values   in life that includes the value of religion, culture, ethics, and aesthetics towards the establishment of private students who have religious spiritual intelligence, self-control, personality intact, noble , as well as the necessary skills of their selves, society, and the State (Aeni 2009: 4).

1. Socialization and Enculturation

   a. **Socialization**

      According to Robert MZ Lawang, socialization is the process of learning the values, norms, roles and other requirements that is necessary to enable a person to participate effectively in social life. In the socialization process occurs at least three processes, namely: (1) learning the values and norms (socialization), (2) making the values and norms are studied as belonging to themselves (internalization), and (3) habituating the actions and behavior in accordance with the values and norms that have become his (enculturation) (Santosa 2012: 1-2).

   b. **Enculturation**

      The term of enculturation as a concept, literally it can mean paired with the process of acculturation (Koentjaraningrat 1986: 233) or cultural socialization (Koentowijoyo 1987: 43). In the process of enculturation, an individual learn and adapt an attitude of mind and behavior with the customs, system of norms and regulations that exist in the culture (Kodiran).

Method of The Research

This research used qualitative research method. This qualitative research is conducted using qualitative-descriptive approach. This type of research is intended as a problem-solving with depiction, or describe the condition of the research subject in the present based on the facts that appear or as they are.

The location of this research is in Dukuh Kaliyoso Desa Karangrowo Kecamatan Undaan Kabupaten Kudus. The research focused on: the educational value in the family of Sedulur Sikep; applied values of Sedulur Sikep to their children. The primary data were obtained directly from interviews with informant. Then the secondary data were obtained from reference books and previous research. In collecting the data, the writer is using the interview method. In this research, an interview was conducted to Mbah Wargono (personage of Sedulur Sikep) and Gunondo (youth personage of Sedulur Sikep/ Mbah Wargono's son).

Research Finding and Discussion
Educational Value in Sedulur Sikep Kaliyoso Family

Education is a fundamental right of every citizen of Indonesia, a consequence that the Indonesian Government is obliged to provide and organize education for every citizen. Therefore, the government takes outside a number of policies and educational programs should be implemented and enjoyed by all citizens. But this is not in effect to Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso. As a community that has its own characteristics and different from the general society at Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso is a community that has its own way in implementing education for their children. Education conducted by Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso is an education in the family range. Education is done by parents to their children. Education conducted Sedulur Sikep is in line with the concept of "Family is the First School," which the family is one of the agents in the process of socialization and enculturation besides peers, schools, communities and the media.

In implementing the education to their children, Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso is using a talk and giving examples from parent to child. Parents said the teachings and principles espoused by Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso. Teachings and principles are spoken to children, then parents exemplifie by the attitudes and daily behavior. Thus, to see the results of their children's education, parents always monitor the developments and changes in attitudes and daily behavior of their children. If something goes wrong and not appropriate, parents will be reminded intensively until the children are able to comprehend the teachings and principles espoused by Sedulur Sikep and be able to act and behave as they should be an individual Sedulur Sikep as the part of a large family Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso.

What the Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso family does in educating their children is a form of educational value. Educational value is the most basic education for children. Thus from the educational value, was born a good and qualified person also having a strong basis to interact and consort appropriately with values, norms and culture. For the Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso children, the challenge of being a Sedulur Sikep as a whole is very large. The big challenge in question is due to: (1) they live within the community that do not all process

the tenet of Sedulur Sikep, (2) they are free to interact with peers and the public, (3) they are in contact and know the outside world through television freely. That big challenge does not then decrease the children's spirits of Sedulur Sikep to become an intact Sedulur Sikep. This was revealed from the results of interviews with Brother Gunondo, youth personage of Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso. Similar with parents of children Sedulur Sikep, they are not always tirelessly to educate, teach and emphasize their children about the tenets and principles adopted by Sedulur Sikep.

In the socialization and enculturation point of view, family as the first and primary education has an important role in forming the personality of children. The care of parents and educational values   of life, both religious and socio-cultural factors are given to prepare children to become personal and healthy members of society (Yusuf 2004: 37). Family is a crucial element in the formation of personality and abilities (Fuaduddin 1999: 5). Theoretically, children who are living in families will grow and develop well. Informal education in the family will help in laying the basis for the establishment personality (Gunawan 2000: 57).

In the socialization process occurs at least three processes, namely: (1) learning the values and norms (socialization), (2) making the values   and norms are studied as belonging to themselves (internalization), and (3) habituating the actions and behavior in accordance with the values and norms that have become his (enculturation). Related to educational value of the Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso family, the socialization as a learning process of values   and norms of Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso through talking and setting the example by parents as teachers and as students. Internalization as a process is carried out by living the tenets and principles that are presented as guidance in attitude and behavior in everyday life. Then enculturation as the process is done by implementing the tenets and principles of the attitude and behavior of everyday routine and strictly controlled by the parents, so that children are slowly and surely will appreciate and implement the teachings of Sikep Sedulur Dukuh Kaliyoso consciously and intactly.

As a citizen of Indonesia, Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso should receive a good and decent education from the government. But in fact Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso never received it from government, because Sedulur Sikep

Dukuh Kaliyoso do not want to give their children's education to formal, non formal and informal government-owned institute or private. Regarding the refusal of Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso of programs and educational facilities provided by the government, the government of Karangrowo village actually did not keep silent. In fact, many times Sedulur Sikep is visited by teachers and principals in order to send their children to primary school at least until elementary school graduated. However, at that time Sedulur Sikep insists on their mind and the principle to not send their children to formal, non-formal and informal government-owned institutions or private.

When the principles and establishment Sedulur Sikep not to send their children to institutions of formal, non-formal and informal institute blasted with relevant government policies of 9 years basic education, of course the principle Sedulur Sikep is not appropriate. This discrepancy should not be questioned, but how the government provide insight, guidance and keep nurturing Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso as one of its citizen who live in the rule of law and democracy.

In the development, there is a displacement of principle and conviction in the Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso family in educating their children. The further results of research indicate that now almost all families of Sedulur Sikep are aware with the importance of education. Therefore they deliver their children's education to formal institutions and it must continue to implement the educational value in the family range, like the other Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso family.

The Values that Applied to Children Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso Families

In educating their children, Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso that promotes the educational value, formed and applied the basis principle tenets is including: *kudu weruh tek-e dhewe (must understand the stuff they have and do not use other people's), lugu (should it be, eg: if you talk A, say the truth, do not give any word), rukun (both to others); lan mligi (obey the rules, in the form of ethical and interaction principles)* (Rosyid 2008: 172-173; Wargono 2012).

The basic tenets of self principle becomes the basic primary for any child of the Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso family. With this basic tenets, children in families Sedulur Sikep are educate and formed. So they really will be good person and ideal society according Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso. Furthermore, children are taught to have the principles of ethics and interact each other and their surroundings.

In educating, forming and applying ethical and interaction principles, Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso children are taught how to have the behaviors and actions that do not harm theirself and others which are embodied in abstinence for: *Drengki (creating slander); Srei (being greedy); Panasten (being offended easily or hate each other); kemeren (being jealous / envious, the desire in having what belongs to someone else) Dawen (accusing without evidence); nyiyo marang sepodo (doing insult to other natural inhabitants); lan bejok reyot iku sedulure, Waton menungso gelem tour in ndaku sedulur (should not be wasting other people, although it has any such defects, the origin of human is relative if you want to be)* (Rosyid 2008: 170-171; Wargono 2012).

To keep away from harm acts, others and the environment. Sedulur Sikep children are taught the taboos in life, namely: *bedok (accusing); colong (stealing), jumput (taking the goods. Goods which have become a commodity in the market, such as: rice, pet and other necessities of life); pethil (fetchin goods. Goods are still be one with nature or still adhered to the source of life, such as: vegetables when it was in a field); nemu wae ora keno (finding is taboo)* (Rosyid 2008: 171; Wargono 2012)

Conclusion

Education that implemented Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso families to their children that is educational value is an example of a much-needed basic education for children in this era. Especially in this globalization era, which tend to be free, and start leaving manners of eastern life.

Sedulur Sikep Dukuh Kaliyoso family who equip their children with the basic values   espoused in Sikep Sedulur Dukuh Kaliyoso community are appropriately replicated and implemented by other families. So it will born an

individual who has a good attitude and behavior, quality and ideal values, local norms and culture.

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LOCAL WISDOM IN LIFE CYCLE OF MADURESE WOMEN AS THE BASIS OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF SELF-EMPOWERMENT COMMUNICATION STRATEGY

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ABSTRACT

Madura with its four regencies has a variety of cultural tourisms ranging from dance art, traditional clothes, language, unique food, and local wisdoms. These valuable cultural assets are overlooked since Madura has been identified with violence, fight (*carok*), and underdevelopment. The fact is that there are a lot of local wisdoms which have supreme values.

Discussions about Madura cannot be separated from discussions about Madurese women. Madurese women who from the viewpoint of outsiders are identified with work ethics, hard working, Madurese traditional medicine, and sexuality are interesting to be discussed. This is due to the fact that many Madurese local wisdoms are inherent in Madurese women's life cycles. These wisdoms do have supreme values which can be Madurese women's self-potentials.

The objective of the study is to reveal Madurese women's local wisdoms in their life cycles. Ethnographic data were collected by observations and in-depth interviews with key informants to grasp hidden contents or values in every form of Madurese local wisdom. Besides, the data were collected from written documents such as archives, news or opinions. For the sake of historical framework and sharpened perspective, reviews were done to a number of references related to the focus of interest which has been developed by other researchers.

Madurese local wisdoms which are inherent in their life cycles include teenage phase, becoming a wife, and looking after the family. In the three phases above, the local wisdom imbued by their ancestors since their early life to Madurese women is confined in patriarchic cultural hegemony to the degree that they do not feel that it is in fact a gap. The patriarchic cultural hegemony inherent in Madurese women local wisdoms is materialized in three concepts *adhandhen* (dressing up), *arembhi'* (giving birth), and *amasak* (cooking) which must be done by a Madurese woman. Broadly speaking, the Madurese women's local wisdoms which emerge from their life cycles are that they have to work hard, not to be lazy, devote their life to their family by looking after themselves and their family. On the other hand, Madurese women with hard working characteristic and high work ethic imbued since their early life have great potential to increase their own economic life and family as well as are proof of their existence.

Introduction

Madura Island with 4 districts has many cultural tourism assets, ranging from dance, typical dress, language, food specialties, and local knowledge of the Madurese. It becomes hardly noticeable as long as the spread of Madura image outside is identical with violence, carok and rude. Whereas, in fact, there is much wisdom in Madura society filled by noble values.

Talking about Madura Island, it cannot be separated from the discussion about Madurese women. Outside the Madura community, Madurese women who are identical with the work ethic, hard work, Madura medicinal herbs, and sexuality have been very interesting topic to be discussed, related to the fact that out of much local wisdom in Madura society, there is some local wisdom inherent in the life cycle of Madura women. This local wisdom is certainly filled by many noble values   that could be the self-potential of Madura women.

But like any other local women, in every development process, women have always been subordinated, marginalized and disadvantaged. This is obvious from the design of every programs made by the government which is seldom

involves the importance of women. Unlike the men, each program of any offices always made based on male perspective. Finally, the majorities of Madura women make a living in Madura domestic areas such as being servant, helping their husbands as fisherman, and becoming migrant workers abroad. In fact, if it will be observed further, those roles of Madura women with a high work ethic are as wage earners and family economic foundation.

Research Problem

The deep extracting of local wisdom inherent in the life cycle of Madura women is one of attempts to analyze more about what kind of potencies that can be extracted from Madura women figures that could become the basis of the arrangement of self-empowerment communication strategy of Madura women.

Results and Discussion
Work ethic of Madura Women as a Form of Family Devotion

One of the inherent characteristics of the Madurese is a high work ethic soul. Madurese work ethic which is known as tough ethic are reflected and motivated from the values   implied in the proverbs which is generated from Madurese ancestors. Proverbs such as "Oreng Madura ta' tako` mateh`, tapeh tako` kalaparan" means Madurese do not fear death, but fear of starvation."

On other side shows that Madurese are even more afraid of hunger caused by their act which is not diligent and does not work hard so it makes them ashamed. Thus, they then work as hard as possible, as long as it does not against their religion, "he said. In other words, the Madurese will not consider work as something heavy, less benefit, or contempt as long as the activities are not immoral activities so that the result is halal wage. Thus, he said, Madurese people will not hesitate to roll up their sleeves or accept a job, that it is reflected in the proverb "temon nangtang lalab" (cucumbers brave to be made as lalap (dish of raw vegetables and a spicy sauce)). (Rifai, 2005)

However, not every Madurese is "mara perreng taleh" (like bamboo rope) that shows flexibility to accept any job no matter how hard it is. There is also Madurese which is "alos tanggung" (smooth halfway). "Those who are 'alos tanggung' seem to be delicate workers, but they actually cannot handle

jobs, whether it is delicate work or even rough work. Other peoples are like 'kerbuy Koros menta esae` (thin buffalo ask to plow). Means people requesting more responsibility or positions but they have not had the ability, "he said. Other ethics shown by Madurese in 'nyare kasap' (earning money) by doing 'kar-ngarkar nyolpe' ' (scrambling like chickens, then eating). (Rifai, 2005)

Proverb showed the persistence of the Madurese in doing work that seems to be unimportant but later it can reap huge benefits. In addition, he said, Madurese are advised to never avoid the hard works, so that, there will not come harder works, or the proverbs are "ja` senggaih malarat sakone` nyopre ta` kadhatengan kasossa`an se rajah."

"Another proverb says Peribahasa lain menyebutkan, `oreng se nampek ka lalakon dhammang bakal nampane pakon berra`, means those who refuse delicate works will accept heavy duty. Otherwise there are proverbs for fisherman, which is `abantal ombak` asapo` angin or 'considering the wave as cushion and the wind as blanket' he said. (Rifai, 2005).

High work ethic implied in the proverb and the characteristic of the Madurese community, not only appeared in the self of Madurese men, but also in the characteristics of Madurese women. Work ethic of Madurese women are taught from the early age in the Madura family. Work ethic embodied in behavior, agile, diligent, and sensitive to the surrounding nature and environment are taught by the Madura family to the children, especially girls. Work ethic which is taught early on Madurese women is aimed to make them a "perfect" woman that will be ready to serve her family. (Interview with Dinara)

Information gained from the informants of this research, it was mentioned that out of all levels of education and socio-economic layers in society, it appears that Madurese women are hard workers both in domestic affairs and in the public work that generate money. High education of work ethic that is taught since they were children in Madura family becomes a motivation for Madurese women for doing tireless work during her lifetime. For Madurese women who have medium socioeconomic status, work is a reason to live and earn a living. In addition, work is an obligation that they have to do to be able to help their husband by supporting his family so that they can escape from the poverty. On the other hand, for Madurese women who have middle and upper socioeconomic status, work is a principle of pride and an example for their children. Besides,

working for them is also a worship that should be done. Behind different reasons to continuing to work stated by Madurese women in all social strata, there is an equal principal emphasized on Madurese women in working, which is there should be balance between doing domestic work in each household and doing public work that gained money. Thus, it can be seen that a high work ethic owned by Madurese women embodied in the form of work activities in real life is not a self-actualization, but rather the form of responsibility and devotion to their family. This phenomenon makes the potential of Madurese women becomes invisible and makes her position increasingly marginalized (interview with Dinara).

In addition to a high work ethic, Madurere women characteristics can also be seen from the form of their devotion to their family (husband) that includes the completion of tasks in total household (taking care of their husband and children, cooking, etc.), self-care as a service to the husband, and high sense of religiosity. These characteristics appear more with a culture of Madura that inherits doctrine or advice as dogma, such as: husband is an *imam* (family leader), do not ever brash husband, children should be taught by using Madurese culture manners and put religion as guidance. (Interview with supik amen)

With such characteristics, although basically Madurese women have known the rights and obligations equality between husband and wife, but that kind of emancipation is prefer called as innate instinct. A wife has an important role and responsibility to uphold the dignity and family life. Together they go to the fields to toil and sweat until "Pello agili koneng" (the sweat is flowing), which means working hard until finish.

Sense of the work is also applicable in the market, at sea, or anywhere where her husband works. However, an excess of Madurese women is reversed her duties as a mother and as a companion to her husband in preparing for the family, women will always be prosecuted faithfully serves. On the other hand, Madurese women traditionally have always lived under the rule of men (husbands). This means Madurese women have to obey, obey, obey and surrender to the will of her husband and was not justified to resist or refuse. (Interview with supik amen)

The Characteristics of Madurese women are features of actualization of local wisdom values application inherent in the Madurese women life cycle,

through cultural traditions of their ancestors which are taught since their childhood in Madura family. From the extracting of local wisdom inherent in the Madurese women life cycle, it is known that the characteristic Madurese women that were formed by the implementation of ancestors' doctrine cannot be separated from partiarki cultural system. The system is embodied in the 3 domestic domain concepts that should be done by Madurese women, namely the concept of "Adhanden, Arembhi ', Amasak" (dress up, childbirth, and cooking). The third concepts are the expressions of devotion to her family Madura, because the implementation of those three concepts aims as good service for the family (especially for husband).

The Excavation of Local Wisdom in Life Cycle of Madurese Women

Local wisdom is the attitude and the view on life as well as various patterns of life embodied in the daily activities which are undertaken by local communities in responding to a variety of problems in fulfilling their needs in the community. (Rifai, 2005)

In the life cycle of Madurese women, there is various daily activities performed by Madurese community in responding to these problems. These daily activities become local wisdom that is taught early on Madura family especially by mothers and grandmothers to their daughters. According to the informants of this study, there are broadly three attitudes and behaviors concepts that must be acted by the Madurese women, those are adhandhen, arembhi 'and amasak (taking care of yourself, take care of the child / family, and cooking). Three concepts are embodied in the daily activities, done by local communities of Madura, and taught through generations to Madurese women since adolescence.

Local Wisdom Inherented in Madurese Women Since Adolescence

Adolescence is an important phase in the life of women, including in Madura. In their adolescence, Madurese girls uphold advices from parents or relatives who are more experienced. Various local wisdoms taught especially to the young women to prepare for married life later. In this phase, Madurese women

have started applying local wisdom by doing Amasak and Adhandhen (self-care and cooking)

Madurese young women, who are considered as adults by the arrival of menstruation marked, get discourse and the advice related to the duties and responsibilities of women. Women who have grown should be more careful in keeping herself, because if something happens to women, it is related to the self-esteem and the dignity of the family. Various advices often be given to women in the family to prepare the future married life (interview with Atik, Dessy).

At the beginning of Madurese girls' menstruation, slametan ceremony is held. It aims to refuse disaster and so that the way forward after the adult life always gets salvation. Women who get their first period are not permitted to off their slippers even in the house, it is intended to reduce the risk of dirt that can cause odor problems. When the menstruation has finished, Madurese women are advised to take shower with setaman flowers water to maintain freshness, fitness, and body fragrance. Madurese women are also not recommended to consume green bananas, pineapples and cucumbers because the three fruits are not good for their female organs (interview with Ms. Supik Amin).

Other important advices are also done to Madurese women who will get married. Advice include that a woman should be a congregation for her husband. A wife should be completely devoted to their husbands because the husband is the head of the family, imam, and a life guide for her. In the belief of Madura women, wives should obey her husband in all things, whether when doing activity in the domestic domain and at the public. Madurese women should always ask permission and blessing from her husband when they do whole activities, it is because in their view, when women who have been married do anything without husbands' permission, it means they had dared to "bypass" the husband, and it is considered as taboo (interview with Ms. Dinara).

Dealing with self-care, Madurese women are required to diligently care of herself and her body that later can make her husband happy after marriage. Body treatments of Madurese women before getting marriage also get special attention. Madurese Women are advised to start doing body care through both external and internal treatment. Treatment is done in an effort to prepare women to be a wife who will have to serve her husband as a form of devotion.

(Interview with the mother of Supik Amin). Additionally ceremonies and rituals performed before marriage, as follows: 1 week before the day of marriage, they should do fasting and drinking herbal medicine (in order to make the sweat does not smells bad); bath scrub for 1 month (works for yellowing the skin), give Kutek to the nails (pacar), room of reception and the clothes used in the marriage are covered by incense fragrance (diokep)

In the implementation of the local wisdom that is implemented through the advice of parents, the mother or the grandmother begins to prepare and require her daughter to drink Madura traditional herbal drink (jamu). The treatment in the form of herbal drink is started since girls' first menstrual period. Drinking herbal medicine is not odd things for Indonesian, especially for Madurese. Herbal medicine can be categorized as a traditional drink because it uses natural ingredients like nutritious herbs that are commonly used by local people through generations. According to the informants, drinking herbal drink is required to keep body in shape, reduce odor during and after the menstrual period. Likewise Madurese women who will get married should take herbal drink and do body treatments with herbal powder (lulur).

According to several sources, Madura traditional herbs for women basically use the same basic ingredients. Based on those same basic materials, then the herbs are developed into various ingredients with different uses and different users. Since adolescence, Madurese women already know the ingredients and the traditional herbal medicine for the treatment of their body. Herbal medicine and treatment for women basically consists of ingredients received through generations, which is delivered through parents and relatives. The treatment of Madurese women has been done since they were teenagers, and continued when they get married to the adult stage. In every stage of these women's lives, there is always distinct specific traditional medicinal herb. These are traditional ingredients, materials, and the utility of ingredients for women on the adolescent phase: Jamu galian singset, Jamu Keputihan, Jamu Galian Remaja putri, Jamu Paket (for girls who will be married), herbs which are taken regularly during menstruation, herbal beauty, and herbal powder

The concept of Adhandhen behavior in this phase is manifested in the habit of drinking herbs. This can be seen from the function of herbal medicinal drink that is drunk by Madurese women, is generally used for self-care. In

addition, in the adolescent phase, the concept of Amasak behavior is also began to be taught. Since adolescence, women are made aware of the importance of Madura cooking skills when they married later. The cooking skill owned by Madura women is a medium to serve their husbands, so that their husbands will not be turned into another person or neglected because she could not cook. Therefore, in this phase, Madurese women should start learning to cook. Several types of regional recipes of Madura are begun to be taught to Madura girls, like broth soup, Serpang rice, Sobi porridge, soto Madura and many more.

Local Wisdom Madurese Women in Phase Life as a Wife

For Madura men, women had the highest place, because of women the men in Madura get spirit, and because of women, the self-esteem of men is ventured

In the relation of men and women as husband and wife in Madura, the wife is completely owned by her husband. This marriage as it is stated in Ihromi Scanconi (Ihromi, 1999: 100) the wife is known as *property owner*. In the pattern of property owner marriage, the wife is the husband's property, the same as cash and other valuables. The task is to make a living husband and wife's duty is to provide food for her husband and children and completing household tasks in part because her husband had to work to support herself and her children. The husband was the "boss" and the wife should submit to him. In the event of disagreement, the wife should submit to her husband. Thus, the stability will be created in the household. (T.O. Ihromi, 1999: 100)

Women are 'owned' by her husband fully, under his control. Absolute leadership is in the hands of husbands (men). The man who had the right to determine what should and what should not be done by women because women are his. As women become the center of men self-esteem, the women are being protected, supervised, and owned by men. It even becomes system in Madura culture, including the system of residence management.

In the management of residence, women have a special room that is a woman house. The house is a home for women's groups. The house is inhabited by women and small children. Adult males have a outside which is very genera, such as *langgar*. The house is owned by women, families have an obligation to make a home for girls.

Receiving men guests in tanean is not common when there is not man at all. Women will only reply the guests from the inside of the house but they will not meet them. Guest will not wait if at the tanean there is not man. This is reinforced by the opinions of the informants who said that it was the custom in the village, when there are guests come, they will not be allowed to enter the tanean, but they will be treated in the *langgar* which is always built around *tanean lanjang* in Madura. If there are guests, especially men, they will be treated in langgar, moreover when there is a not adult man in the house. The house is only used to receive female guests. The room for men is in langgar. (Interview with Uus)

The phenomenon of governance residence above, shows the position of women is so special in Madura. This privileged position is actually a form of protection, control, and possession of the female figure on Madurese men. These all because of women is a symbol of male pride in Madura. Welfare which was seen in Madurese women is Madurese success of a male, and vice versa, the fall woman is a failure of Madurese men. Here the self-esteem of Madura men is stake. From above facts, it is obvious how strong patriarchal cultural system surrounding the Madura Society

Patriarchal cultures that put Madurese women's status as wives in a possession of a man, has a consequences to the attitude of Madurese women as a wife. Based on information collected from informant, it is known that as a wife, she must be obedient and obliged to serve her husband well. It is taboo for a wife, and it is forbidden to see her husband's wallet, because it shows rudeness and distrust in the ability of her husband to support themselves and their families. (Interview with Supik amen)

As a form of service, a wife shall prepare a meal and accompany her husband while eating, conduc all activities with the consent or permission of the husband, and do other forms of service, including service to satisfy the sexual desire of her husband. Out of the phenomenon, it is not wrong if people outside Madura know that Madurese women have a higher sex desire than women of other ethnicities. This is because the sex education that is given since childhood. 12-year-old girls, before the wedding, have already know kinds of ingredients, as well as the sex style pattern. This education is indeed informal nature from their grandmother or mother. They had the concept of dry or wet.

Dry is considered as healthy, while wet or muddy is not healthy. So women who are getting married do not eat cucumber or foods that contain a lot of water because it is not good. Thus, the sexual power is maintained. (Interview with Amin supik)

This is confirmed by the statement of one of the informants that since children and teens she had received information about the treatment of women in general, such as drinking herbal first period, and continued on a regular treatment. In addition, women should know Madura herbal ingredients specifically related to women's issues, such as overcoming the problem of *keputihan*, reducing pain during menstruation, the type of food that is taboo for women, and so on. (Interview with Uus).

From these explanations of local wisdom excavations of Madurese women in wives phase, it is obvious that there are many efforts done in the form of advice and prohibition in family life as a form of devotion and service implementation of Madurese women to their husbands. In the local wisdom, women choose to drink a traditional herb of Madura or *jamu* that are believed to have special use for that.

According to the informants of this study, there are some common herbal drinks that are usually consumed by Madurese women in her phase of their life cycle as a good wife. They can be made because the material is easy to search or it can be bought in a home industry. Some of these ingredients, as follows:

1. Madura ingredients made by most Madurese women like Sari Rapet herbs and herbal fertilizer.
2. Madura herb commonly produced by home industries in Madura, such as Sepet Rapet scented or perfumed, *empot ayam, susut perut*, Jamu for birth, jamu to be taken by a new-moher, such as herbs for breast or "peja" and herbs for youth. For the body care of giving birth women, there are several types of tabu parem / parem bangkes, Parem atas, Peles dahi, Dupa ratus, Cebok / lakela and potions to make female sex organs closer.

In the life cycle of Madurese women as a wife, the concept of local wisdom adhandhen, arembhi ', and amasak (taking care of yourself, taking care of the child / family, and cooking) is required to be done by Madurese women. A wife

of Madurese men should be able to take care of themselves, take care of family and cook as a form of service to the husband. One of the ways is by regularly drinking Madura herbal and creatively makes innovations in cooking food by using local ingredients of Madura.

Local Wisdom of Madurese Women in Her Phase Life As a Mom

In addition to the household, Madurese women also work. If for example, her husband sails, she would be at home to make batik. This then developed into a fine art. Women also carved as art and production activities.

Women in Madura community social life actually emphasize the harmonious life. It can be seen from the expression *Rampa' naong beringin korong*. Suggestions for mutual assistance to each other and the importance of social solidarity is also heavily emphasized as the expression ghu'tegghu' sabbhu 'or song-Osong lombung.

In this phase of life as a mother, Madurese woman is required to perform tasks as housewives including taking care on families that are children, husbands and other family members. In her role as a mother, she must understand the various recipes and potions for child or other family members care.

Madurese women are known as a strong woman to keep a secret of the family. What happens in the family may not be public discussion, *jha' methha' buri' etengnga lorong* ((do not show (sorry) ass on the highway). However, the bad things sooner or later will be known by public, sapenter-penterra nyimpen babathang paste e kaedhing bauna (remains buried, the smells will be smelled too). (Interview with Mukmiroh Conscience)

In this phase of motherhood, Madurese women should have traditional herbs knowledge that can be used for keeping the health of family members. Potions can be either a drink with certain benefits, such as pokak, the benefits of the plants around us, and other traditional ingredients.

Closing

Local wisdom inherent in Madurese women lifecycle is ranging from adolescent phase, a wife, and taking care of the household. In the three phases, the local

wisdoms that are given by their ancestors are locked in patriarchal cultural hegemony, thus Madurese women do not feel that all of those wisdoms is inequality so that they lack of entrepreneurial spirit in their souls. The restricted self-actualization activity in working to not exceed her husband's work, make Madurese women's high work ethic is only manifested in the activities to help her husband work, They do not work as a producer or even a proponent of the family economy, whereas, this potential is strongly owned by Madurese women. The cultural hegemony patriarchy inherent in the local wisdom of Madurese women are manivested in 3 concepts, adhandhen, arembhi 'and amasak to be acted by a Madurese woman. Broadly speaking, local wisdom of Madurese can be seen in the life cycle of them are women have to work hard, do not be lazy, devoted his life to their family by taking care of herself, taking care of their family. Besides, local wisdom of Madurese women were also can be seen on exploiting natural resources to be processed into daily need products; Utilizing a wealth of human resources to create opportunities, business and family welfare; Adopting natural resources of Madura and changing them into specific Madura products that are unique and attractive; Adopting religious education, formal education, and life skills as a skill of Madurese women.

On the other hand, Madurese women with the characteristics of hard work and high work ethics taught early actually has great potential to improve the welfare of Madurese women and her family economy as well as a proof of the existence of Madurese women. But unfortunately, so far, the potential of Madurese women does not run optimally. This is due to all sorts of effort and hard works that is done by women is not based on their actual potential but is actually more in the form of responsibility and devotion to their family. They work hard to help their husbands earning extra income. This phenomenon makes the potential of Madurese women is unnoticeable and marginalized. It makes the efforts done by Madurese women simply to sell well, not to be an entrepreneur that is full of innovation, creativity and product development.

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Panel 9

Arts of Cultural Resistances

POST-COLONIAL SAMIN IDENTITY;
State, Religion and Tradition Struggles in Pro-Con Construction of Cement Factory in Sukolilo Pati, Central Java.

Abdulloh hamid*

Preface

Identity Politics in the present Samin community is affected by the legacy of its memory and spirit of the struggle against the Dutch colonialists. In the 20th century, exactly on February 4, 1907 Samin community led by Ki Surosentiko Samin movement refused to pay taxes, which is then followed by his followers. Payment of taxes by Samin community is not in accordance with conscience, Samin view *"lemah pada duwe, banyu pada duwe, kayu pada duwe"* (we have our own land, water, and soil) so there is no reason to pay taxes. Farmers living from working the rice fields and grazing cattle, so the obligation to pay taxes by the Dutch colonial government burden them much.

After Indonesia's independence, until the New Order era, Samin community in Hamlet Village Bombong Baturejo Sukolilo Pati district of Central Java province is considered as anti-development community, they do not want to accept help from the government, and cannot be touched by Islamization and evangelism. Samin community also rejected the religion and government in its border community. In the post-reform period, they also reject the construction of cement factory that they consider as a harmful thing for their natural ecosystems of Kendeng mountains (that lies from Pati to Blora). Moreover, they also think that this project will destroy their land and water resources because only farming which becomes the only mainstay of their livelihood, and will only benefit few people.

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This research tries to explore identity politics Samin community, when dealing with government repression and his ocnum, company up to religious institutions. This study wanted to explore the phenomenon of Samin community by analyzing how to position Samin community in the context of the pros and cons of the construction of a cement factory in the mountains Kendeng in Sukolilo Pati, how the pattern of negotiations with the State Samin community is, religious institutions in the post-colonial and what visual expression / identity symbols as post-colonial communal Samin community are.

This study also sought space on studies and literature that discusses Samin movement and community life. Several previous studies on the Samin movement, such as the work of Harri J. Benda-Lance Castles in The Samin Movement describes the causes of the resistance movement led by Samin Surosentiko as resistance against Dutch colonial farmers, resistance is done by refusing to pay taxes. Resistance that began from the Blora on February 4, 1907 in a relatively short but has a lot of followers, among others: Apex, Tuban, Bojonegoro, Ngawi, Grobogan, Pati and Kudus (Harry J. Benda, 1969:207-216) .

In addition, Justus M. Van der Kroef in The Messiah in Indonesia and Melanesia, writes about Saminists resistance against Dutch colonial imagination Messiah or messianic figure within Samin Surasentika. (der Kroef, Justus M. Van, 1952:161-162), Viktor T. King in the Same Observations on the Samin Movement of Nort-Central Java: Suggestions for The Theoretical Analysis of the Dynamics of Rural Unrest. In his study he discusses the Samin movement in the northern part of Central Java, to analyze the development of the movement with the economic foundations of the society and not the forest. (Victor T. King, 1973; 457-481). A. Pieter E. Korver in his book The Samin Movement and Millenarism reviewed, reviewing millenarisme Samin in motion, as the identity of the movement. (A. Pieter E. Korver, 1976; 249-266). Takashi Shiraishi also in Dangir's Testimony: Saminism Reconsidered, reviewed the reports of the colonial against the followers of Samin (Dangir) in Genengmulyo, Heilbron to read Saminisme influence in some areas on the north coast of Java. (Takashi Shiraishi, 1990; 95-120). Bannedict Anderson (1996) and Saminis Millenarialisme Movement, and Widodo (1997) in Samin in the Order: The Politics of Encounter and Isolation. more emphasis on the study of post-independence Saminists. And how traditional power struggle going on, as seen also in the study of minority

rights that was done by Uzair Ahmad (2007) in Political Representation and Discourse Multiculturalism in Practice Program Remote Indigenous Communities (KAT) Case Sedulur Sikep Bombong-bacem.

Sadi Suripan Hutomo (1996) in *the tradition of Blora*, wrote about the traditions that exist in Blora, mostly talking about people's lives in Klopoduwur Samin, Blora. Suripan clearly described results of research and observations of the successor Samin Surasentika extant native village, in addition, Suripan also discussed sayings patterns, communication patterns and symbols of Saminists' symbol game and analysis of important texts that guide the wisdom of Samin residents.

In addition, Moh Rosyid (2008) in *Samin Kudus*: *Bersahaja di Tengah Asketisme Lokal*, doing research on the Samin in Undaan Kudus, Rosyid found, Samin community can get along with the friendly residents around the location where he lived, but he still hold his values these are the basic principles of the legacy of the ancestors, such as religion and patterns of communication with members of the group and outside of the group.

From some research on previous Samin, mostly in the domain of historiography, religious, cultural, political authorities up to the indigenous communities, this study attempted to fill the empty space of Samin study on using the framework of Postcolonial Perspective, to analyze current issues such as the case of the pros-cons cement plant in Sukolilo, which involves the contestation Samin community aspirations. By using Postcolonial Perspective it will find a common thread in the construction of political consciousness among the colonists of the present, which changed from a colonial interests of local political authorities and economic interests of the company. Leela Gandhi revealed that postcolonial help clear pattern of differences between native and invader, and to construct a political consciousness, uniting the revolutionary movement, and stand up against the new invaders (Gandhi, 1998:11).

Genealogy of Samin Movement

Samin movement was originally a movement against the colonial Dutch, after the Dutch left Indonesia, the movement continued and developed into a community of its own, which has distinct characteristics and attitudes from

Java community at large. Samin name is taken from the name of its leader, namely Samin Surosentiko.

People of Samin's adherents use *bahasa jawa ngoko* For them to respect other people not from the language used, but the attitudes and actions that indicated they were often accompanied sanepo language (parable). To understand the language of the Samin,it is necessary caution to avoid misinterpretation.

At first the Dutch had not noticed this community, but over time the Dutch felt threatened. In 1905 followers of the Samin's values began to change their ways. They refused to pay taxes and refused to impound cattle in the barn along with other villagers, way of life so confusing village officials. (Deden Fathurrahman, 1996:16)

1907 is an important year in the course of formation of the cumin. This year his followers reached 5,000 people, and it makes the colonial government scared and shocked. On March 1, 1907, they were reported to when they gathered in the village of Tuban Blora Kedhung salvation event in one of the member of Samin followers . Those who came were arrested on charges of preparing for rebellion, and finally around the date of December 17, 1907, Samin Surontiko arrested by Prince Pranolo assistant district officer in Randublatung Blora then exiled to Digul Irian Jaya and eventually exiled to Sawahlunto and died in 1914. (RPA Soerjanto Sastroatmojo, 2000:16)

Thus Samin movement is a farmer resistance to colonial rule, using an anti-violence strategies. They turned the 'logic of language' as a means of avoiding repression, Samin community againsted the Dutch colonial with innocence and *ilmu bodon which* are still looking at the current generation descendants Samin. if during the Dutch colonial of Samin community gathered some farmers to fight invaders by refusing to pay taxes, then now Samin community against the government by rejecting the establishment of cement factory along the mountains Kendeng Sukolilo Pati.

From Samin Towards Cement

In the last seven years, Pati's residents of Central Java busy with plans cement plant construction project in Sukolilo. (Kompas, 25/2/2009 accessed 18

September 2012). Government of Central Java (Central Java Provincial Government) and the Local (Pati government), symbolically has an agreement with PT Semen Gresik (SG), to build a cement factory in the area of Sukolilo, because in Sukolilo exactly in the mountains Kendeng Sukolilo he has content karts, and other mineral materials which will be used as raw material for cement. Then the Central Java Provincial Government, Local Government and SG took Starch Universitas Diponegoro (Diponegoro University) Semarang, to conduct Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), after extensive analysis and mining exploration and feasibility cement plant Undip stated that the parties, in Sukolilo Worth Kendeng Mountains serve as mine site. (www.undip.ac.id / download / Chafid-EIA-SG.pdf accessed 18 September 2012). on the other hand results Undip opposed by many researchers from other universities such as ITB Bandung, UPN Yogya etc. (http://suaramerdeka.com/v1/index.php/read/cetak/ 2001/05/23/147313/Sosialisasi-Amdal-Pabrik-Semen-Diprotes)

However, the desire of Central Java Provincial Government and Local Government to support PT Semen Gresik to explore Kendeng Mountains, it doesn't get the deal from some local people, especially people Sukolilo, Kayen and Tambakromo (Three districts closest to the mountains Kendeng). Some society groups, NGO's openly disagrees with the SG factory construction plan because it threatens the balance of natural ecosystems and the present environmental degradation. Although the government has said that the development of Pati's SG will be able to create new jobs for some residents in the mountains of Kendeng,so it cases the people around the mountains Kendeng into two groups, namely the group that supports the construction of a cement plant (Pro) and the groups who reject of sukolilo's residents (Contra).

Some residents Sukolilo, Kayen and Tambakromo reject cement plant, citing many disadvantages than the benefits, advantages cement plant will only be enjoyed by the political elite, and land broker. Many NGOs, such as the Community Care Network Kendeng Mountains (JMPPK), SHEEP Indonesiam Starch Farmers Union (SPP), and Samin community rejected this Cement factory construction.

Pros and cons are not just a question of rejecting and accepting, but the problems go beyond religious and social relations. Parties rejecting the cement factory organized dozens of demonstrations to the regional government and

the Provincial Government of Central Java Pati. Gunretno (a young leader of Samin) reveals that the Samin community is not opposed to development, but declined to environmental destruction, as happened in Tuban. Gunretno described:

> "aku lan sak konco rak wes dolan menyang Tuban, ndelok sedulur-sedulur kang manggon nang kono, ono pabrik semen, aku sak konco kroso trenyuh urip nang kono podo ngenes, ora podo karo janji-janji pabrik semen".

> "I and sedulur Sikep fellow - the term for followers Samin -'ve been to Tuban, see brothers who were there, near the cement plant site, my brother felt pity, pity about their lives that are miserable, so it's totally different from the promise of the cement factory ".

Pros and cons of cement plants across the social space, economy, culture, and religion among the Sukolilo's citizens and Pati's residents generally. The high society of organizations tend to be much in the middle, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and his independent institution. Muhammadiyah Regional Board support confirmed Pati cement plant. In-religious social structures, Islam is the largest religion: NU as the majority followed by Muhammadiyah, Rifa'iyah, there are also followers of Islam LDII kejawen. There was also the follower of Christian, Catholic, Buddhist and Hindu. As well as some of the Chinese living in this area, in the community Sukolilo Samin (Sedulur Sikep) Bombong in Hamlet, Village Baturejo reach hundreds of families, the largest number of post-Samin Surosentiko Samin community who migrated from Klopoduwur Blora towards Bojonegoro, Tuban, Apex, Purwodadi, Sukolilo (Pati), until Unda'an (Kudus).

Besides the pros and cons of cement plant also affected Islamic studies and prayers, the sense of conflict-based on political economy shifted into widespread religious conflict in Sukolilo. The highlight of the pros and cons Cement conflict continues as Sukolilo Market will be built, the opposing parties of cement factory also reject the construction of this market, because according to them it will also be devastating to smaller communities because they have to buy a new stand that are expensive and not affordable by them. Meanwhile, those who support the construction of a cement plant (pro) also supports the construction of Sukolilo Market on the grounds that the market is more orderly and more unsightly arranged to attract buyers. Even when the new Sukolilo

market will be built, many people who oppose it. It then, forces the government to mobilize a watercanon car to secure the opposing residents.

Finally, the small community and the residents who refused Sukolilo new markets establish a new traditional markets to the south of the new market which is only about 800 meters from the Old Market. Even the traditional market is now more crowded than the new market that was built by the Pati's Government.

Samin, Repression and Subalternity

In this context, Samin community in Sukolilo is regarded as the one who opposed the development, not sane, not religious, to cause disbelief for local residents. Samin community are silenced and marginalized in mass communication maps, into the realm of "subaltern", borrowing the concept from Gayatri Spivak. Subaltern was born from political marginalization by the power transmitted by continuing the marginalization of culture, economy and religion. Subjects in the concept Subalternity, moving at the level of political elites to hijack power, and the marginal community is narrated in a historical and cultural stage across other dimensions. Spivak said: the subject implied by the next of insurgency can only serve as a counterpossibility for the narrative sanctions granted to the colonial subject in the dominant groups (1995 [2001] :27-28). He went on by the assumptions underlying the analysis of subaltern communities and mentoring movements that he brought to a small environment which then affect the political structure; in the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and can not speak (1995 [2001]: 28). Post-colonial narration is dominated by the elite power and did not allow the marginal communities to express themselves.

Besides assuming Samin community as a subaltern community, it will be explored in depth the collective memory and its relation to power, as part of the reading of political determination in continuity distance of the labeled indigenous communities community. Spivak writes, that the Subaltern studies are in marginalized areas, where the history of the subaltern born of the power elite (Spivak, Gayatri, 1995 [2001]: 27).

While in the beginning of the 19th century to the 20th, Samin community dealt with the colonial power. In the 21st century, Samin community is

marginalized by government officials and corporate interests who want to exploit the nature. When dealing with the colonial, Samin community fight by refusing to pay taxes and forming other movements to help farmers free from the clutches of colonial. At the present time, they are dealing with the government and other corporate interests, Samin community fight to resist the exploitation of Kendeng mountains. Expression of rejection and Samin community identity can be seen from its movement patterns:

a.   The Rejection of Land Exploitation

Samin movement in rejecting the colonization of both political and economic interests of the ruling transactions corporation can be seen through its rejection in the planning of cement factory construction in Mount Kendeng. This construction is going to exploit Mount Kendeng natural resources, which has been a source of water and nature reserves in the region of Sukolilo.

Samin community assume that the Mount Kendeng is the center of Javanese ecosystem.

Mbah Tarno, an elder of Baturejo Sukolilo Samin said:

"*Jawa Tengah kuwi wetenge jawa, dadi ora keno diutak-atik, sebab iso dadikno rusak kabeh neng tanah jowo, yo ngono iki mau, dadi buyut mung tani buyute wong sak nuswantoro kabeh, sing kepingin ngelola piye, yen kepengen nandur, nandur dalane mangan nyandang. Ki cawisane anak putu buyut, canggah, wareng, udek-udek.*

Ki sing diudek malah peraturane, ki bagiane anak putu, mboh ki mbah buyut biyen pesene ngono, yo tak kandakno opo anane, dene yo nandur monggo, nek ora yo sak kerso".

(Central Java is Javanese stomach, so it should not be changed, because it will damage Java at all, yes it was the great-grandson of the previous farmer, who became his ancestors of the whole archipelago. Yang wants to manage the land, to plant, plant sources food, clothing. this part

grandchildren and descendants tomorrow., but now it is played out of the rules. this is part of our children and grandchildren to distant descendants, this is a massage from our ancestor. Whether they obey it or not is up to them . (Interviewed with Mbah Tarno, 5 April 2009)

Samin community rejection of the exploration plans of cement in the Mount Kendeng is one of its expressions to respect the balance of nature and ecosystems.

b.   Political Memories of Ancestors

Samin communities, the resistance movement against the Dutch in the early 20th century inherited memory, ethos and identity. Samin Surosentiko is remembered as a good man model for his attitude and point of view. Most Samin houses have his photograp, including mbah Tarno's house, Mbah Tarno said:

> Lha yo, kuwi aran-aran tho. Samin kuwi pengaran wong. Kuwi gambare nek gedhek. Mbah Surosentiko, pengarane cilik kuwi Raden Kohar. Nek gedhe ditambahi wong tuwane Surosentiko, Samin jaman Belanda kuwi diatur malah emoh, Mulane koyo aku barang kuwi, jaman kae yo ngono, mergo tanah iki yo tanah-tanahe dewe, londo ora nduwe neng kene, nyatane londo disingkap Jepang, bali ra nggowo ndah-ndeh…

> *Mengko wong jowo kuwi nggek-nggeke dewe..Manuke ko lambing. Manuk ki ono keneng ngak-nguk..mengko wong jowo iso dingkak-kuk londo jaman kono, lemah-lemahe dewe dadi, padahal sipatan sing jejek, mulane yo nyembah nyeleweng wae, mulane iku jowo podo jowo, karepe kuwi ngono, Jowo podo Jowo yo unen-unen bangun.* (Wawancara dengan Mbah Tarno, 5 April 2009).

(it would be the name. Samin's name, that's the picture of Mbah Surosentiko whose name is name Raden Kohar and was added Surasentiko by his parents, Ki Samin cannot be prsessed by the Dutch, that's why I like it too, because this is our land, the Dutch do not have right here, in fact, the Netherlands was destroyed by Japan, did not bring home anything.

So the Javanese were his own. The bird was so lambing. The bird can be formed-shapes, then get bullied Javanese Dutch era, this land belongs to itself, while the Javanese must have steadfast nature, so do not deviate (from the principle), and fellow man Jawasemestinya constructive / helpful).

Mbah Tarno's statement was considered to be the one that promoted the resistant movement against repressive government, from colonial times to independence, represented by the government and entrepreneurs. The use of the name of an ancestor Surosentiko Samin is a 'memory politics' to legitimize the resistance as well as offering business 'historical truth' rather than historical claims.
(Budiawan, www.kompas.co.id/kompascetak/0603/12/buku/2501555.htm)

Mbah Tarno as elders Samin Sukolilo, intends to inherit the spirit of the struggle to sedulur Sikep Surasentika Samin. That given the resistance movement against colonial ancestors in the early 20th century, is a denial of the legitimacy of the movement for the construction of a cement plant aims to maintain livelihoods and nature conservation.

Political memories of Samin community is not just a nostalgia, but the movement in the post-colonial period. On this Leela Gandhi, reveals that, remembering and forgetting is a strategy for the colonized, forget and erase memories of an attempt to start a new emancipatory movements in the post-colonial era.

"Postcolonial amnesia is symptomatic of the urge for historical self-invention or the need to make a new start- ro erase painful memories of colonial subordination. As it happen histories, much as families, cannot be freely choosen by a simple act of will, and newly emergent postcolonial inheritance. The mere repression of colonial memories is never, in itself tantamount to a surpassing of or emancipation from the uncomfortable realities of the colonial encounter" (Gandhi, 1998:4).

However, the Samin community remembers that 'forgetting' is a political process to pass on the spirit of struggle, as shown in the cement plant

resistance movement in the Mount Kendeng Sukolilo. Language is an important part of the political strategy of communication and political memory of Samin community (Amrih Widodo, 2000:19)

Closing

Samin community resistance in early 20th century and the 21st century shows a similar pattern. If at the time of its appearance, movement spearheaded by Samin Surosentiko and his followers to fight the Dutch by refusing to pay taxes and fight against colonial repression, at the present time they are against the 'occupation' in the form of exploitation of nature in the mountains Kendeng in Sukolilo Pati, bringing the consequences of discrimination and marginalization in politics and religion. Samin community is considered as dissidents who reject the development. Even it is considered infidels by a group of religious leaders. However, the principle of life that was inherited from ancestors resistance movement was named world view and identity of Samin community, they are not only reactive but also pro-active in giving a voice to the cultural expressions: (a) determination of exploitation refusal of nature, (b) resistance to the repression power by political memories to form communal unity. (c) building "Kendeng omah" (House without cement) as a symbol of resistance to the construction of cement plants in the mountains Kendeng Sukolilo. Samin community movement as a subaltern community in the post-colonial is not silent to the government repression, but it is speaking and even moving.

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FINAL COMMUNIQUE 1955 AND ASIAN-AFRICAN SOLIDARITY:
On Indigenous Identity and Global Relationship

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ABSTRACT

As a part of colonialism discourse and impact of European exploration, in the past Indigenous problems appear when discussing their self-determination/independence. For instance, condition happened in Asia-Africa continent post World War II and 1950's/1960's decade, through their declaration of independence and emerged of new nation in their territory. Certainly, poped out big question with the main newly independent states agenda, such as recovery national character, political sovereignity, also economical autonome. The core of its point about indigenous ideas as a native (identity) from their recently independent territory was main base for its nation to facing global challenge.

Final Communiqe Asia-Africa 1955 had viewed as consensuss that agreed with cooperation in many sector, especially political, economical, cultural by similarities destiny and purpose for standing equally to another nation. Thus, both of continent had unified through cultural contact in the past, between theirs ancestor so that the basic idea about indigenous identity had been transformed from ancient times, although had been interupted by Europeanisation supremacy.

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Final Communique Asia-Africa 1955 resulted by phenomenal event called as Declaration of Asia-African Solidarity or familiar with name Asian-African Conference/Bandung Conference, April.18-24 1955, which presented 29 countries from its region. Generally, after that event, many steps had built to recovery indigenous identity through continuation meeting, those goals to rising up cultural character, insisting political sovereign and mutual cooperation in economy.

This paper will discussing a keypoints in Final Communique Asia-Africa 1955 and relevancy to future, in indigenous discourse and modern challenge within solidarity, identity and part of Advocating Movements of the Indigenous Communities and Their Relation to Trans-National Agencies.

K E Y W O R D S : Indigenous Identity, Asian-African Solidarity, Final Komunike Asia-Africa 1955.

Introduction

The discourse and following issues in indigenous identity were heritage identification problem that had been done by European colonialism or similarly called as Europeanisation and "whites civilising" to other territory considered *Terra Nullius*/noman's land. Thus, assimilation process had began and association from whole European values into territory which geographically in Asia-Africa-South America[1].

Hence, that territory formatted to colony also with people whose stay inside there called as indigenous. Despite, many people said that colonialism period was ended after the countries had reached their independence at Asian-African region 1940's decades or post World War II. Nonetheless, nowadays some interesting issues about indigenous identity, importantly decolonise problems or disengage themself from dependent European's legacies and making up cooperation block with same countries whose experienced colonialism to get

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1. See, Smith (1999,86) Decolonizing Methodologies, Research and Indigenous People. London: Zed Books. "..Nonetheless, knowledge product from European in cultural space appreciable as Indigenous Peoples whose chategorized equals with flora and fauna, hierarchi typology human evolution and many of recording system filled by new invention, map area where scrambled by European and linked Indigenous People and arranged by number based on: nearly human, almost human, or sub-human.." p.86

economy autonomous, political sovereignity, and national personality by their own indigenous knowledges.

Non-Allignment Movement Summit XVI held in Teheran, Iran had grand design to took Non-Allignment bargaining power in international world and managing sovereignity (nuclear energy developing) from countries where located in Asia-Africa-Latin America (half of Eastern Europe). Eventhough, there was "hidden message" that showed us Non-Allignment Movement summit consisted indigenous autonomous and self determination to facing international hegemony (U.S and Europe domination). Interest thing were existence of Non-Alligenment Movement as "twin brother" from first inter-colored people summit named as Asian-African Conference, April,18-24, 1955 in Bandung with "treaty" Ten Principle Bandung and Final Communique Asia-Africa 1955 agreed by 29 countries with keywords were self-determination and peaceful co-existence[2]

In this paper, author discussing how the existence of points in Final Communiqe Asia-Africa 1955 and its relevance to future for indegenous discourse and modernity challenges with the main basic is solidarity, identity and also the part of indegenous advocate community and its international relations. Its necessary to studying indigenous identity facing globalization which is relation among countries, market and society, have rearrange. So that nation-state ideas and indigenous communities inside there become negotiating point for global-sphere condition.

Research Problems

Based on the preface, writer would like to explain some problems, such as follows:

a. What are the explanation in Final Communique Asia-Africa 1955 to protecting indigenous sovereignty and nation-state ?

b. How does the relevance of The Final Communique Asia-Africa 1955 in the indigenous solidarity in global scale?

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2. See, http//www.presstv.ir//nam summit. Leader's inaugural speech at NAM (Non Allignment Movement) XVI Summit. In that event (26-31/8/2012) Leader of the Iran Islamic Revolution Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei's said that "..Ahmad Sukarno, one of the founders of this movement said in the famous Bandung Conference in the year 1955, the basis of establishing the Non-Aligned Movement is not geographical or racial and religious unity, but rather unity of needs. At that time, the member states of the Non-Aligned Movement were in need of a bond that could safeguard them against authoritarian, arrogant and insatiable networks and today with the progress and spread of the instruments of hegemony, this need still exists. Accesed 31/8/2012.

Indigenous Identity and Colonialism

Indigenous identity had been shaped by longing historical process which culture and personality became one to build up civilisation as their characteristic. Thus, hsitorical factor were the reason for emerged many indigenous community with their own identity in nation-states area[3]. Indigenous term covered one identity based on one region that dependability with states or based on United Nations Sub-commission of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Study of the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations document of 1986 in Hodgson (2002,3).

"Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identities, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems".

Indigenous concept have same meaning with natives peoples through historical similarities from regions and also people who live inside there, so going on before had invaded European colonial settlement on Exploration Era. Hereby, those society had stay lived heredity with their cultural product and knowledge which reflected in culture too, rite, tradition. This case became reference to rising-tide ancient civilisation although left behind so many inheritance, like artefact and archaelogical site.

European had explored to another regions in Southern hemisphere in the name of civilising mission or mission sacre that addresed for region identified as *The Other,* like explained by Edward Said (1997,55) in Orientalism. In his

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3. See, Cobo (1986) in Hodgson (2002,3). Hodgson, Dorothy.2002. Introduction: Comparative Perspectives on the Indigenous Rights Movement in Africa and the Americas. American Anthropologist 104(4): 1037-1049. Copyright © 2002, American Anthropological Association. This historical continuity may consist of the continuation, for an extended period reaching into the present, of one or more of the following factors: (a) Occupation of ancestral lands, or at least part of them; (b) Common ancestry with the original occupants of these lands; (c) Culture in general, or in specific manifestations (such as religion, living under a tribal system, membership of an indigenous community, dress, means of livelihood, lifestyle, etc); (d) Language (whether used as the only language, as mother tongue, as the habitual means of communication at home or in the family, or as the main, preferred, habitual, general or normal language); (e) Residence in certain parts of the country, or in certain regions of the world; (f) Other relevant factors.

concept, explained that Orientalism was political view to reality where the structure bring out differentiation between European and West (us) and foreign/East-Orient (theirs). Phillpot also argumented (2003,114) that European trading and its powers had became increased on 15-17th century. This trade caused by Industrial Revolution in Western Europe and triggered up high growth in military ability many nations inside there. As the result, formal-hierarchy between European society had operated to conquered nations[4].

Colonial legacies in indigenous society and tribe in Asia-Africa-Latin America regions had made dimension of problematic colonial only talked to relation inter indigenous society and institution state-market. As explained by Alfred and Corntassel (2005,500) there are approximately 350 million Indigenous peoples situated in some 70 countries around the world. All of these people confront the daily realities of having their lands, cultures and governmental authorities simultaneously attacked, denied and reconstructed by colonial societies and states.

"...Colonial legacies and contemporary practices of disconnection, dependency and dispossession have effectively confined Indigenous identities to state-sanctioned legal and political definitional approaches. This political-legal compartmentalization of community values often leads Indigenous nations to mimic the practices of dominant non-Indigenous legal-political institutions and adhere to state-sanctioned definitions of Indigenous identity.."[5]

As example, the making of race segregation justified based on The Other and Orientalism concept, in one side power-konwledge dominated by European Renaissance Era so that their arrival called as Enlightment Mission[6].Thereby, ideas of race had became rational reason to different which

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4. See, Carpentier and Lebrun (2011,340). 1987. Histoire de France.1st published by Edition du Seuil. Paris. France As same with quotation by France Foreign Affairs Minister at 1885, Jules Ferry said that big assignment of France civilization (European) as superior race to disciplined and constructing lower race. Later, meaning "race superiority" legitimated many wars in Europe (read: Nazi Germany's invasion at World of II) and Europe (include France) expansion in Asian-African land.. p.340

5. See, Alfred Taiaiake and Jeff Corntassel, (2005,600). Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism. "..They added that Such compartmentalization results in a 'politics of distraction' that diverts energies away from decolonizing and regenerating communities and frames community relationships in state-centric terms, such as a forementioned 'aboriginality'.." Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom, Peterborough, ON, Broadview Press, 2005. © Government and Opposition Ltd 2005 Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford OX4 2DQ, UK and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148, USA.p.600

6. See Mudimbe, 1998 in Blay, Yaba Amgborale. PhD.,(2011,9) Skin Bleaching and Global White Supremacy: By Way of Introduction. The Journal of Pan African Studies, vol. 4, no. 4, June 2011. Africa represented everything that the "Enlightened" West (Europe) was not. Thus, "logically," any people able to survive in what was later termed the "White Man's Grave" represented everything that Europeans were not-barbaric, unintelligent, and powerless. With such oppositional characterizations in place, the explorer's accounts of his travels and the "natives" he encountered provided the soldier with information that assisted in his ability to physically colonize and socially "civilize" the land and its people., p.9

one indigenous/colored peoples and European/whites peoples. Therefore, colonialism system that operated by European had combined between race discrimination and politic-economy itself, but civilising process by European in another colonies had made up educated middle classes to concepted Asian-African nationalism[7].

National Consciousness and Asian-African Solidarity

National consciusness is a conception that have a relationship with the nationalism idea through the main basic, which is their feeling of 'suffering' with the same fate and it was build from historical similarity and the ancient glorious, also the desire to unite. Sun Yat Sen (1922,5) in *San Min Chu I* used China as his nasionalism study object, which was Chinese population, four hundred million in number, which has a common racial heredity, common religion, and common traditions and customs. Therefore, the idea about the national consciusness need an understanding as similar culture and similar race which is result from historical civilization itself. That means national consciusness in Asia and Africa has their own character, especially idea about European Socialism, Marxism, Communism, European Nationalism, and Renaissance which whole of concept had acculturated by cultural values itself, even by theology**.**

"..It is one nationality! What is, then, our position in the world? In numbers we are the largest national group in the world, and our four thousand years of cultural background may be compared favorably with that of the West. Unfortunately, we lack national unity, and our country, which is weak as well as poor, is being reduced to an inferior position among the nations. The times are critical, for there is a danger of racial destruction. Unite the four hundred millions and save the nation through nationalism!.."

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7. See also,Rothermund, Dietmar (2006,44). In The Routledge Companion to Decolonisation. First published 2006 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN .Therefore creative nationalists turned to a solidarity traditionalism, i.e. a selective interpretation of traditions which implied solidarity. In India such attempts were based on Hindu monism which stresses the identity of the one and the many and thus cuts across social segmentation; in Africa concepts like negritude or ujamaa (community spirit) served the same purpose. Those who highlighted such concepts did not present them as modern reconstructions but as inherent qualities of the respective 'national character'..p.44

Sun Yat Sen's nationalism concept have succed inspiration for nationalism movement at many European colonies include Indonesia, India, Egypt, etc. Intellectual whose became founding father in their countries like Ir. Soekarno, Mohammad Hatta, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Gammal Abdul Nasser, Mustafa Kemal Attaturk, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah etc. Uniquely, all of them have got national liberation's ideas from colonial education system at their country. This factor became variabel while analysing their attitude to left behind colonialism legacy although had declared their independence[8].

However, nationalist movement in Third World have become interesting because that idea mix beetwen Europe Renaissance and cultural values which has heredity, so that Ir. Soekarno (1963,76) said that humanitarian nationalism as nationalism that accepted lifely as divine, and far-reaching nationalism and give a love to another nations. He analysed that our Nationalism (Indonesia/Asian-African) was Eastern nationalism nor Western nationalism as offensive nationalism, nationalism that reaching it own needs, commerce nationalism that counting profit-loss, our land were Asian people, and part of the world or world community.

On the other hand, Old European colonialism and imperialism caused industrial countries expantion to Third World (Asia-Africa). As the result, then had emerged resistent from indigenous groups and became reshaping nasionalism consciousness Asia-Africa countries. Nasionalism consciousness was resistance to European colonalism because their policy intervention in indigenous areas. Kahin analysed (1952,470-480), there were a lot of perspective to explained why Asian nationalism arose, as example Indonesia. Those theses described with falled down of colonial rule, changing of "socio-phsycologist" and distortion "social relation" caused by colonalism, grewth up of national politic consciousness because educational colonial policy to indigenous peoples

National consciousness had written in European history moved together along side with religion unity and region unification. Same principle had used many things which enable unification of race or tribe. As said by Shivji (2003,6)

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8. Ibid.,see, Rothermund, Dieter (2006,250) gives example Education was, of course, more than social mimicry; it consisted of the acquisition of a great deal of knowledge. Both the British and the French had a rather clear idea about what young people should be taught. For each subject there was a prescribed curriculum and a detailed syllabus. This was formal enough at home but even more standardized in the colonies.

that three elements characterised proto-nationalism and, with various emphases, accents, and formulations, occur in all African nationalist thought and consciousness: Pan-Africanism, Independence or Freedom, and (Racial) Equality. Based in opposition-in this case, opposition to imperial domination. This opposition, this basic struggle, is what constitutes nationalism[9].

Because of colonial power had united nationalism in colony with made up relation to unified exploited nations were similarities of fate and desire to united against colonial power. The end of World War II, had emerged revolution in many Asian nations then followed by African nations. The revolution forced colony to broke up political relation to colonial rule then continued to deloconication in Asian-African nations. Asian-African Conference, April 18-24, 1955 decided to cooperation (solidarity) and communique that discussed many things from economical cooperation, political, social, even cultural based on strengthness of Asian-African indigenous nationality.

Final Communique and Cooperation Design Inter-indigenous

Final Communique Asia-Africa 1955 had discussed many of decision related with common needs to cooperation, solidarity and historical visions from civilisation which happened in the past time, so that main points were economy, political, culture, human-rights, self determination, many problems of dependent nations, promotions of cooperation to world peace. All of points in Final Communique Asia-Afrca 1955 supported by Ten Principle Bandung as umbrella of cooperation amongst indigenous countries.

Firstly, Colombo Conference held and the resuts were *Panca Negara* Conference in Bogor (December, 1954) to decided Asian-African Conference event in Bandung (held, five months later) and formulated purpose and invited countries. Participant countries were, from Asia: Afghanistan, Burme, Japan, Philipine, India, Indonesia, Lebanon, Thailand, Nepal, Pakistan, People's

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9. See, Shivji, Issa. 2003. The Rise, the Fall, and the Insurrection of Nationalism in Africa. Paper from Keynote Address to the CODESRIA East African Regional Conference held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, October 29-31, 2003. The nationalist upsurge in the post-war period in Africa was a great moment for a people that had been denied humanity by centuries of slavery and colonialism. Ideologies centered on Kwame Nkrumah's "African Personality" or Leopold Senghor's "Negritude" or Kenneth Kaunda's "Humanism" or even Mwalimu Julius Nyerere's Ujamaa expressed one central theme, nationalism. The quintessence of nationalism was, and is, anti-imperialism. It was a demand and struggle against, rather than for, something. It was an expression of a struggle against denial-denial of humanity, denial of respect and dignity, denial of the Africanness of the African.p.2-3.

Republic of China, Syria, Ceylon, Turkey, Yemen, Jordania, Iran, Iraq, Laos, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, State of Vietnam, Cambodia. From Africa: Ethiopia, Goald Coast, Liberia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan. There were so many had a notion that Bandung Ten Principles could be output a resolution in 15th United Nations's trial, 1960 was Declaration of Independence Justification resolution to all countries and exploited nations, or well-known as Declaration of Decolonisation or Declaration of Bandung/Bandung Spirit, include Final Communique in economy, politic, and culture and also, Bandung Ten Principle was born, such as follows.

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.
4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.
5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
6. (a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers. (b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.
7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
9. Promotion of mutual interests and co-operation.
10. Respect for justice and international obligations.[10]

Grimal (1965,288) had said that Asian-African Conference was reference to these principles and without any aggressive intent that the third and fourth

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10. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia. Asia-Africa speak from Bandung. Djakarta: 1955.p.168

sections of final communiqué were drafted, dealing with 'rights of men ând self-determination' and with'the problems of dependent peoples', and making it a duty for those peoples already liberated to help those who were still dependent to achieve sovereignty while requesting France and Netherlands to seek a peaceful solution to the problems of North African protectorates and of Irian.

These consensus had effected to many declaration of independence in Asian-African countries, and international politic to New Block named Southern Block that membership Asian, African, and Latin America/South America. The existence of its groups undirectly reffered to countries which had relations with European colonialism, including Australia and North America with their natives peoples like Indian, Aborigin, Maori. As a mentioned by *Asia-Africa speak from Bandung*. (1955,163) that Asian-African Conference was convinced that among the most powerful means of promoting understanding among nations is the development of cultural co-operation. Asia and Africa have been the cradle of great religions and civilisations which have enriched other cultures and civilisations while themselves being enriched in the process. Thus the cultures of Asia and Africa are based on spiritual and universal foundations. Unfortunately contacts among Asian and African countries were interrupted during the past centuries. The peoples of Asia and Africa are now animated by a keen and sincere desire to renew their old cultural contacts and develop new ones in the context of the modern world. All participating Governments at the Conference reiterated their determination to work for closer cultural co-operation.

Hereby, from those background Prof. Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana (1985,54-55) viewed that aesthetical values could be changed to progresive orientation, whole aspect of education, such as follows. First, progresive aspect is the culture based on ratio and science. Second, expressive that show off feeling, intuition, and imagination. Lastly, social organisation, just like Asian-African Conference 1955, aspect that in order of power values and solidarity values. These were showed by Asian-African nations based on common of social organisation power in their countries without Western countries to organising solidarity between two continents. As quoted in Cultural points (1955, 164) side by side with the development of Asian-African cultural co-operation the countries of Asia and Africa desire to develop cultural contacts

with others. This would enrich their own culture and would also help in the promotion of world peace and understanding.

Asian-African Conference 1955 had resulted grand design which accordingly Nesadurai (2005,8) This seems to be a rather surprising viewpoint, as Bandung's endorsement of the sovereign, independent state tends to reinforce the prevailing Westphalian international system. Mayall suggests that Bandung's revisionism was based on three objectives that Third World leaders at and beyond the 1955 Conference shared: (a) non-alignment in the cold war; (b) the elimination of all forms of colonialism and racism; and (c) modernisation and economic development[11].

Future of Final Communique and Indigenous Solidarity

In several point were presented on Final Communique Asia-Africa 1955 could be concluded that advocacy to indigenous sovereignity is the common needs based on historical consciousness and national from theirs nation-state which consisted of personality values, culture, and their civilisation. Historical experience in document or artefact about cooperation inter continent Asia-African were certainly history according to potency consisted from those coninent. Prof Liang Liji (2012,344) said that Silk Road in ocean had became connector Tiongkok sailors from Guangzhou and Quangzhou sailed to East Asia and Korea, Japan and Ryukyu, to Southeast Asia and West Asia, including India, Parsi, Arab, Ceylon, Egypt to Somalia coast, even Zanzibar. Those roads supported by Tiongkok shipping techniques and Ming's Dynasty policy have been envoying Admiral Cheng Ho to leaded Tiongkok expedition[12]. On the other hand, trade relation between Asian-African represented by Austronesia/

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11. See,Hall (1989) in Amrith in Asian Internationalism. Bandung's echo in a colonial metropolis. Inter-Asia Cultural Studies, Volume 6, Number 4, 2005. He said that almost physical feeling of solidarity and shared humiliation impelled this kind of internationalism. To adapt Stuart Hall's formulation a sense of racial solidarity-called 'Afro-Asianism', 'Third Worldism', and often simply 'internationalism'-came to express the shared struggles of groups with different ethnic and national identities. p.558-559

12. See, The Atlas on Regional Integration.Africa and China. ECOWAS-SWAC/OECD©2006 -December 2006. Author remembered Cheng Ho journey with this report which analysed Africa is also where the rivalry between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan was played out. In 1971, China obtained one of the five permanent seats on the UN Security Council to the detriment of Taiwan partly due to the support of African countries. Of the 76 votes obtained at the 1971 UN General Assembly, 26 were from African countries. Mao Zedong said: "We entered the UN owing to the support of the poor brothers of Asia and Africa who supported us". This victory gave new impetus to its African policy and during the 1970s new States were recipients of Chinese aid: Benin, Mauritius, Madagascar, Nigeria, Rwanda, Togo, Tunisia, Zaire, Senegal, Upper Volta and Cameroon.p.2

Nusantara and Tiongkok until East coast of Africa, importantly through oceans and maritime connection. So that, making trade relationship and current commodities from Asia continent and Africa had shaped embrio of economical trade organisation in the past. Those relationship also signed by cultural interaction which in artefact, relief, archaelogical remains, and many rite.

For example, In National Geographic, (2011,14) said that arrival of many food plants and culture-mythology influental through opening trade-route with Asia region, for example, banana plants that entered after merchant in East Africa coast had opened relation with Southeast Asia, through Hindia ocean. Based this theory, banana came from Papua New Guinea and spreading to Asia, after Asian people stayed in Madagascar, they brought banana to Africa. Even 2000's, has been discover in Cameroon that showed what the time of bananas arrival in Africa, around about 500 BC. Similar opinion by Read, (2005,140-145) Even, commerce contact with Africa continent had began, as example in Zimbabwe, can be found some sea-route from gold-mining area in Zombabwe. It hypotesed backed-up with discovery of tribe dissemination in Malagasi/Madagaskar and usage language. Architecture building in Zimbabwe have similarities with relief in Nusantara, until music tools from Western Africa that showing contact between Asia and Africa.

These consideration had made that Final Communique Asia-Africa 1955 and Ten Principle Bandung were reference to manage existence indigenous community who located in nation state and to organising whole national goals in their needs because nation-state in Asia-Africa regions shaped by indigenous consciousness nationality who demand rights equality with another countries. Rights of equality in decolonisation context same with memories healing, culture heritage and character appropriate with historical line that figurated out in the past time. These fragment became basic of grand-design to cooperation inter-indigenous in many hemisphere.

Globalisation experience and European colonialism are strong reason to build join unification in momentum Asian-African Conference, April 18-24, 1955 and continuing until Asian-African Students Conference in Bandung (1956), First Writers Asian-African Conference in New Delhi (1956), Asian-African People Solidarity Conference in Cairo (1957), First Asian-African Women Conference in Colombo (1958),, First Asian-African Writers Conference in

Tashkent (1958), Asian-African Youth Conference in Cairo (1959), First Asian-African People Solidarity Conference in Conakry (1960), First Asian-African Women Conference (1961), Asian-African Law Master Conference in Conakry (1962), Second Asian-African Writers Conference in Cairo (1962), Asian-African Journalist Conference in Jakarta (1963), First Asian-African Workers Conference in Jakarta (1964), Asian-African Pediatrics Conference in Jakarta (1964), Asian-African Movie Festival in Jakarta (1964), First Seminar Asian-African Moslems in Jakarta (1964), First Seminar Asia-Africa in Aljazair (1955), Asian-African Moslems Conference in Bandung (1965) whole events held as effort to redicovery buried knowledge-culture inside those continent.

Those problem appropriated with Senghor in Jacob (2011, 107) that new society adumbrated by Senghor rested on three pillars:

1. An inventory of traditional cultural values which involved studying the mythical past.

2. An inventory of western civilization and its impact on traditional civilization. Works of novelist and playwrights were to act as the repository of inventory reflecting the effects of colonialism on cultural patterns of behavior. This was intended to yield a symbiosis between several cultures neither of which should dominate the other but all of which should be complementary to the others.

3. An inventory of our economic resources, our needs and potentialities both material and spiritual. The foreign contributions, whether adapted to the African cultural or economic realities.

As addition, foreign politic policies whole countries who joined in Final Communique Asia-Africa 1955 very supported decolonisation climate, included declaration of independence to almost Africa continent from European colonisation, as example Ghana as "first black country", on 1957. Gebe (2008,165) analysed that unification of the continent of Africa through a series of inter-linking regional federations with limitations on national sovereignty for a United States of Africa; building the African Personality through an African renaissance of moral virtues and cultures and recasting African societies in their own traditional forms with the possibility of appropriately marrying them with modern ideas; replacing the tribalism of the past with African nationalism towards the inculcation of the concept of African loyalty, wider than the 'nation'

and which will transcend tribal and territorial affiliation; regeneration of African economic enterprise to replace colonial economic methods for a non-exploitative or communalistic socialism and also Indonesia too, through foreign policies (1955-1965) based on :

1. Cooperation between asian-African countries to common ground and world-peace
2. Peaceful co-existence among the nations
3. Colonialism
   a. General problem
      1. Colonialism problem and the rest, were still in Asian-African
      2. Racialism
   b. Specialy problem : North Africa, Indonesia-People's Republic of China, etc
4. Economic cooperation between Asian-African countries
5. Cultural relation between Asian-African countries
6. Nuclear usage to aim peaceful's
7. Consideration around United Nations

Nonetheless, Zakaria (2004,54) said that challenge to decolonisation from indigenous society were shifting condition from colonialism phase that demanded independence or external self-determination to democracy or participation in development post-independence, such as right of development, property, life, healing and many rights in ILO Convention no.169, 1989. These problems made integration process between state and tribe (include indigenous society) who located in its areas always labeled by separatist activities[13].Therefore have making decolonisation process between countries move to another side, but tribe-nations move to other side. Hence, suspectible disintegration/unity based on ethno-nationalism.

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13. See , Lijphart, Ahrend, (1966,228). The Trauma of Decolonization: the Dutch and West New Guinea. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1966. He concludes amongst others that the real motive behind the Dutch reluctance to de-colonise was entirely subjective and psychological: the search for national self-esteem, feelings of moral superiority, egocentric altruism, and deep resentment against Indonesia. The common denominator was the sense of frustrated nationalism. The attachment to New Guinea was definitely pathological: it was a symptom of a serious and protracted inferiority complex, which healed only very slowly. p.228

These problems have been tried to finished United Nations Development Group on Indigenous People Guidelines (2008,5) bahwa right to self-determination may be expressed through:

✤ Autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions. In other cases, indigenous peoples seek the conditions for self-management.

✤ Respect for the principle of free, prior and informed consent. This principle implies that there is an absence of coercion, intimidation or manipulation, that consent has been sought sufficiently in advance of any authorization or commencement of activities, that respect is shown for time requirements of indigenous consultation/consensus processes and that full and understandable information on the likely impact is provided.

✤ Full and effective participation of indigenous peoples at every stage of any action that may affect them direct or indirectly. The participation of indigenous peoples may be through their traditional authorities or a representative organization. This participation may also take the form of co-management.

✤ Consultation with the indigenous peoples concerned prior to any action that may affect them, direct or indirectly. Consultation ensures that their concerns and interests match the objectives of the activity or action that is planned.

✤ Formal recognition of indigenous peoples' traditional institutions, internal justice and conflict-resolution systems, and ways of socio-political organization

✤ Recognition of the right of indigenous peoples to freely define and pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

These issues also discussed in Final Communique Asia-Africa 1955 about Problems of Dependent Peoples (1955,165) such as follows (a) in declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end; (b) in affirming that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation; (c) in declaring its support of the cause of freedom and independence for all such peoples, and

(d) in calling upon the powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples.

Thus, added in point Human Rights and Self Determination (1955,164) The Asian-African Conference declared its full support of the fundamental principles of Human Rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations. The Conference declared its full support of the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the United Nations resolutions on the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination, which is a pre-requisite of the full enjoyment of all fundamental Human Rights.

However, some of mass medias like Hindu, Apr. 15, 1964, as quoted by Weinstein (1965,371) wrote editorially: that the problems of their [the AA nations] peaceful development and their fight against famine, ill-health, and illiteracy are far more important than questions of ideology. That were biggest critical point after Asian-African Conference 1955 were political policies and ideological priorities that sometimes ignored economy and educational sector, but author assumed that economy policies inter Asia-Africa needed supporting system consist of stability foreign politics and internal affairs. Nevertheless, colonialism legacy and Cold War climate "turbulenced" together and caused *coup d'etat* serially amongst 29 countries who attended in Bandung, even war and civil war[14] .But, in economy point (1955,162) discussed that Asian-African Conference recognised the vital need for stabilising commodity trade in the region. The principle of enlarging the scope of multilateral trade and payments was accepted. However, it was recognised that some countries would have to take recourse to bilateral trade arrangements in view of their prevailing economic conditions. Economy program surely could move together with empowering education sector on those continent with keyword knowledge interaction with

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14. Weinstein. Franklin.The Second Asian-African Conference: Preliminary Bouts. Asian Survey, Vol. 5, No. 7. (Jul., 1965), University of California Press. He said that The disunity engendered by the Sino-Soviet split is deeper and more meaningful than the Cold War disunity of 1955. The Cold War presented no immediate challenge from which the Chinese could not relax long enough to convince the Bandung conference that China was a reasonable, peaceloving nation. But much as they needed to prove their reasonableness again in 1964, the Chinese could not afford to ignore their dispute with the USSR even temporarily. Whereas in 1955 the Chinese were merely trying to make friendly contacts, in 1964 they looked to the AA countries as an almost indispensable source of allies in their bitter fight with the Soviets. pp. 359-373.

promotion of cultural co-operation among countries of Asia and Africa should be directed towards: (I) the acquisition of knowledge of each other's country; (II) mutual cultural exchange, and (III) exchange of information[15].

Conclusion

As a conclusion, authors would like to conclude that existence "pact" named Final Communique Asia-Africa 1955 were noted agreement that adopted agenda by 29 Asian-African countries with the main goals such as, decolonisation or to reach full sovereignty and to managing relasion amongst those countries based on common needs and historical fact.

Decolonisation, solidarity, and relevancy from ideas on Final Communique Asia-Africa 1955 were grand-strategy from "colored peoples civilising" themself, after colonialisme phase ended that signed by declaration of independence in many of Asian-African countries post World War II. However, nowadays have become challenges to those ecountries how to organising integration indigenous interest and globalisation and modernisation with acceleration of current capital and political transactionalism in government, so that really needed re-conceptualisation of nation-state with their sovereignty too. That consensus were protector and re-meaning of civilisation history or indigenous culture that located in country territory, because without reservation of culture heritage, decolonisation process could move on except national personality values.

Overall, revitalising institusional amongst nation-state which underlying whole of race and culture identity inside there, because of relation state institution as representation from nation are integral to implementing national vision and their consensus. Hereby, national goals from nation-state are realisation from integration of indigenous values and challenges of future modernisation. Final Communique Asia-Africa 1955 should be organising relasion amongst indigenous countries in label "colored people sovereignty" who makes cooperation through solidarity, mutual, and nations self-determination.

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15. The Board Executive of Ten Years Asian-African Conference. 1964. Jakarta. As example Asian-African Student Conference held on June, 7, 1956 there were decision such as follows (i) academic knowledges exchanges (ii) cooperation in sudents excganges, books, research, references/literarure (iii) to enlargeing knowledges about lifes, cultural, and history Asian-African countries ..p.29

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AGAINST IN LOYALTY:
Politics of Identity and the Arts of Resistance among *Suku Anak Rawa* in Penyengat, Siak, Riau Province

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Background

*A*nakRawatribe or is also called *AsliAnakRawa*tribe (or *Asli* tribe in abbreviation) is one of the indigenous peoplein Riau, besides Sakai tribe at Bengkalis, TalangMamaktribe at Indragiri Hulu, Petalangantribe at Pelalawan, Akittribe at KepulauanMeranti, and Bonaitribe at Indragiri Hilir. Naturally, indigenous peoplein Indonesia or in all over the world, at least, face two groups that always push their agendas: state and corporate. AnakRawatribe in Penyengat also faces this condition. State, by the reason of civilization and modernization, push them to change social, cultural, and their identity.Theyusually live nomadically at jungles and river. But, by the state, they pushed to stay in one place. In nature, they are indigenousreligion believer (animism and dynamism), but then theybeing force to become one of religions believer that is legalized by state. Today, at school, AnakRawatribe's studentsis study specific religions, although in their daily live they is not the believer of the religion.

At the same time, AnakRawa tribe also facing repressive conditions, at least, from three companieswhich are operate in theirarea. The three companies are RAPP (April Group) which is focus in the plantation industry, Petro channel operating in the mining and oil and gas sectors, as well as TriomasFDI focusing on palm oil plantations. These three industries have an impact on narrowing AnakRawa's living space. Hunting, mixing medicine, and fishing that they used

to do as their living livelihood, slowly but sure, can not be done because the forest and the land has belong to the company's concession area. They are dealing with a system of market economy which is totally new for them.Modernization and the crowd of industry activities at Penyengat make them loosing their living space and culture identity.

This paperwill explore forms of resistance that AnakRawa's tribe do towards state and corporation.The explanation is starting with thesis that the routine repression they faced forces them to make response strategies about outsiders. Although, at a particular degree, they accept agendas from outsiders, basically their acceptance is a kind of resistance. I want to show that identity strengthening that they do in these few years is one of the resistance strategies against outsiders. Through this explanation, I want to show how the loyalty, which is showed in daily behavior of the community, in fact is representing resistance towards the domination of super-ordinate group: state and corporate.In other to systemize explanation, this article divided into fives sub-chapter, that is introduction, Penyengat and ethnography setting, religion conversion as form of resistance, resistance message in self-mentioning, corporate and against in loyalty, and conclusion.

Penyengatand Ethnography Setting

AnakRawatribe is settles in Penyengatvillage, one of sub-district in Sungai Apit district Riau province. This 52.000 ha village is about 63 km far from district main town and about 196 km from Pekanbaru, the center of Riau government. From Pekanbaru, it's about 4 hours needed to get to this village using personal transportation with a speed about 60-100 k/h. If using public transport it will be needed 5 or 6 hours to get to this village.Previously, the only access to the village is the river and sea transportation. The access using land transport is only start about two years.

Based on districtmonograph, rural population of the village is 305 heads of household or about 1.250 souls (Monographs District, 2011). More than 90 percent of the ethnic is AnakRawa tribe, the rest divided between ethnic Malays, Javanese, Ambon,Batak, and Papua. My informants at Penyengattell me that theiradventure arena also includes the Kampar River in Pelalawan and Tapung

in Siakrivers. But, since the residential relocation program from government in the early 1980s, most of them have settled in the Penyengat village. This settlement was built at Tanjung Pal, a sub-district which is now become the center of the village government.

The residential relocation program is one of the leading treatments form the government to modernize them. A political construction after independence of Indonesia is always identified them as isolated communities, remote indigenous communities or isolated tribes. They are placed outside the orbit of civilization. Along with this program, government facilitating number of empowerment programs to transform them to the condition that is perceived as modern society or civilization society.However, there are a lot of people considered that the relocation as a part of state strategy to make exploitation of natural resources at the region more easily. This can be seen with the issuance ofHakPenguasaanHutan(HPH), HutanTanamanIndustri(HTI), oil palm plantation and exploitation of oil and gas in their neighborhood. The exploitation of natural resources is eliminating their access to the area that was originally a cruising arena in their economic needs.

Religion Conversion as Form of Resistance

At the end of 1980's, all of AnakRawa tribe at Penyengatis animism believer (a kind of indigenous religion). Indigenous religion is the main identity of their belief. But, nowadays, majority of AnakRawa tribe statically note as one of legal religion follower. In other hand, at the same time, factually they still practice their indigenous religion. They said that they converse to one of legal religion as a strategy to deal with state regulation that is only recognize six religions.

Their acquaintance with the legal state religion is not really last long. Islam and Christianity were introduced around the 1980's as residential relocation program. A pastor named Gea informs that HKBP Church (Batak Christian Protestant Harajoan) was built in the 1980's.Catholicism was introduced to them about a decade ago. Panthekosta church was built in eight years ago. It is has not found yet a description of the initial presence of Buddhism, though certainly the introduction of AnakRawa's tribe with religion much earlier. When censuses of population "requires" local religions noted as one of the

legal religion, they prefer to be recorded as Buddhist, although in reality they are still believer of local religions.

The presence of new religions can be accepted easily though with varying degrees of acceptance. Buddhism gets the most revenue, followed by Christians, both Protestant and Catholic. Islam received the least. There are only a dozen heads of household of AnakRawain Penyengatwhich are Muslim. The rest of Islam believer weresupplied from migrants who already reside in the village. Based on district monograph in 2011, about 41.53 percent of the population is reported as Christian (both Protestant and Catholic), followed by 33.71 percent is Buddhist, Islam etc. at 8.79 percent, and local religions (animism and dynamism) of 7.66 percent. But, people need to be careful in reading the data about believer of native religions and beliefs. Since the majority of indigenous people factually are believer of local religions, the official government data always shows the opposite.

Local religious is reserved by regulation is can notbe denied. But,AnakRawa's tribe isalways discriminated due to the local religion they profess. While in the Penyengat, I found a student that her participation as competition delegation in district level was canceled because the committee requires each delegate must have a birth certificate. Meanwhile, the parents of the student are not able to show her birth certificate because they were done in customary marriages. My informants tell me that, in order to get a marriage certificate from the civil registry office, a person must have pocketed the marriage letter issued by religious authority,Christian, Buddhism, or Islam. This means that they do weddings in the name of religion. It is often found, when faced difficulty taking care of the civil administration—such as citizen cards, marriage certificate, or birth certificate for children—as they still the believer of indigenous religion, the option available is to write the name of one of the legal religion in the identity of their population, although in fact they are not necessarily believes in the principles of the religion's teachings.

During fieldwork, I often find in a household made up of many religions, although these numbers will never be found in the data published by the government. Navid, an officer in the village census records, say uniformity of religion in the family—although sometimes in fact did not like that—is done to facilitate the processing of administration in government offices. Orang Asli

quite accommodate and tolerant of one's option to convert into one of the legalstate religion, though only a few of them are actually based on the desire to run new religious beliefs. This phenomenon needs to be understood as a way of "losers" to express resistance against state repression. Their "on paper" could have followed government regulations by claiming to be believer of one of the legal religion, but "in the field" they remain religious beliefs.

One thing needs to be added here is thatAnakRawa's tribe trend toconverting to Buddhism, Protestantism, or Katotik, and only a few among them who choose to convert to Islam is no coincidence. In a conversation, Mr. Kade told me that the reason of AnakRawa tribe prefers to convert on Buddhist, Protestant or Catholic, because these three religionsdo not prohibit someone to eat pork. This is different with what they perceive from Islam as a religion which expressly forbids its believer to consume pork. In my opinion, this option is, on the one hand,shows the degree of urgency of pig inAnakRawa's cosmology culture, not only for consumption but also as part of their identity. But, on the other hand,it also shows that conversion to one religion remains within limits that can guarantee continuity of tradition and identity. Thisphenomenon is also showing the importance of identity in the community. These forms of resistance are carried out in order to maintain the identity of the AnakRawa's tribe.

Resistance Message in Self-Mentioning

Identity is believed to be something inherent in the nation, a community or even a person. Sometimes identity is only one imagination of certain circles of people or communities outside them (Maunanti, 2004:23-31). Because, as said by Joel S Kahn, what is becomea culture, which is considered as the identity of a particular community, is part of the process of the previous cultures were constructed. It is not solely so, there is also a dynamic linkage and interaction between construct and context (Kahn, 1995:129).

AnakRawa tribe has its own pattern in shaping representation about themselves. In daily conversations, Anak Rawa tribealways called them selves as "we", although in Indonesian language word "we" is refersto plural pronoun. Word "we"—in Malay communities—is considered more polite than "I". This word is always replaced by word "I", although this word is more formal

impressed. The using of word "we" for individual "self" is implies the strong communalityor solidarity.

For "others" which are not considered as a part of Anak Rawa tribe, though they are close, is used "our people", for example"our Javanese people", "our Batakpeople", etc.In this case, the term "our people" is refers to "otherpeoples"or people outsides their community. In other hand, word "our people" is also shows an effort to "hug" them into their interactionscope. The term "our people" is never be used to Anak Rawa's tribe members. It shows that this term is only for them who are outsiders. The using of "our people Malays", "our people Jambi", "our people Javanese", "our people Islam", etc is still used in the situation that they are arguing.

They show their negotiation with various powers from outside in forming a narration about their identity.Government, anthropologist, and also culturist are also contributing in building representation about their identity. Legal construct of New Era government to Reformation Era is portrait them as isolated and uneducation ethnic. Based on Navid, the majority of Orang Asliis refuses that construction, although there are also correct it hiddenly. About naming, Orang Asli also can not be separated from outsider's construction about them. The selection of the name in the official letterhead statements wedlock issued by traditional leaders such as writing: "Anak Rawa tribe Marriage Certificate". On the other hand, the government prefers to use Akit tribe to identify the name of this community. According to Mr. Kehong, in terms of self-naming, they sometimes use Akit tribe name to adjust the terms used by the government.Navid said that the use of Akittribe nameby government is showing the government's ignorance of the history of the origins of the Orang Asli in Penyengat. According to Navid, Akittribe name is addressed to the original that is using a raft drifting during conflicts named tragedy LancurDarah.While our tribe AnakRawa, said Navid, never washed, so that can not be called Akit tribe.

Resistance against such representations is expressed in the use of the term "indigenous people" in self-identification. In everyday conversation,they call themselves as "authentic/Orang Asli". But the state refused to use it term. Researchers estimate that the rejection of the state to use this term is related to political implications posed this word. When the term Orang Aslicontextualised in their authenticity associated with mastery of a particular

area, it is contrary to the view that the land, earth and water is state property. Since the term Orang Asliis connected with a matter of geographical environment, of course it is contrary to the desire to control the region.

Corporates and Resistance in the Loyalty

Their acquaintance with RAPP began when construction of Futong bridge in 2003. Futongharbour was built as a means of transporting forest products from the Kampar Paninsula. Futong bridges actually is not a marker for beginning operations, because as noted RAPP began operations in Riau in 1995, or about 12 years before the construction of the Port Futong in Penyengat. Before that, the Orang Asli bothered when companies are bagging permit logging devastated forests around them.Some economic resources that lost due to the presence of the company and lead to forest loss roam space in search of economic resources is reduced. Previously, people rely on the forest for hunting pigs, looking resin, gathering firewood, until logging (illegal logging). Hunting pigs is a livelihood that identifies the Penyengatselfhood.

The life history of the AnakRawa tribe is identic with hunting pigs. Their cruising arena is very knowledgeable. Every curve of the river is traced by canoe. TasikMetas, RiverRawa, River Mungkal, and TasikBelat are places that are identical to the arena of pig hunting and fishing activities. Previously, when the forest is still vast, they could easily get a lot of catches. But after the company operates, they narrowed the hunt arena. Not many of those who now rely on the economic resources of the pig trap.Resin and non-timber forest products are also other woods which are now hard to find because most of the area is the area of company. They could no longer freely in and out to find the resin. Obviously this fact is reduces access to economic resources. Currently there are still some people that their daily activities are searching for resin. Most of them are women. In the morning, the women go to the woods to look for amber. They got a few pounds, maybe around 10-20 pounds if lucky. There are middlemen who ready to buy the resin. When this research was conducted, resin prices ranging between Rp. 1500/kg.

Previously, people rely on the strait in front of their village as a place to catch fish. But after the company operated,there are higher traffic intensity

and pontoon boats.This condition is reducesfish catches. Besides that,the more important is that activity of pontoon and boat traffic is the death threat for the canoes of the fishermen. The victim died from a hit by a pontoon boat has happened several times. Society traumatized by the incident. The number of fishermen decreased. Mr. Kehong tells about two years earlier that there are about a hundred heads of families who rely on fishing profession, but in 2011 only a dozen are relying on fishing activity as a source of livelihood. Previously, fishing can be done day and night.Nowadays, people rarely go down to the sea at night. Genesis recently, where a fisherman was hit by a pontoon boat still leaves trauma in the community.

They also complained about the destruction of mangrove forests along the strait due RAPP pontoon parked and leaned into the mangrove trees. They protest against the destruction of mangroves and demand compensation for restoration of mangrove forests. Unfortunately, the company has refused to sue. When the community complaint for damages of the mangrove forests resulting by the company, it is responded by asking the public to calculate the damage, as well as the cost of recovery. The village government records landslide lands and forest restoration plan that the concept takes a long time. Then if assessed with costs estimated at about Rp. 300 million until the completion of the restoration project. However, this proposal has no response from the company. Our informant said that the delegation from the company had come to the village with an envelope containing about 14 million for the village head, but this provision was rejected by the village head firmly.

Indigenous people have its own strategies in expressing resistance against poaching of natural resources in the village: on the one hand, by selectively embracing corporate agendas, while continuing to prepare a strategy of resistance to external domination which narrows their children and grandchildren future. While rejecting the company's presence, for example, some community members are also willing to work at the company. Along with their openness to communicate with the company, they also voiced calumny, critics, and demonstrations rejected the presence of the company. They attend the organized agricultural training that held by company, but also join NGOs invitations, like Jikalahari and Scale Up, to jointly fight against the corporate

strategy. Against the loyalty is the best word to describe the response of AnakRawa tribe against the corporation.

a. Village Meeting and Geocultural Mapping

The story about the efforts of AnakRawa tribe facing corporate domination can be traced since 2004. At that time, they demonstrate the location Futong port development. They protest because the land is shifting the plantation and seized without compensation. Even some temporary shelters belonging to the company dismantled. Besides demonstration, they bring a lawyer to sue for damages, even though until now the effort is to no avail.In 2004, they were demanding access to jobs in companies such as RAPP and Petro Strait.

At the beginning of the construction of Futongport, there are many people involved as casual laborers. The company promises that in early 2000 they will accommodate people as labormollify the public of the presence of RAPP. But after the construction is completed, and the number of non-permanent employees reduced to the remaining few, they rallies demanding a firm commitment. Demonstration ended clashed and resulted in some members of the public were injured. Althoughthese cases were reported by the police,there is no further investigation.

Starting at 2008, the civil society organizations in Pekanbaru, such as Walhi, Jikalahari, Scale Up, cooperation with international NGOs, such as the Forest Peoples Program, advocate civil rights of indigenous people in the Penyengatvillage. The presences of these NGOs are used by AnakRawa tribe to discuss the problems they face. The social institutions have a program of one to three years to advocate AnakRawa tribe facing corporate presence. Scale Up encourages outsiders to respect civil rights in the use of land in their village. Jikalahari encourage the involvement of AnakRawa tribe propose Kampar Paninsulanpeat swamp forest area as protected forest. A small gathering at the village level and inter-village meetings in Kampar Paninsula in gathering support and attitude with the presence of the company was held.

In 2009, Scale Up facilitates the mapping of the village to resize and trace the use of space in the past. Of course, the mapped region is time-

consuming, even more than one year it can be donesuccessfully. HaryOktavian, Deputy Director of Scale Up, said that mapping is an effort to map the AnakRawa tribe geokultural. Based on the results of this mapping, Anak Rawa tribe successfully move their spatial concept in a concept on paper so that their aspirations related to the management of village spatial can readily known outside parties. It is, of course, very helpful their struggles to face corporate domination.

b.   Identity Revitalization and Its Problematic

In the past, AnakRawa tribe has a system of government spiritualthat is the source oftheir management of socio-political life and culture. AnakRawa tribe is known very strong in holding the customs and traditions of their ancestors. Through this institution, they preserve traditional leadership that are often much more authoritative than the formal leadership of the country. But, with the issuance of UU No. 5 tahun1979 on the system of village governance, institutions spiritualwere abolished.The loss of social institutions has impact on political and social life and culture.

Responding to the situation, the elite society of Penyengat village hasinitiative to revitilizedcustomary institutions to strengthen their cultural identity. The elite people believe that they need to unify their view for stronger voice in the fight for their rights. These efforts include initiating festival conducted by tribal customs involving native in various areas in Bengkalis, Pelalawan, Kepulauan Meranti and Siak. Indigenous cultural festival that was first held in 2009 in the Penyengatvillage is planned to be performed regularly in different villages of the indigenous population centers.

This phenomenon is an initiative of AnakRawa tribe effort in reconstructing a new narrative about themselves. Have a traditional institution appears to be one way of showing that the AnakRawa tribe really have its own custom structures for the various problems they face today. Perhaps their traditional laws that have been found to back it certainly was not the exact same as the one before, when they were still nomadic life. This law is a relatively new creation—asa response to modernization that often ignores their old customs. Through their efforts to imagine the image of AnakRawa tribe in the

future and have different bargaining position is relatively better in the presence of outsiders, both states and corporations. This is one expression of identity politics AnakRawa tribe in orther to survive their community in face the ongoing changes massively. Resistance towards repression that they experienced is done to re-strengthening their identity.

Conclusions

Explanations above reveals the dominance of the state and corporations to AnakRawa communities ongoing systematic and structured. Starting with the state's efforts to localize their settlement tradition moving into settled housing, removal spiritual government system, pressures to convert into one of the legal state religion in the name of civilization effort, to identity constructions abitrery of the AnakRawa tribe. Meanwhile, at the other, the presence of large capitalist firms seeking to exploit land and natural resources in this region, without a mechanism involving AnakRawa tribe has disrupted their lives; necessarily reflect the dominance that was working. The presence of these companieshad helped change the social structure and culture of their narrow living space.

Pressures and problems of systemic resistance triggered AnakRawa tribe. They developed various ways to strengthen cultural identity and their own identity. Strengthening identity seems pretty effectively improve the bargaining position to the company. They also build alliances with civil society organizations in Pekanbaru to voice their aspirations related to land use management and spatial planning. They face state and corporate domination through a combination of accommodation and resistance. On the one hand, they resistant to the presence of the company but they also open up the access to economic resources provided by the company. This strategy is considered the most likely made in connection with objective reality AnakRawa tribe community as a group that had been marginalized. Resistance in loyalty, in other words, is a phenomenon which is by James C. Scott called gun of losers (weapon of the weak). This is the way AnakRawa tribe in Penyengat expressed resistance to repression and domination they feel.

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YuniamanGea (38), Pastor Zending HKPB in Penyengat, 4 April 2009

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Panel 10

Reproducing Local Wisdom for the Social Sustainability

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR OF A RURAL COMMUNITY IN ALLEVIATING POVERTY:
A Case Study in Sanggang Village, Sukoharjo, Central Java

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ABSTRACT

In rural indigenous community there are various social behaviors that can be socially useful for alleviating poverty. Some of them are social behaviors of *kondangan*, *sambatan* to raise house, and *kerja bakti* to build road.

Kondangan is a social behavior done by the community to attend a wedding party or circumcision party. It has some purposes; to celebrete the day of wedding or the day of circumsicion, to strengten the brotherhood alliance, to do prayer to the couple of bride and bridegroom or someone who is circumcised. It is to give gift to someone who hold wedding party or circumcision party as well.

Social behavior of *sambatan* to raise house is a system of mutual assistance through moving labor from indeginous to help people to raise house. The mutual assistance is held by indegenous community voluntarily. This social behavior is based upon principle of reciprocity, and who does goodness, he/she will also get goodness from other.

Social behavior of *kerja bakti* to build the road is done by community together and voluntarily to improve or to maintain the village roads.

KEYWORDS: social behavior, *kondangan*, *sambatan* to raise house, *kerja bakti* to build road.

Introduction

Social behavior is one of the important concepts in sociology. According to Ritzer (1992: 84), social behavior focuses on interelationship between individual and the circumstances that consist of several social and non social objects.

Social behavior is an individual behavior that is continuously done within individual in his/her relation with circumstances that causes consequences or changes of behavior. Therefore there is a functional relation between behavior and change within in actor circumstances (Ritzer: 1992: 84).

Social behavior is an interaction process in which individuality of a person doesn't have any freedom. The individual respond given is determined by stimulus from out side of his/ her self. Therefore social behavior tends to be more mechanical than social action does. (Ritzer, 1992: 84-85).

Social behavior in Sanggang village community especially social behavior of *kondangan*, of *sambatan* to raise house, and of *kerja bakti* to build road reflect social behavior as like as stated by Ritzer (2007). Those social behaviors are considered beneficial in alleviating rural poverty in Sanggang village.

Problem Statement

There are two questions this paper is trying to answer, they are:

1. How can social behavior of *kondangan*, *sambatan* to raise house, and of *kerja bakti* to build road alleviate rural poverty in Sanggang village?
2. Why can social behavior of "kondangan", *sambatan* to raise house, and of *kerja bakti* to build road alleviate rural poverty in Sanggang village?

Analysis

This paper will explain two things, first, to explain how social behaviour of *kondangan.* of *sambatan* to raise house, and of *kerja bakti* to build road can alleviate rural poverty in Sanggang village; second, to explain why social behavior of *kondangan.* of *sambatan* to raise house, and of *kerja bakti* to build road can alleviate rural poverty in Sanggang village.

Social behavior of "*kondangan*" is a social behavior that is done by people to attend a wedding party or circumcision party. According to "Kamus

Besar Bahasa Indonesia (1996: 517), the word of *kondangan* has meaning to go to attend wedding invitation or so on (for saying congratulation and so on). This social behavior has been internalized and has become a tradition in rural community, such as in Sanggang village.

The result of interview to Sanggang community, people attend the program of wedding party or circumcision party with some purposes: they are to celebrate the day of wedding or the day of circumcision, to strengten the brotherhood allience, to give prayer to bride couple or someone who is circumcised , and to give gift to someone who hold wedding party or circumcision party.

People who go to the program of *kondangan* looked very glad. They wear good and neat clothes. They also make up well. Wearing good and neat clothes is a social behavior that is very seldom done by rural community. Therefore with the existence of the program of *kondangan*, people can wear good and neat clothes and can make up well. This is a positive factor of *kondangan* program.

In Sanggang, there are basically two forms of *kondangan,* they are *kondangan* with money and *kondangan* with goods. The amount of money or goods that the invited people give to people who carry out wedding party or circumcision party depends on the relationship between them. The closer relationship they have, the more money or goods they give.

Social behavior of *sambatan* to raise house is a mutual cooperation system through moving massive local labor to help people who are raising the house. Social behavior of *sambatan* to raise house in Sanggang village is still strong. This social behavior is done by indigenous community voluntarily. They don't expect the wage from their job.

According to some persons in Sanggang village, these social behaviors are based on principle of reciprocity, and a belief that whoever does any goodness, he/she will also get goodness from other people. Sanggang people who stay in high land have the right spirit to do mutual cooperation in volunteering to raise house.

The social behavior of *kerja bakti* to build road is also often done in Sanggang village. According to Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (1996: 488), *kerja bakti* to build road means to build road together voluntarily for public

interest. In this paper *kerja bakti* to build road means to build the road that is done by community together and voluntarily to improve or to maintain the village roads.

People in Sanggang village try to solve various problems that are dealing with tool and infrastructure of environment together. These activities involve many people and are started with meetings in the Sanggang village hall. The meetings are led by the head of Sanggang village.

Sanggang people are very enthusiastic in doing social behavior to improve the road. They usually work for fixing roads from 7 a.m. until 9 pm. It is a wonderful and appreciable activity. This kind of behaviour is rarely found in urban community.

There are some reasons why social behavior of *kondangan.* of *sambatan* to raise house, and of *kerja bakti* to build road can alleviate rural poverty in Sanggang village. The results of interview with people of Sanggang village show that people who perform the wedding party or circumcision party can get lot of money and goods from relatives and neighbors. The money and goods got from *kondangan,* however, are temporarily held by the poor people in rural community. They usually spend the money and goods from *kondangan* for consumption need rather than for investment.

The social behavior of *sambatan* to raise house can help poor people in rural community because poor people who build the house don't have to pay the labor since the labor do the jobs in building the house voluntarily. The owner of the house only needs to serve meal.

The social behavior of *kerja bakti* to build road can alleviate the poverty in rural community because through this activity the road in rural community can be improved well. The head of Sanggang village stated that about 90% of the road in Sanggang village were built by the community voluntarily with the financial support from government. The good road in rural community is important asset to break the chain of poverty (Chambers, 1987).

According to Chambers (1987) there is a poverty trap in poverty community life. In poor household and in their environment there are some dimensions that relate strongly each others. That chain makes poor people trapped in the poverty. The poverty trap of Chambers (1987) can be depicted as follows.
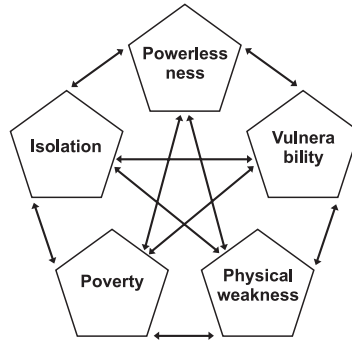
Picture 1. The Deprivation Trap of Chambers (1987: 145)

C.T. Kurien (in Chambers, 1987:46) considers at the poverty as deprivation condition. He adds that the poverty means deprivation for many people and prosperity for few people.

Picture 1 shows that the poverty is the most dominant factor than others influencing deprivation. Poverty causes physical weakness due to mal-nutrition. Physical weakness will make people vulnerability to diseases. The people who are very easily getting ill tend to be powerless. It can make them isolated. The more isolated the people are, the poorer they become.

Social behavior of *kondangan.* of *sambatan* to raise house, and of *kerja bakti* to build road are still strong in Sanggang village. Those are components of culture in Sanggang community that are positive. Those components of culture are accordance with Tylor ideas in which culture contains of knowledge, art, belief, law, morality, habit, and all of attitude in community (in Coiffier et al., 1990).

Those social behaviors are repeatedly done in Sanggang community. This is relevant to social behavior theory stated by Ritzer (1997) that the important point in social behavior theory is re enforcement (done repeatedly)

Social behavior of *kondangan.* of *sambatan* to raise house, and of *kerja bakti* to build road are still relevant strongly with social exchange theory from Homan (in Ritzer, 1997). In social exchange theory there are tree important elements. They are cost, benefit, and worth. Social behavior is considered equivalent to economic behavior. It means that social behavior is considered reasonable based on cost benefit ratio. In social interaction, the actor considers to get more benefit than the cost (Ritzer, 2007: 78).

Conclusion

Social behavior of *kondangan,* of *sambatan* to raise house, and of *kerja bakti* to build road are still strong in Sanggang village community.

Those social behaviors of *kondangan.* and of *sambatan* to raise house can temporarily alleviate rural poverty in Sanggang village because these social behaviors don't base on business activity that can get the profit continuously. Meanwhile, social behavior of *kerja bakti* to build road can alleviate rural poverty for a long period of time, because the investment in road improvement is an investment in long period to increase social welfare in rural community.

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LOCAL KNOWLEDGE AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CAPITAL REPRODUCTION DURING THE FOOD CRISIS AN ETHNOGRAPHY STUDY OF THE PEASANT LIFE EXPERIENCES IN THE REGENCY OF WONOGIRI, CENTRAL JAVA

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ABSTRACT

This research focuses on the experience of Wonogiri peasants in undertaking the local knowledge internalization to solve food crisis problem. It is related to climate change phenomenon affecting to the shift of growing season, having the dramatic loss shown by increasing crop failure and even drought disaster. Moreover, peasants and family could be trapped into the condition of being undernourished, impoverished and more dependent. On the other hand, Javanese conceptualization identifies people as part of community that is full of collectiveness spirit. It delivers everyone as agent to sustain that local culture through the principle of harmony; and food crisis is assumed as a threat to the balance. Bourdieu's theory is used to analyze that the existence of value, culture and norms are meaningful capitals to be reproduced for creating safety mechanism as a negotiation when peasant community is faced with the oppression provided by food crisis risk. This paper suggests that the Javanese principle of harmony is a strong influence to develop some adaptable strategies by utilizing some chances through the cultural knowledge, power of neighborhood, potency of local organization in producing

alternative solution. In individual level, harmony system also endorses people to be humble so that they could avoid consumptive habit..

K E Y W O R D S : Food Crisis, Capital, Negotiation

Introduction

Food crisis in Indonesia is predicted will happen in coming years. It is likely related to the phenomenon of climate change, having many consequences and influencing the agriculture productivity. The finding of experimental on wheat and rice indicated the decreased crop duration (and hence yield) of wheat was a consequence of warming and reduction in yields of rice (Gregory 2005:2139). Slingo (2005:1983) also noted that although crops grown at mid-latitudes may be less sensitive to climate variability under current climates, crop production in some of these areas will become more risky under future climates as, for example, competition for water, resources increases and the frequency of extreme temperature change. Those vulnerabilities are coupled by other Indonesia contexts, as well, including the increasing population number, gaining 1,8 percent per year while the food production growth may not enough to cover it. Besides, the agriculture land has been getting lower since it is replaced by the settlement construction.

Moreover, agriculture sector could be placed at second priority that the other sectors. It missess from the important consideration that the agriculture productivity has main contribution to Indonesia people for years from the harvest. Besides, government is also prefer to choose to import other countries harvest than to strengthen the local potency. After long deliberation, the government decided to import large amounts of rice in order to keep the budgeted stock level (Patnuru and Basri 2011:206). Badan Pusat Statistik Indonsia (Central of Bureau Statistical) noted that in 2004, Indonesia has agreed to import rice until 1,57 millions tons. While the consumption average of Indonesian people was 136 kilos and increased at 139 kilos in 2009.

On the other hand, those lack discourses tend to not be followed by the real experience of long-term famine or poverty in the context of food sufficient at the local community. For instance, the failure of development program regarding to the self sufficiency in rice is responded by the idea reproduction to return back

to ordinary consumption. People, then, are endorsed to eat with the diversification system that has been exist before as ordinary like replace rice with *sego tiwul* (tiwul rice) made by cassava again in Wonogiri. It could be the one reason of what makes villagers still chose to live with agriculture activity in the middle of interest conflict among the capital owning. Furthermore, those dynamics of the consumption patterns whether as conceptual or behavior practice lead to learn more about the daily experience of peasant shaping the logic of food security and even how to solve it regarding to their local knowledge internalization.

Food Security: The Concept and The Real Meaning

In the commonsense perspective, food security is often defined as access to food or the mechanism to avoid the hungry feeling. However when we discuss about food as the right of everyone, it will enclose to the problem of access which is in recent, several people are hard to gain the source of food for lack of material, capability and of course the power. Hence, it is so important to underline the food security concept as the discussion of avaibility and utilization. Avaibility of food refers to the supply of food from production, imports or stocks and is not now of overriding interest, given the rising per capita global supply (Tweeten 1999). Amartya sen (cited by Tweeten 1999) described that capability of food access tended to be determined by number of economic productivity, price and sense of community. The other dimension is utilization, referring to actual metabolism of food by the body. Food that is available and accessible does not alleviate food insecurity if people do not utilize food properly because of inadequate nutrition education and food preparation, bad habit, eating disorders or poor health (Tweente 1999).

The conceptual framework, coming from Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) provides four dimensions of food security such as the ability to improve and maintain the level of acquirement, the ability to cope with shocks, the ability to improve and maintain the level of utilization and the ability to cope with shocks to the utilization (Krishnaraj 2007:5378). In other words, the food security need the strong connection between the knowledge or deep understanding about what the important resources owned and the skill to utilize them as the capital.

For Indonesia's people, the crisis experience at colonial period remains about how long period of rice consumption, had been done. Besides, the food crisis, happened to transition period among 1946-1965, our society would remind the meaningful value of rice consumption that was at previous time people knew the *genjer* as alternative vegetable, meaning not only as a food but also as ideology symbol then.

Structurally, new order era was even to solve the food insecurity, President of Soeharto, had chance to publish the President's instruction, was Inpres No 14 1974 and Inpres No 20 1979 regulating about Diversification as the control mechanism of food disaster. This era delivered to produce the various of alternative main foods such as *Beras Tekad*, ingredriented by cassava, peanut and corn (Manuwoto and Martianto 2010:77). Unfortunately, because of the bad improvement, many people tended to not consume as the ideal program.

The failure of the structural conceptual is not followed by the existence of slump community. By the participation observation, it was found that Wonogiri's people especially at the agriculture area still had the capacity to survive the 'normal' life regarding to the basic need fulfillment system. Mostly, they did not the difficultness to flow the food supply although the economic resource was limited even for the peasant people, that had experience with crop failure and poverty.

Those conditions, for Bourdieu, are explained as the dynamic of subject negotiation by utilizing the social system when the economic structures do not have any support. Bourdieu (cited by Ritzer 2005) underlined that the economic capital was not the main determination to create the safety mechanism. Bourdieu described the theory from the conceptualization of habitus. The concept of Habitus emphasizes the position of subject (as an actor) and the structure (Swartz 1997). By focusing the dialectic of objective structure and subjective phenomenon, Bourdieu gave the briefly description about the position of individual in the yard (Ritzer 2005). As a subject, individuals have the capability to choose and articulate their agencies. They do according to the habit that is internalized in daily life. Habitus becomes the basic to feel, understand, and aware the social life, as well. It is supported by the possibility of individual capability to produce capitals in facing the yard competition. Hence, this theory could be used in explaining peasant position as a subject that can produce the

internalization of cultural and social values in behavior level. In this concept, internalization matter can be from local knowledge and community engagement. Related to the food security, the avaibility to access the food supply is possible to be developed by the power community engagement despite it is hard to be obtained, economically. As Bourdieu concept, the transfer knowledge based on the cultural value and the habit of living with the communal principal could be the valuable capital to influence the skill of utilization of local resources toward the food security survival.

Ethic of Subsistence as Local Knowledge

In the culture of Javanese is found the term of *wong Jawa ilang pekarangane* (Javanese people has been lost the private field), is an important prediction to know the cause of lack of Javanese people when they don't have the yard itself anymore. It has two meanings, are explicit meaning that does not need the more interpretation and the implicit argument that needs the redefining process. In explicit meaning, it is clear that Javanese people will experience the unbalance condition for the absent of the field. Otherwise in the implicit argument, the yard will determine people ability in utilizing their capital or not. According to Scott (1981) Javanese people as peasant community have the anxiousness of the lack condition of food sufficient so that they tend to have the ethic of subsistence.

This subsistence concept forces every people to fulfill all necessary with all they possess. So it is not surprise when Javanese fence house has double functions, are to border and the location of growing plant. This condition is what Bourdieu called as cultural capital reproduction. The knowledge and information access become important cultural capital for individual in determining the 'truth' of position (Bourdieu cited by Ritzer 2004). This owning of cultural capital in employing of natural potency is created by peasant to keep the survival mechanism. They would not give up with the structure that may close to the threat of food crisis to stay in the bordered spaces. However, by using the local knowledge, they develop defend system that even has become a part of daily life.

The house fences at Wuryantoro village Wonogiri tend to be used in growing the plants of *petai and lamtoro*.. This plant could be the main ingredient

of *bothok mlanding or oblok-oblik.* The cooking process is enough to be mixed by the coconut and other seasonings. For that first material could be wrapped by banana's leave and the other is only cooked in pan. The coconut can be found at yards well, growthed at the corner or the back part of field. All long the house, fence will be full of other useful plants such as *mbayung, kacang panjang, and umbi-umbian*. Those are to supply the vegetable necessary and additional food for people.

"If we want to cook vegetable salad with spicy sauce (gudangan/pecel), we don't need to buy at grocery or supermarket. It is easy to pick the plats up of the fence. We just must find the seasons from the small shop in this village surrounding," said Dirjo (50s)

By looking the yard structure owned by Dirjo's house, could be identified the existence of various big trees such as *nangka* (jackfruits)*, belimbing* (starfruit)*, mlinjo, mangga* (mango) *and jambu air.* Although it seems to be same with the other neighborhood constructions, but the character of the trees is chosen through detail consideration. For Dirjo, all big trees in his yard have benefits such as for daily consumption or market product. The exchange between yard harvest and other materials at traditional market is the way to add income, done by Dirjo until now.

If unripe jackfruit still could be cooked, and then the ripe one coulde be eat directly. When lucky, the jackfruits from the garden will be sold but it is possible to be shared freely to my grandchildren. Actually, the leaf and even the flower of gonium is often used in the vegetable cook as well. I seldom to cook gonium itself and it is more often to be shared to neighbors having the gonium crackers business" said Dirjo (50s).

In the back garden, Dirjo also has many kinds of trees such as teak, mangos and especially banana. According to Dirjo, mostly people in village have bananas trees located in garden. It is, since despite the fruit itself, other components of flower or usually called as banana's heart *(jantung)* of this tree are important too for being alternative source of daily consumption. Besides, beat plants are dominant enough to be part of the garden such as *garut* (arrowroot, Maranta arundinaceae)*, bengkoang* (yam)*, ubi jalar* (sweet potatoes)*, suweg* (stink lilly)*, gembili* (Dioscorea esculenta)*, ketela pohon* (cassava)*, gadung* (Dioscorea hispida), etc. Although they are not always

employed in daily need fulfillment, yet sometimes they are useful as alternative food, as well. *Ubi jalar* and *ketela pohon* can replace as carbohydrate source and *garut* can be proceeded to be flour.

The bamboo material of fence construction is interesting too, since bamboo also easy to cook as vegetable food. Therefore, those stories detail about the potency of Javanese people, is not only in appearing the alternative way of crisis situation but also a part of creativity in utilizing the resources as food diversification attempt. The embedded relation among people as peasant and environment dynamic then appearance the term of *sabuk galengan,* meaning that people orientate to the result of farmland or yard to strengthen life (Wibowo dan Priyono 2006, 76).

The Power of Neighborhood

In the setting of overall house construction, Javanese people tend to not use the concept of fence as border. It is, since this understanding come from the idea of land owning in the period of cultuurstelsel system in which the individual land owning shifted to be communal belonging, was together with the core of village people land and fragmented to be given to descendant. So the fence is not claimed as a border but still as an engagement. Moreover, people is possible to take cassava leaf from the neighbor fence directly and legal. Again, it is natural when people cross away the land, has been lined by the others.

The conceptualization of fence building is more for the protection and security interest than the possession border. This is related to the previous story as Polo (52nd) illustration below :

"History of Moslem Mataram Kingdom, for example, told about Panembahan Senopati, the founder of the Mataram did not build the fence in his new area. Then, Sunan Kalijaga suggested to built the fence as the protection system. However, Senopati did answer with the challenging question "who had a brave to come in my area?" In real, Sunan Kalijaga was disappointed so that gave Senopati the advise "Don't too feel too arrogant since that unawareness will enclose to the disaster".

So, in the Javanese point of view, embedded with the term of *pager mangkok (the bowl fence)* has strong connectivity with mostly people in village. Simply, the meaning of *pager mangkok* comes from the analogy of the shape of bowl that can cover all material, placed under bowl itself. However it does not implicate with the real construction by developing the fence with circle form. *Pager mangkok* is the concept of take and give interaction among the society. This habit could endorse people to have caring feeling so that everyone will become the 'security' for others, automatically. In the food security context, the power neighborhood will drive to create food sharing as the basic need fulfilllment for lack household. People can eat although in the crisis situation for the neighbor help or they will not loose the food stock in the crop failure condition. It is, since the deprivation experienced by others is worried as the threat of harmony stabilization (Geertz 1983:157). For Javanese people, the balance means how to keep the society life without disparity. Social crisis, signed by individual crisis is believed as the serious factor to led all social structures to be in the real insecurity. It will also appear the anxious feeling, is risk to destroy the cosmology of harmony. The effort to let people go from the crisis situation (poverty) is a part of security system to save all from the deeper disaster. So *pager mangkok* aims to not only for social relation saver but also to gain and answer the crisis challenge.

Furthermore, for villagers itself, they do not know the habit of food waste or too much rice. This concept is practically attacked by the sharing behavior despite in some extents, it is sound irrational for the high quantity and intensity especially at the habit of money sharing when the neighbor has special events such as welcoming the baby born or celebrating the marriage ceremony. The individual participation of those events is important influence to measure the intimate. In this context, according to Bourdieu (2003), the social relation is included the social capital, strengthening individualal position. The theory underlines that socially, peasants have the neighborhood network as social support to avoid the food insecurity risk. So although, people are close to the lack situation leading to the food insecurity, the social security will work automatically to be savety instrument.

Local Organization

In the house construction of Javanese villagers, in the back that is not too separated by the main building is usually employed as rice barn. Historically, rice barn itself was the colonial attempt to enhance the access of people bank (Volksbanken). Firstly, village rice barn was developed by rice capita, saved by local society. Then, the saving in the rice barn would be rent to the poor people and needed the credit. In new order, the roles of this rice barn was taken by government and formally institutionalized as Koperasi Unit Desa. Besides, New Order also tried to anticipate the food crisis (or undernourishment condition) by developing the *Unit Peningkatan Gizi Keluarga*. Nevertheless, these formal organizations experienced the failure because of the lack participation of lower class society. The implication was villagers tended to choose to save the harvest result in the family rice barn

In Wongiri resident, family rice barn experiences various modification coupled by the appearance of Farmer Organization. Actually, the organization is built to facilitate the economic activity and sometimes to be formal requirement to access the government charity. However, the collective rice barn has strategic role as the food stock when disaster comes.

Conclusion

Food crisis as the global issue goes to be a warning to every country, especially developing country, indeed. Indonesia with the huge number of population could be the one of them although has the source of agriculture products. The producer of rice is possible to be limited in fulfilling the society basic need and close to the famine risk. It could delivers the understanding that food crisis is not just talk about how to erase the hungry feeling at one time. However, food crisis relates to many dimensions discussing deeply about the resources readiness, skill and willingness to sustain and guarantee of accessing ability.

In some perspectives, the problem of food crisis is often analyzed by the economic approach, assuming that poverty reduction could be the main program to make distance with food crisis threat. Interestingly, in the Javanese culture according to the result of this research in Wonogiri resident, economic

problem is not followed by the material mechanism, as always. The power of social and cultural engagement still works in answering the problem that could be caused by structural constraint. It is proven by the dynamic of the villager's life in creating the alternative way, automatically when the mainstream idealization of food habit gets lost. Thus, the conclusion touches down to the understanding that in this balancing situation, villagers, keeping the local knowledge as indigenous community capital, do not have the concept of food crisis at all.

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CONSENSUS AS THE BASIS FOR ORGANIZING A COMMUNITY
(A Study of Auction Market as the Power of Farmer in Panjatan Coastal Area, Kulon Progo Regency)

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Abstract

Agriculture is one sector of life that is already synonymous with poverty. Even agriculture is a sector that is perceived to be difficult to regenerate its successors due to the lack of young manpower who are interested in it. This perception does not seem to apply in the agricultural sandy land in Garongan Village, Panjatan Sub-district, Kulon Progo. Agricultural sandy land in Panjatan Sub-district began to develop in the early 1980s and has been able to attract young people to get involved into the world of agriculture. Even young people who have migrated to cities finally return to their village and have chosen to become farmers. In the midst of a phenomenon of more difficult in finding the young people who are interested in working in the agricultural sector, this is in contrary with the condition in general. This study aims to analyze the existence of the auction market in Garongan Village as a form of consensus that becomes the source of power for sandy land farmers in keeping the selling price of agricultural commodities, especially chili. The data is obtained by exploring in-depth interview with the informants, in addition to some field observation. The result of the study shows that the existence of the auction market is the result of consensus of community development that has turned to be a means of power of sandy land farmer to the price gaming of middlemen. Auction market has become a form of local wisdom of farmers in

Garongan Village that has increased their bargaining position viz-a-viz the traders.

Introduction

The agricultural sector is at an alarming intersection, one needs to be understood deeper is the regeneration of farmer who will do the work of farming. Preliminary picture of the young successor for the agriculture in the village seem not good enough. In the context of economic and social change in the village as described in some literatures, many village youth as productive age group which is expected to continue working in farming started to take off their identity as 'farmer' or 'villager', as a way to avoid the prospect of agricultural that is considered gloomy and stupid (Bryceson, 2000).

This condition cannot be separated from the fact that agricultural sector is the largest sector to contribute the poor in this country. The picture is becoming clear with the weak position of farmers as the vanguard sectors of food providers that actually often experience the disadvantageous price gaming. According to data from National Agricultural Instruction and Human Resources Development (2011) in Hariadi (2011) in Indonesia in 2010 there were 279.523 farmer groups and 30.636 farmer groups combined. According to the quantity of data it is very sad when a lot of farmers do not have a strong bargaining position.

Profile of a group of sand land farmer in Panjatan Village, Kulon Progo regency, Yogyakarta, who has local wisdom of "Auction Market", is a result of community development that demonstrate the power of farmer to condition the middlemen or buyers of their tropical products. Regulation by consensus which has been formed together make auction market managed by community that was born through long social engineering process now can be self organized.

Literature Review

To analyze problem as described in the introduction, the theory will be used in literature review among others is the concept of sustainable agriculture and consensus.

Sustainable Agriculture

According to Huntington cit wikipedia.com (2003) about the notion of civilization itself namely high culture and a group of human and broad level from human identity in which can distinguish human and other species. The notion implied that result of human culture (for example, agriculture) should have reflected on more polite actions, intelligent, and moral so human could be distinguished from other species. Such as, not undertake exploitation of nature that could harm future generations. So in this case, agricultural civilization should be expressed in a form (physical) and behavior, in which it can be expressed in the concept of sustainable agriculture.

To achieve a sustainable agriculture it is needed a process or stages. According to Rolling (1994), the steps in achieving sustainable agriculture are as follows: (a) Increase the economic and the efficiency of environment, (b) Integrate new technology and reinforce it (regenerative technology) and (c) Organize the life of community. Sustainable agriculture needs self regulatory in managing ecology system and variety plants. Aside from that, community must have self reliance in the context of planning.

Thus, for achieving sustainable agriculture, it is needed community organizing. It means sustainable agriculture needs self regulatory in each individual in community both directly and indirectly related. Self regulatory needs effort from all parties both from community itself and outsider, but it is needed to know that independence of community is the most important. By the existence of self regulatory there will be sustainable agriculture as a part of the life of community. It will be arising implication on how to organize community so the mechanism and the values of sustainable agriculture become a part of the life of community.

Consensus

Consensus is a decision of discussion result from a group which is a joint agreement by sharing idea and values from all members of group to reach same perception and it can be used to bind member in performing an action. From the meaning of consensus, it can be found out consensus cannot be separated form its process. So in this study, process of consensus is one of urgent study. Process of consensus itself actually cannot be separated from social action of each component in

community. So in this case, theoretic approach for process of consensus also cannot be separated from process of social action. Theory of social action according to Maunder (1972) has been adjusted to the paradigm nowadays namely active participation of community, in which community is not in given position. It seems according to the theory; in rural community the role of legitimacy institution is still very strong. However, the image of a *legitimator* is not always refers to village elders who always lead traditional ceremonies, but they could be opinion leader or agent of change in the community.

Toll Kit (1995) stated the consensus that is oriented on problem of sustainable development. The theory seems in accordance with the development paradigm nowadays namely related to human centre development approach, in which community empowering is the fulcrum for development. In this case, to able to empower community, consensus can play a role because the process will accommodate community sense to environment and development wisdom. If it refers to the theory; fundamental characteristic of consensus are namely purpose driven, inclusive, participation, self design, flexibility, equal opportunity, respect divers interest, accountability, time limit, and implementation, so it is not impossible the community will be able to self organized and self reliance to live a decent life in the atmosphere of civility.

Scheme of a theoretical framework can be described as follows:
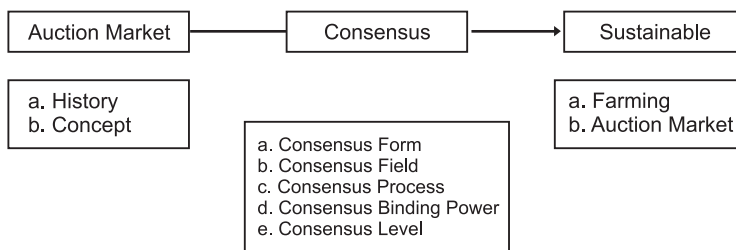
Figure 1. Scheme of a theoretical framework

Method

Basic method is used in this study is descriptive method. Aside from that, it is also used in-depth interview to explore comprehensive information from informants. Location of study is purposive chosen based on the criteria of good

organizing of farmer group that one of them is characterized by the existence of consensus and self organizing. Based on the criteria it is chosen a group of coastal farmer in Garongan Village, Panjatan Sub-district, Kulon Progo. Additionally, the farmer group also has local wisdom in form of auction market which is the implementation of the consensus itself.

Result and Discussion
History of Auction Market

Garongan Village, Panjatan Sub-district, Kulon Progo is area located on the south coast. In 1980s it was sand land area that has not been utilized optimally. The geographical condition make the most people become farm worker in next village. Additionally, some people also choose to become factory workers out of town.

The idea of utilization of sand land as productive agricultural land came from Sudiro and Sukarman as the inspiration of community who saw the chili could grow well on sand land without process of cultivation. It inspired them to cultivate the chili and its result was very satisfying. Eventually it was copied by other communities and then agricultural sand land began to develop until the present. Agricultural commodities they produced are such as chili, watermelon, cucumber, and melon as main commodities. The condition that farmers are facing at harvest time is they are confused about where to sell and when the middlemen come they are given fluctuate price and tend to be manipulated. This condition initiates community to form auction market.

Concept of Auction Market

Auction market which is developed by community of sand land farmer is by forming farmer group according to their respective area then in each group is formed the collecting point of agricultural commodities that will be auctioned. Currently there are already six points of auction along Panjatan Sub-district with different hour market opening. The middlemen or potential buyers will gather in the point of auction according to the hours that have been routinely running. The potential buyers then write their bidding price and its quantity of what will be bought in closed paper which is then returned in a box (sealed

bidding). After all potential buyers put their bidding value; the manager of farmer groups will openly read and write the result of potential buyers bidding. Potential buyer whose bidding is the highest is the winner who will bring home the commodities that will be bought. In determining the bidding price, the potential buyers are always active in seeking information of the price to their network in the various regions.

Most of potential buyers are suppliers who will market the agricultural commodities from Panjatan to Yogyakarta, West Java, and Jakarta. If potential buyers lost in an auction and have not obtained a commodity to be brought, they will follow the auction again at auction market which will be opened in the next hours. Automatically, by looking at the previous auction price, in the next auction they must be offer higher bidding than an auction that is already running.

Such a process takes place every day in which farmers belong to farmer groups submit their product to be sold by chosen manager. In this condition farmers are actually spoiled by the manager of auction because the money from sales result at auction market will be delivered to them. Concept of auction market is ultimately also providing job opportunity to the youth to be involved into packaging process and weighing chili commodity. As result, by the existence of auction market, farmer will obtain a definite price, the youth or the manager of farmer group will have job opportunity, and farmer groups will have extra cash from the process.

Figure 2. Potential buyers observe commodities data

Figure 3. Manager of auction market writes bidding price of potential buyers

Consensus as Organizing Form

The existence of auction market gives consequence to sand land farmer to form a group organizing. According to system applied at auction market, the

flow must be followed by farmer and farmer groups are as follows:
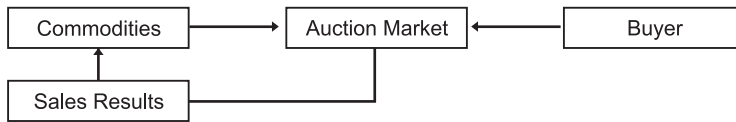
Figure 4. Flow of agricultural sand land commodities sales at auction market

According to organizing flow, to be able to enter into the auction market management system, an individual farmer must first become a member of farmer groups. In the position of members of the group, the position of farmer is no longer individuals who can be arbitrarily manipulated even suppressed by potential buyers. As the consequence, in order to run organizing well, the auction market system need to be supported by systemic regulations.

Regulation and organizing of farmer groups in the auction market system can be written as follows.

Table 1. Consensus in Auction Market Organizing

No	Form	Field	Process Power	Binding	Level
1	Auction Place Capital	Psychical rules	Agreement comes with	Strong	Village
2	Auction Market Capital	Economic sales system	Agreement of one door	Strong	Village
3	Inviting Merchant	Economic Capital	Agreement to expand market	Strong	Inter-Village
4	Market Development	Economic Capital	Agreement to expand national market	Strong	Inter-Village
5	Financial Institutions	Economic Capital	Agreement to utilize financial institutions	Strong	Village
6	Village Discussion	Political Capital	Agreement to form auction market coordination	Strong	Village
7	Organization of Farmer Groups	Political Capital	Agreement to form groups	Strong	Auction group
8	Merchant Network	Information Capital	Agreement to expand market network	Strong	Village

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

Consensus Form

According to analysis on table 1, the form, field, process, binding power and level of consensus can be described as follows.

1. **Auction Place**

   Auction Place is psychical capital form in which its existence is agreed by farmer group and it is built on the agreed location. Initially auction place took a place at one of member house. However, the more auction processes and more professional management demands, the more auction places are built with a budget of farmer groups. Binding form of this consensus is strong and applies to village level.

2. **Auction Market**

   Auction Market is economic capital form in which its existence is agreed by farmer group who presented sales system of commodities in one door. The agreement binds strongly in village level.

3. **Inviting Merchant and Market Development**

   The idea of inviting merchants is economic capital form in which its existence is agreed by farmer group that aim to facilitate sales at auction market and to expand marketing network to outside area. Not long ago these farmer groups get an offer to expand marketing network to Bali.

4. **Financial Institution**

   Financial institution is economic capital form that contributes in facilitating farmer group in order to access capital or fund to carry out farming activities on sand land. Form of financial institution among others is economic institution network for capital funding and economic institution established by farmer group to regulate the payment system of the labors of group and the manager of auction market.

5. **Village Discussion and Organization of Farmer Group**

   Formed farmer group is political capital that strengthens farmer structure. Village discussion is political capital that held based on agreement of farmer group. Discussion forum serves as gathering media of members of farmer group to socialization or coordination and evaluation of running activities of farmer group including auction market.

6. **Merchant Network**

   Merchant network here is more about information access of farmer related to market network they have. Even though they have auction market, farmer group still have other marketing network as anticipation in harvest time.

Binding Power and Level of Consensus

Binding power applicable to each agreement in farmer group is strong which means it must be obeyed by all farmer groups and if there any member of farmer group who violate the consensus, there will be punishment. It ever occurred to one of member in which when farmer group agreed to not work for iron mining factory. There was a member who disobeyed and social sanction for him is his existence was not acknowledged by the farmer group. The level of each consensus applies in village level or group that runs in orderly manner and become a life pattern of farmer group.

Auction Market: Consensus and Development of Panjatan Community

Theory presented by Ife and Tosoriero (2008) stated that consensus is not just merely equality, but also related to agreements that formed within a group. More than this, consensus also a commitment that group or community are committed to the process of finding a solution or a set of action that can be accepted and owned by everybody and the decision made and approved by the people who are on it for the benefit of all. Community development based on consensus is better than conflict clashing. As stated by Putnam (1993) that the formation of structure and process within community is very much needed to make social life last long.

According to the change and engineering of Panjatan community, if it is related to 3 principles of Rogers; social change occurs due to immanent change in which the changes come from internal farmer community with few external stimulus factors. Consensus system also suggests that long lasting eternity of level in social life is largely determined by level which comes from agreement of lower community including farmer.

Conclusion

Based on process of consensus as the basis for community organizing especially in form of auction market, activity of sand land farmer in Panjatan, Kulon Progo can be concluded, such as:

1. Consensus has opportunity as the basis for community organizing because within its process, transaction between member communities about its eligibility in community will take place.

2. In the process of consensus occurs self organized and self regulatory related to transaction process about eligibility value that has been agreed. So, it will make community to more initiate and more participative and it is necessary in the process of social empowerment.

3. It seems that consensus is fitting as a technique in community development and become the basis of power for the existence of group binding or collective action can be well organized.

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Panel 11

Economic Dimensions of Indigenous Communities

A STUDY OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC VULNERABILITY OF SALACCA FARMER IN GIRIKERTO, SLEMAN, YOGYAKARTA
(A Lesson Learned from the Merapi Volcano Eruption 2010)

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ABSTRACT

Merapi volcano eruption has made several impacts in various aspects of life, such as agriculture. Salacca is main commodity in Sleman District. Salacca farming collapsed after Merapi eruption in 2010. Volcanic ash has caused salacca plants damaged and died. Salacca farmers suffered a lot of losses due to the damage of salacca plants.

The objective of this research is to identify the economic vulnerability of salacca farmers and its causal factors in Girikerto village.

Methods used in this research are to study literature and in-depth interviews with salacca farmers. People in Girikerto village have high dependence on salacca farmland because they don't have other jobs. When Merapi volcano erupted, they faced economic deterioration. It shows that people in Girikerto village, especially salacca farmers, have high economic vulnerability toward Merapi volcano eruption. Salacca farmers have an organization namely farmers group. This organization is useful for economic recovery after Merapi eruption. It can reduce social vulnerability for salacca farmers in Girikerto village.

KEYWORDS: Merapi volcano eruption, socioeconomic vulnerability, salacca farmer

Introduction

Fertile land and abundant natural resources caused the volcano has a high population density. This condition also occurs in Indonesia, which has 129 volcanoes, where the area around the volcano used as a fertile agricultural region. However, the area around the volcano has a very high level of insecurity that followed by the preparedness of the population is so low that the risk due to the impact of volcanic eruptions is high (Brotopuspito et al, 2011).

Merapi volcano has the specific characteristics for the type of eruption, which produced hot clouds or wedus gembel in terms of Java or nuee ardente in scientific terms (Voight et al, 2000). Furthermore, Voight, et al (2000) explains that nuee ardente is the primary hazard posed by the eruption of Merapi Volcano is composed of elements of gas, rocks and volcanic ash which is usually preceded by lava flows and lava dome collapse (Lavigne et al, 2000) . However, historical records have shown that the Merapi Volcano eruptions often occur by different mechanisms, such as 1872 and 2010 that occurred in the explosive (Voight et al, 2000 and Brotopuspito et al, 2011).

Merapi Volcano eruption in 2010 showed that caused catastrophic eruptions has caused severe damage. These events has caused injuries as much as 1705 people, consisting of 1412 people were slightly injured and 293 people were seriously injured, as many as 332 people dead and the victims who experience psychological problems as much as 4874 people (Brotopuspito et al, 2011). Furthermore, Brotopuspito, et al (2011) adds that nuee ardente that occurred during the 2010 eruption of Merapi Volcano has caused 2447 and 6472 houses were severely damaged homes were damaged. Additionally, secondary disasters eruption of Merapi Volcano lava flood was no less great, of which   caused 182 houses damage around the river banks of the Code of Yogyakarta.

Another disaster caused by volcanic eruption of Merapi volcano is ash fall of 2010. This disaster has caused damage to salacca farming a very wide. This is a major commodity crops in the district of Sleman, especially Girikerto village, Turi district. The risk of disasters caused by ash fall will be even greater if the community has a weak social and economic characteristics. This study aims to determine the social and economic vulnerability the salacca farmers in

the Village Giriketo. This is done in order to obtain information that can be used as inputs in disaster management of volcano eruption in the future.

Objective

1. Identify economic vulnerability of salacca farmer and its influenced factors in Girikerto village
2. Identify social vulnerability of salacca farmer and its influenced factors in Girikerto village

Literature Review
1.   Concept of Disaster

Disaster is kind of phenomena in the earth. Disaster rises when the hazard meets the vulnerability conditions. Disaster can caused many impacts, especially negative impact. The negative impacts were caused by disaster may influences many aspect. Before talk about disaster, we must to know about hazard, vulnerability, and capacity. Basically in terminology, United Nations Disaster Relief Organization (UNDRO) hazard is defined as probabilistic evidence of phenomenon in the earth that has damaged and destroyed force. Hazard has certain period that happens in the certain area. In the specific way, hazard concept can illustrate in the mathematical formulae bellow:

$$\text{HAZARD} = \text{MAGNITUDE} * \text{FREQUENCY} * \text{AFFECTED AREA}$$

Vulnerability is defined as degree of loss that caused by disaster event. It means that the component of environmental especially biotic component will be destroyed and loss their properties. This degree of loss noticed in the 0 to 1 scale of vulnerability. When the value 0, it means that the degree of loss is nothing or safety, but when the value of vulnerability is 1, it means that the potential of properties will be loss is high or fatal destroyed. Many researchers study about vulnerability and classified component of vulnerability into several components. Those component including economic aspect, physical aspect, socio-cultural aspect, environmental aspect (Birkmann, 2006).

Risk is defined as multiplication of hazard and vulnerability (Slaymaker, 1986; Blaikie et al., 1997). This combination consequently bought the risk as potential totally loss of properties along the disaster happens.

Disaster consists of several type i.e:

a. Natural disaster

Natural disaster is kind of disaster that caused by natural factors such as earthquake, volcanic eruption, tsunami, landslide, drought, etc.

b. Non- natural disaster

Non-natural disaster is kind of disaster that caused by sequence of non-natural evidence such as failure of technology, epidemic and outbreak of disease.

c. Social disaster

Social disaster is kind of disaster that caused by human activity as a consequence of interrelationship among the people. Example of this kind disaster is conflict in the society.

In order to manage the disaster we must know about disaster as well. There are any several components of disaster such as hazard, vulnerability and capacity of society. Without knowledge as well about concept of disaster we cannot do more to manage the disaster.

2. Volcanic Hazard

Volcanic is terminology to call the activities that caused by magma rising in the surface of the earth. Site of the volcanic evidence is called volcanoes. In Indonesia many volcanoes include in the ring of fire. It can be happen because Indonesia is lying in the subduction zone that caused these volcanic phenomena happen (Figure 1).
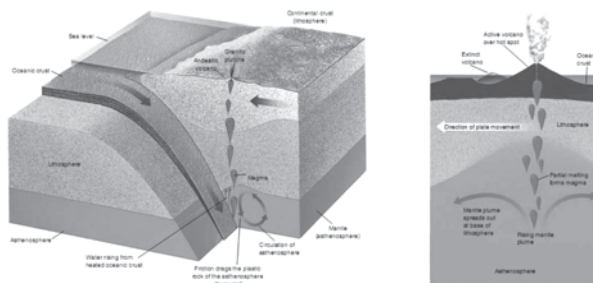
Figure 1. Subduction that caused volcanic activity (Tompson and Turk 1997)

Process of magma rising in the earth caused the area surrounding volcanoes will becoming prone to the volcanic hazards. Magma rising is called volcanic eruption. Volcanic eruption releases the eruption materials such as lava flow, pyroclastic flow, directed balst, ash, and poisonous gases. This material eruption can be component of hazard in the risk concept. (Thouret, 2004) classified and figured the hazard caused by volcanic eruption in the Figure 2.
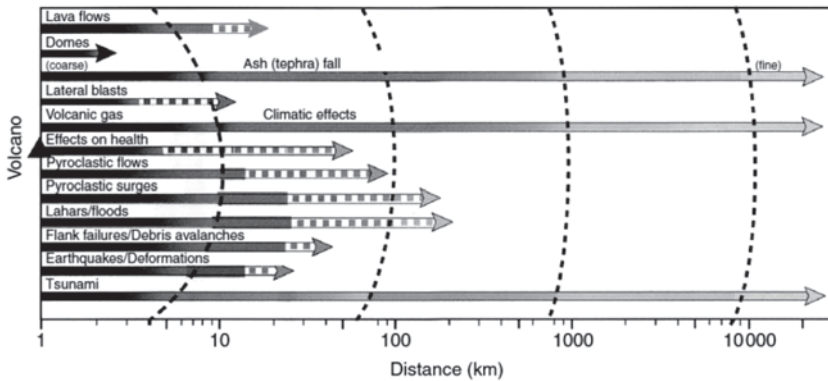
Figure 2. Hazard type basically in distance from peak crater (Thouret, 2004).

Methods
1. Study Literature

Study literature is used to get information about the topic from text book, journal, previous research and other publication. Information also collected from some data such as poverty data and salacca productivity from previous research.

2. In-depth Interview

In-depth interview is one of techniques of qualitative research through individual interview to small respondent for exploring information. Interview aims to get detailed information from research location regarding social and economic condition after Merapi volcano eruption. Result of in-depth interview will give detailed information for this case. Population in this research is salacca farmers in Girikerto village.

Result and Discussion

Salacca is main commodity in Sleman Regency. Salacca farming was collapsed after Merapi volcano eruption 2010. Salacca farmers faced a lot of losses due to damage of salacca plant. Volcanic ash covered salacca's flower thus caused harvest failure. Based on Departement of Agriculture, Sleman District has 4,9 million salacca plants. It had been 3,4 million salacca plants severely damaged, 992.531 salacca plants moderate damaged and 7.484 salacca plants slightly damaged. Because of the damage, farmers experienced economic losses up to 200 billion rupiahs.

Damage of salacca plants caused decreasing salacca productivity (Figure 3). Salacca productivity decreased significantly in 2011. It had been 23.214 tons losses of salacca from 2010 to 2011. Based on in-depth interview, salacca price decreased after Merapi volcano eruption. Normally, salacca price is 6.000 up to 7.000 rupiahs per kilograms. After Merapi volcano eruption, salacca price became 2.000 up to 3.000 rupiahs. Salacca price is determined by demand and quality of fruits. Demand of salacca fruits decreased after Merapi volcano. So, the price was decreasing. Because of ash volcanic, salacca fruits are more perishable.
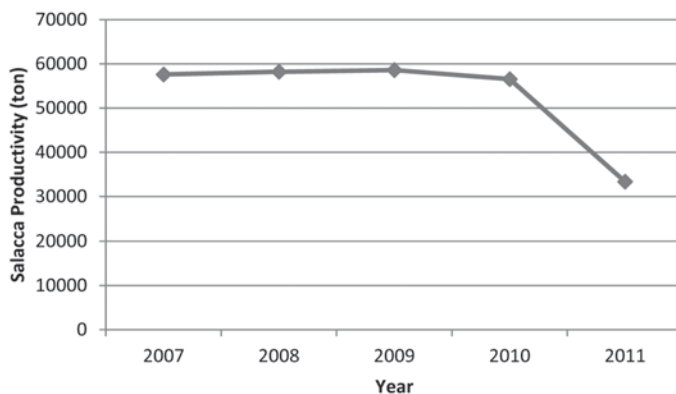
Figure 3. Graph of salacca productivity

Most of people in Girikerto Village worked as salacca farmers. Every farmer in Girikerto Village has approximately 4680 m^2 wide of salacca farmland. Great harvest occurs once in a year on July-August. Sallaca farmland can produce approximately 4-7 tons. Farmer gets gross income up to 3 million per months.

Except in great harvest, farmer can pick salacca in a week for weekly sale. But Merapi volcano eruption 2010 effected decreasing of economic condition. Farmer's income decreased due to salacca price and low price of salacca. Some of farmers have other jobs such as breeding, labour and staffs. But, most of farmers just rely on agriculture's income as main income. It is caused by long time required to cultivate land and also less opportunity to get other jobs. Therefore, people in Girikerto village mainly salacca farmers can be classified as vulnerable in economic matters because their main income just come from salacca harvest. Economic vulnerability in Girikerto village can be seen from poverty data which showed that 544 households or 26,20 % people in Girikerto are classified as poor households. 84 households of poor households are farmer. Poverty leads to increase economic vulnerability in Girikerto village.

Social vulnerability can be seen from people knowledge and organization in Girikerto village. There are six farmer groups in Girikerto village. Every group has 20-40 members. Farmers group is an organization which aims to do business, especially in increasing salacca productivity. Existence of this organization will provide benefits for disaster preparedness. Department of Agriculture provide assistance such as agriculture tools and seeds for people who are members of farmer groups. This program aims to help people in economic recovery post eruption 2010. Providing assistance is more often given through local community such as farmer groups because it is easier to organize. Therefore, existence of farmer groups can decrease social vulnerability. Currently, farmers group is the only community in Girikerto village which accommodate salacca farmer's activities, whereas other organization is more general. Social vulnerability of salacca farmer in Girikerto village can be solved through existence of farmers groups. However, government compensation for salacca farmland damage have not given optimally such cattle compensation, whereas salacca is special commodity in Sleman District

Conclusion

1. Salacca farmers in Girikerto village have high dependence on salacca farmland because they don't have other jobs. So, they have high economic vulnerability toward Merapi volcano eruption.

2. Farmer group is the only local community organization in Girikerto village. Farmer group can reduce social vulnerability toward Merapi volcano eruption.

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THE INDEPENDENCE OF
THE MIGRANT WORKER WIVES THROUGH
ECONOMICAL STRENGTHENING PROGRAM
OF GRAMEEN BANK:
Case Study of Remittance Fund Management
in Malang and Sumenep

Iskandar dzulkarnain

Abstract

Most parts of Madura region is an island so that the majority of the people depend on marine life. Archipelago society is one of the social communities whose survival is supported by its ability to manage marine resources. Due to the huge challenges in the ocean, it is quite common for the people to be economically poor. To overcome such problem, the coastal Madurese women take the initiative to work in the public realm as a form of assistance to her husband. The uncertain result and time in fishing leads the husbands to work out of the island and even overseas as a migrant worker. These become the main factors in enforcing the women to work in domestic and public area. Their economic reality somehow obliges them to go against the common traditional Madurese culture. The good thing is that this independence can lead them to be a strong woman ready to face the challenge of injustice treatment from their husband and society.

On the basis of this, the author tries to empower coastal Madurese women to be independent economically and socially, eventhough their independence is not coupled with gender justice for them. Therefore, the researcher argues that it is necessary to empower the women through strengthening the economy which will lead to independence of women in the realm of economy, society, culture, and religion through Grameen Bank, a program through which the money is sent by their husbands from abroad (remittances).

The contradictory case happens in South Malang Regency, Donomulyo Subdistrict, Gedungsalam village. In this village, most of the families of the migrant workers are economically, socially, and culturally well established. Based on these two cases, the researcher will try to compare the financial management pattern of the migrant worker wives through the remittance of Grameen Bank program.

K E Y W O R D S : remittance, Grameen Bank, Independence Women

Preliminary

Traditionally, the pattern of the patriarchal family as the wife put in charge of the domestic work. Patriarchal system in the history of gender is a system that puts the power of men over women in all aspects of life. In the aspect of economic management to drape all concessions to the survival of a family man (husband), while the women (wife) put themselves at the reception as well as a family spending. Women are considered as an important part of the domestic factors, while the men (husbands) are placed in a public position. If the role can be performed by a woman so he played a double role. That kind of double role of women can be seen in the activities of coastal communities and women Madura South Malang. The double role of poverty and underdevelopment due to coastal communities. The involvement of women in public areas in a coastal family is not only beneficial for the survival of the household, the capacity of self-improvement, and social status in the social structure of society, but to contribute to the socio-economic dynamics and culture of local communities. Therefore, women (wives) is not only a social-cultural potential, but also great potential in economic development.

Therefore any attempt to do in order to alleviate poverty in coastal communities Sumenep Madura islands is through the strengthening of community-based financial management of resources and the local culture. In addition it should also be strengthening of local institutions to support efforts to strengthen the local economy. In addition, look for patterns of financial management remittances ratio better social strata so as to raise their families, and the authors looked at and assess areas that South Malang District

Donomulyo Village Kedungsalam precisely the families left behind his wife working abroad relatively more independent and able to manage remittances her well so that they can raise their families social strata towards the better.

Images of Labor Women In Malang

Intercession et al (2002: 137) divides the process of migrating to 6 (six), namely: (1) recruitment, (2) shelter, (3) departure, (4) while in the country of destination, (5) return and (6) yield management. This division is based on the perspective of local government policy. However, 6 (six) stages can be simplified into three stages, namely: (a) before leaving (pre - recruiting), (b) when the country of destination (destination), and (c) when it returns in the family (reintegration). It is as specified in Article 77 paragraph (1) and (2), which raised about the protection of workers from the entire process, from pre-placement, during placement and after placement (Hilmy, 2008).

In the process of migrating a lot of the problems experienced by the workers, especially women workers. Cases may include: wages, long working hours, salary deductions, communicating ban, ban out of the house, assault, sexual abuse, repatriation without errors, and much more. But among these problems, the problem of high cost of rekruiting by cutting salaries at the beginning of the TKI work is very important, because it is very detrimental to the high cost of workers, especially women workers, and this is experienced by many migrant workers in the village of Kedungsalam Donomulyo Malang. In addition, insurance for the workers is the next issue, as well as Terminal 3 which is always passed by migrants upon departure and return. Last issue is the problem of the use of remittances. This injustice pattern occurs in other forms of exploitation of women, subordinating women, up to the stereotype of female migrant workers with negative labels. Weakness is also closely kaitanya with power. Power to dominate and destroy the desire and initiative of women. The power associated with TKW environmental context, cultural values   in which migrant workers live, the people around the maids, to the things that are very macro as state regulations related to the migration process, state policies, local government officials and national (Fakih 1999).

Images of Women in Sub Islands Independence Sumenep

Islands were women (coastal communities) who left her husband works abroad, which is one class of people who are 'accidentally' made subject which

is a fraction of the other women's groups. Woman who left her husband islands to work abroad is identified as an independent woman, who in their daily interactions with a variety of roles attached to the typical. As part of the coastal communities, he has a role as a wife, mother, and worker (breadwinner). In that sense he is also a small part 'organ' in the 'body' of society. Therefore, in a role he also penetrated the plains as well as domestic and public.

Independence of women archipelago Sumenep her husband left to work abroad socially and economically, it appears from the position that occupies two realm of understanding of work activities that work in the household (domestic) and working in a job that generates revenue (public). As with the other wives on the island Sumenep and in the general population, household or domestic work done by their total, even though their husbands were not at home to work abroad as well as home. Like the other wives in the archipelago Sumenep, total housework done by their wives. After all the activity is completed household (domestic), some starting at 8 am or even 7 am they began to carry out activities outside the home. Activities undertaken by the wives left behind her husband works abroad quite a wide range, including work to supplement the family income or family needs that are not fulfilled by her husband shipment from overseas or even community activities to be done as a form of replacement responsibility of her husband.

Data were obtained from the Manpower Sumenep departure in 2012 to as many as 501 people abroad, the majority is dominated by men who are married. By sharing Arjasa Islands as 271 people, Kangayan 46, Sapeken 7 people and Raas by 1 person (Manpower, 2012). However, this data is the data that needs to be debated. Because of the observation and survey the authors found that the number of migrant workers from Sumenep island very much, if not Want practically almost all the families in the islands Sumenep there must be one member who is a migrant worker, especially in Sub Arjasa Sumenep, so the researchers decided to make the cooperative management of Grameen Bank fund remittance patterned islands Arjasa Sumenep district. Thus the majority of the workers are illegal Sumenep Kabupeten islands.

On the other hand, the wife of the archipelago Sumenep also plays a role as an employee because of the uncertainty of her husband working shipment overseas shipment or due to insufficient husband. In the sense that their

motivation to work in the public most is to supplement the family income. Wives kawajiban assume that they have done this, especially if their household needs so much while earning her consignment can not be certain when and how. Thus, the wife had a role in improving the welfare of his family and this is where lies the independence of one of the wives of the islands Sumenep

The husband left to work abroad. Within thirty family households whose husbands work abroad are used as informants or sampled by the authors is clear that the impact of increasing prosperity in the household when his wife works too, although it was evident from her well-being (40%). Although it is generally considered the worse (33%) and remained the family economy (26.7%).

Management of remittances through the Grameen Bank in Malang Donomulyo Kedungsalam

The use of remittances is not regulated at all in the legislation providing for the migrants, because it was regarded as the private sphere, but in the legislation, such as the division of property when the divorce occurred or regulations regarding the use of inheritance, of course. Similarly mores and folkways that developed in the area (Hilmy, 2008). Though remittances is one important thing that can not be separated in the entire migration process. Remittances is a product produced by workers who are highly anticipated reward and expected by migrant families in their homeland. However, actual remittances are not only anticipated by migrant families but are not the direct result of migrants is also useful for the country of origin and even Indonesia.

One of them Juwayrah, after returning from working in Hong Kong, even dare to reveal his proposals related to family interests such as building houses and organize parenting. Juwayrah admitted if consulted about it with her parents and husband, she was beginning to dominate the conversation. In fact he was able to convince him that his opinion was right. For Juwayrah reveal things that are rational and can be accepted by their husbands, rather than adhering to the values   of irrational, is a strategy so that she can make decisions on certain domains in a family environment. Nevertheless, the position of women still take more decisions on things that are still domestication, such as child care, household purchases of materials purposes, keep house, and so on.

After leaving several maids who have expressed a holiday they usually spend their holidays in a park called Victoria Park. On this occasion they met with fellow workers from Indonesia, telling stories and exchanging information. Juwayrah is a former migrant worker who had initiated gather his friends in a container or teaching activities 'tahlil'. Juwayrah told me that when she was in Hong Kong managed to gather 50 people among migrant workers who came from the village to hold tahlil Kedungsalam every week in the park Victoria Park. At the beginning of group formation tahlil is intended to support solidarity among migrant workers from his village.

When returning home to the village Kedungsalam, TKW back to face socio-cultural situation of the villagers are far different from the big cities like Hong Kong. One of the rights of migrant workers of concern is access to and control over the management penghasilannnya (remittances). When back in the house her village to take initiative on behalf of all the results obtained through work in Hong Kong with his name. Certificate on the land he purchased, as well as furniture items in the house. The house is currently occupied also the result of his labors. Strategy of creating a certificate in his name made him not being played by men or exploited by men. Although her husband is still regarded as the head of the family, the village women Kedungsalam strategy, facing the power behavior of injustice against the maid in order to realize insiaitif mostly sourced from within the individual their (ex TKW). This means that women have to deal with class structure. There was also cultural values, economic conditions, stereotypes, and so on.

Activities in the tahlil also growing. This activity is no longer limited to the activities of teaching and understanding teachings of Islam, praying for the souls of the dead family. In the tahlil also been started gathering, the women in the village according to Kedungsalam is part of a learning tool to save. Former migrant worker also recalled that in his village tahlil group has become a means of exchanging information about various things.

This is the driving force of the agent of change is to take advantage of social gathering is not just a routine tahlil recitation. However, it could be useful to create a pattern of yield management that their wages be as maids in Hong Kong. Starting in 2009 the plan was agreed upon by all members gathering tahlil to make women's cooperative with the name "Self Development", as an

effort to manage the funds of the former migrant worker remittances Kedungsalam village, headed by Latiyah, with a total membership of 22 people.

Starting from the process of gathering these tahlilan mothers and former migrant worker trying to make a cooperative. Establishment of a cooperative process actually began a long time since 2002, but this new 2009 gathering tahlilan truly cooperative process of creation by the name of 'Bina Mandiri, the chairman Latiyah and attended by 22 people, with an address Jl. Kingdom Ngliyep Coastal Rt 20 Rw 4 Village Kedungsalam Donomulyo Malang District, the notary Itta Andrijani, SH, and it was not until March 30, 2010 cooperatives 'Self Development' gets the deed of establishment of the Department of Cooperatives and SMEs Malang with No. 183/BH / XVI.14/III/2010, the shape of women's savings and credit cooperatives (KSP).

Currently cooperatives 'Bina Mandiri' already has 47 members with principal savings of Rp 50,000. and mandatory savings at least Rp 10.000-./bulan. From this then it develops cooperative and have a variety of other forms of business, the business of which is banana chips, potato chips, and tree planting sengon, typing and computer rental and cafe, with the help of Windows in 2011.

Each member of the cooperative is allowed to borrow funds amounting to Rp 1 million to 2 million-. per member, the reason for the need for family business and family interests. Of borrowing each member is required to pay per week for their abilities. And the results of these payments seikhlasnya profit cooperative members who borrow. Even this pattern better and equitable than the pattern in which the pattern of Grameen Bank is a bank owned by the poor borrowers of Grameen Bank the bank, most of whom are women. And approximately 94% owned by the borrower, and the remaining 6% is owned by the Government of Bangladesh. Even the end of each year, the members of the cooperatives 'Bina Mandiri' can get the balance of the (SHU) of Rp 150,000. evenly, with no regard to the management structure of its membership. In terms of both the seat as the head or get SHU same subordinates.

This pattern is in accordance with the form of the Grameen Bank, which is the method used in the form of Grameen Bank group lending, group or collateral sanction. Unlike conventional bank system and principles, how to work through the Grameen Bank lending to the poor, who are largely fixed

income. Grameen Bank microcredit design-based trust is not a legal contract. Concretely, the borrower is required to make the consisting of five people with one leader. Loans granted in order to record the second person can only borrow after the first loan is returned. Payments made Grameen Bank loan given to a group of poor, and payments also through the group. If there are clients who can not afford to pay, then the friend in the group must help so that the person is able to pay. In addition, the borrower is required to make various social agendas that benefit the surrounding community. There is a combination of financial capital and social capital. By applying social capital, repayment of debt to the Grameen Bank could reach 99%. For intergenerational sustainability, Grameen Bank lending focused on women. There are two missions of this action: First, the empowerment of women by increasing their bargaining position, both in the private and public spaces. Second, improving the quality of life of children (Mudrajad Kuncoro, 'Grameen Bank and Micro Finance Institutions' Sovereignty of the People, 02 August 2008).

This is done by the members of the cooperatives 'Self Development', especially the former maids, where the income they get from Hong Kong have been exhausted, because buy land, home improvements, vehicles, and other businesses. So the result of this spending, such as land planted with bananas, sengon trees, cassava, and others, the profit earned is usually to cover their daily needs, and the rest to ditabungkan to cooperatives' Bina Mandiri 'or to repay loans to cooperatives' Bina Mandiri '.

So until now, almost the majority of former migrant worker from the village after the full Kedungsalam so maids can be categorized as a former migrant worker capable of elevating socio-economic families. In fact they've been able to improve the economic condition of the village through compulsory contributions required by village officials. Economic stability and independence of former migrant workers is increasingly strengthening the base village public awareness Kedungsalam Donomulyo to better appreciate the importance of science education through formal education. So when this young rarely Kedungsalam village school only to junior. Even according to Mr. Misdi (Village Head Kedungsalam/25 July 2012) says that it is 60% more young people in the village Kedungsalam both male and female schools to universities, especially in the area of   Malang.

The pattern of the benefits and risks are balanced in a pattern of savings and loans is the main foundation of the birth of co-operatives 'Self Development', which is based on a sense of community and trust in the individual officers and members of the cooperative. Sense of injustice suffered due to their behavior when a maid and poverty and lack of education being the foundation of tremendous strength in the process of establishing, implementing, and promoting cooperative 'Bina Mandiri' this. The process of remittance of funds management for system modeled by Grameen Bank as in cooperatives 'Bina Mandiri' is still a long process, in which the Grameen Bank could be categorized as a pattern of development of the banking system which may be called the popular banking system, among which is the model of Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. As stated by Manurung (1998), in lieu of collateral scarcity experienced economic enterprises of the people, the alternative offered by the Grameen Bank is to organize the prospective debtors through the formation of a group or center. Conclusion

The conclusion that can be drawn are: 1) almost all of the family migrants come from economically poor families, 2) the departure of the migrant workers in Malang much done legally and its main purpose to Hong Kong, 3) the majority of workers in the islands Sumenep illegal, with the aim of Malaysia and the Middle East, 4) management of workers by Manpower Malang regency was relatively good, it is seen from the data are very complete departure workers, 5) data TKI Disnakertrans departure Sumenep invalid, because it is the workers who recorded the legal and data used already past the year 2009, 6) fund management remittances in the village Kedungsalam been very good with the formation of cooperatives 'Self Development', with management patterned Grameen Bank, 7) in the village of remittance funds Kedungsalam done a lot for the purchase of agricultural land, home improvements, purchasing vehicles, and venture capital, as well as for deposits in cooperatives 'Bina Mandiri', 8) the workers in the islands Sumenep in managing remittances mostly to repay debt departure, and daily needs, as well as to build a house with a very majestic with all the facilities in it.

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ECONOMIC DIMENSION OF THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE ORANG ASLI:
Right to Land and Natural Resources

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ABSTRACT

The scope of the right to self-determination is still unresolved, even after the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) by the General Assembly in 2007. Article 3 of the UNDRIP recognizes the indigenous people's right to self-determination that they can freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. The main objective of this article is to critically evaluate the right to self-determination of Orang Asli particularly on the right to natural resources that have great impact on their traditional life as well as their economic development. Firstly, this article provides brief background information on Orang Asli including their origin, demography, history and their legal position under national laws. Secondly, this article analyzes the concept of self-determination of indigenous peoples by looking at the international laws, norms and practices. Thirdly, the legal framework on the right to natural resources will be analyzed by looking at the relevant domestic acts, court cases as well as government policies that affect the life of Orang Asli. The compatibility of domestic law with the international standards on the rights to self-determination and natural resources is the main aspect of this section. Finally, this article concludes that irrespective of the latest recognition on the rights to self-determination of indigenous peoples, there is much more to

be done to ensure protection in practice. Thus, it is hoped that this article could provide positive contribution towards better recognition and protection of the rights of indigenous peoples, particularly to Orang Asli in Peninsular Malaysia.

K E Y W O R D S : Self-determination, indigenous peoples, Orang Asli, international laws

Introduction

The plights of indigenous peoples[1] around the globe is become attention to the international community particularly after the adoption of UNDRIP by the United Nations General Assembly in 2007.[2] The increasing international awareness of the oppression, subjugation and marginalization of indigenous peoples[3] led to a positive and aggressive effort towards the international recognition of their rights.[4] The struggle for the recognition of indigenous rights was a long and arduous journey for indigenous peoples, finally resulting in the codification of their international legal rights in the form of an international instrument in 2007.[5]

In the Malaysia context, indigenous peoples are divided into two groups namely the Orang Asli of the Peninsular Malaysia (the Orang Asli) and the Natives of the Sabah and Sarawak (the natives) who possessed different lifestyle.[6] For the purpose of the present article, the focus will only be given to the Orang Asli as their state of affairs are believed to be poorer compared to

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[1]   Special Rapporteur, Jose R. Martinez Cobo, Study of the Problem of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Vol V, Conclusion, Proposal and Recommendations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986/7/Add.4, Para 379-380, p 29. Pursuant to his report, indigenous peoples can be defined as following: "*Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.*"

[2]   GA/0612, 107th & 108th Meetings.

[3]   Rehman, J, International Law and Indigenous Peoples: Definitional and Practical Problems, Journal of Civil Liberties, Vol. 3, Issue 3 (1998), p 229.

[4]   Hannum, H, New Development in Indigenous Rights, Virginia Journal of International Law, Vol. 28:649, 1987, p 650. See Rohaida Nordin, The Right of the Indigenous Peoples: Development of Minimum International Standards, Quarterly Law Review [2010] 3 QLR.

[5]   The rights of Indigenous peoples have been recognized under United Nation Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by the General Assembly on 13 September 2007.

[6]   Kathrin Wessendorf et al, The Indigenous World 2011. Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), 2011, p 280. Native peoples in Sarawak are collectively called Orang Ulu or Dayak and include the Iban, Bidayuh, Kenyah, Kayan, Kedayan, Murut, Penan, Bisayah, Kelabit, Berawan and Penan. They constitute around 50% of Sarawak's population of 2.5 million people. However, in Sabah the natives or Anak Negeri was divided into 39 different indigenous ethnic groups. As at 2011, they constitute around 47.4% of the total population of Sabah.

the other group.[7] Among the threat faced by the Orang Asli is the recognition of their rights including their identity, land, natural resources and their traditional territory. In this article, the focus will be on the rights to customary land and natural resources.

The first part of the article introduces the background of Orang Asli that includes their history, classification and their positions under Malaysian laws. The second part outlines the concept of the right to self-determination of indigenous peoples under international law particularly on economic dimension namely right to land and natural resources. Subsequently, the third part of this article will consider the domestic legal framework on natural resources that have implication to the traditional life of Orang Asli. The fourth part analyzes the compatibility of the domestic law with the international law on the right to self-determination of indigenous peoples. Finally, in part five, this article will make its conclusion and suggestions for betterment of Orang Asli.

Background Information on Orang Asli

The word Orang Asli means original peoples and the word "Orang" mean peoples, whereas "Asli" is derives from Arabic word "Asali" which means original.[8] Previously they have been referred as Sakai. However, the term Sakai bring negative connotation that means weak, slave and powerless.[9] Besides that, they were also referred as Orang Liar, Pagan, Orang Mawas as well as Orang Jinak.[10] As at 2011, these minorities population represent 0.6% of the national population approximately 150,000 peoples.[11] For the purpose of administrative convenience, the three major groups of Orang Asli is divided

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[7] The position of natives in Sabah and Sarawak have been recognized under Federal Constitution and in fact their position as equal as Malays who represent majority population in Malaysia. Their special position and privileges has been mentioned in article 153 (1) of the Federal Constitution which provides as following: It shall be the responsibility of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to safeguard the special position of the Malays and natives of any of the States of Sabah and Sarawak and the legitimate interests of other communities in accordance with the provisions of this Article.

[8] Carey, I, Orang Asli, the Aboriginal Tribes of Peninsular Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1976. p 3. See Dentan, The Semai, a Non Violent People of Malaya, Stanford University, California, 1968, p 1. Dentan defined Sakai as "bestial aborigine" or "slave".

[9] Gordon, 'The Orang Asli: Aboriginal Policies in Malaysia', (1985) 58 (4) Pacific Affairs, p 638.

[10] Carey, Orang Asli, The Aboriginal Tribes of Peninsular Malaysia, p 3-4. These names were considered as derogatory terms.

[11] Kathrin Wessendorf etl, The Indigenous World 2011, p 280.

into 18 subgroups as follows:

Ethnics	Sub-groups
Negrito	Kensiu, Kintak, Lanoh, Jahai, Mendriq, Bateq
Senoi	Temiar, Semai, Semoq Beri, Che Wong, Jah Hut, Mah Meri
Melayu Proto	Temuan, Semelai, Jakun, Orang Kanaq, Orang Kuala, Orang Seletar

(Source: Planning and Research Division, Department of Orang Asli Development)

Further, Negrito[12] is the smallest population among the three groups of Orang Asli in Malaysia and yet they are believed to be the oldest generation in peninsular Malaysia approximately 25,000 years ago.[13] At present, many of Negritos settled in Northern part of states namely Kedah, Kedah-Perak border, West Kelantan, North-central Perak, southeast Kelantan and Northeast Pahang and South Kelantan.[14] In contrast, the Senoi[15] represent the largest population among aborigines amounted 54% of Aborigines Populations. Their population are scattered in Perak, Pahang, Kelantan as well as Coastal Selangor.[16] The Proto Malay[17] or also classified Aboriginal Malay is the second largest group who represent 43% of total population of Aborigines in peninsula. They live in Southern of the peninsular including Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang as well as Johor.[18] Most of Orang Asli in Malaysia are involved in agricultures or riverine and coastal fishing and some of them inclined to involve in entrepreneurial and professional worker in the main stream.[19]

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[12] The word "negrito" means Little Negro and the earliest terms used are Semang and Pangan. These peoples can be recognized by their appearance whose have dark skin, broad nose, round eyes and low cheekbones. Iskandar Carey, Orang Asli, The Aboriginal Tribes of Peninsular Malaysia, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1976, p 15.

[13] According to archeologist, there are connection between Negritos and Hoabinhians who lives during the middle stone age. Colin Nicholas, The Orang Asli and The Contest for Resources, Indigenous Politic, Development and Indentity in Peninsular Malaysia, International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), Copenhagen, 2000, p 3.

[14] Colin Nicholas, The Orang Asli and The Contest for Resources, Indigenous Politic, Development and Indentity in Peninsular Malaysia, p 3.

[15] Originally they are Mongoloid peoples who have connection with Hoabinhians and the Neolitic cultivators who entered into peninsula in 2,000BC. They can be identified by their appearance as they are taller, skin in lighter color, and their hair more wavy. Colin Nicholas, The Orang Asli and The Contest for Resources, Indigenous Politic, Development and Indentity in Peninsular Malaysia, p 4.

[16] Colin Nicholas, The Orang Asli and The Contest for Resources, Indigenous Politic, Development and Indentity in Peninsular Malaysia, p 4.

[17] Most of them have straight hair, darker skin color compared to Senoi and their body heavier. William Hunt, An introduction to the Malayan Aborigines, AMS Press, New York, 1983, p 17.

[18] Colin Nicholas, The Orang Asli and The Contest for Resources, Indigenous Politic, Development and Indentity in Peninsular Malaysia, p 4.

[19] Colin Nicholas, The Orang Asli and The Contest for Resources, Indigenous Politic, Development and Indentity in Peninsular Malaysia, p 4.

Historically, Orang Asli are believed to be the descendants of the first inhabitants in the peninsular. According to Means, Orang Asli were present at the peninsular prior to the Malays and they were migrated from upper Thailand, Burma or Cambodia from eight thousand to three thousand years ago.[20] Jones affirmed that the ancestors of Orang Asli arrived in this region since several thousand of years before recorded history.[21] Nevertheless, the live of this Orang Asli greatly changed after the British invaded Malaya at the later century.[22] The great impact of British invasion can be seen in the change of administrative process, laws which directly affect the Orang Asli.

From the legal point of view, the position of Orang Asli has been "protected" under domestic laws where the government enacted specific set of law meant for them. Aboriginal Peoples Act 1954 (Act 134) (APA 1954) was passed to protect the well being of aboriginal in Peninsular Malaysia.[23] The definition of Orang Asli can be found in section 3 of the act.[24] Besides that, the word "aborigine" also has been defined in the article 160 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia that refers to the aboriginal in peninsular Malaysia.

Economic Dimension of Self-Determination of Indigenous Peoples on the Rights to Land and Natural Resources

The right to self-determination of indigenous peoples is greatly debated by scholars despite the fact that the right has been recognized within the text of UNDRIP. While the UNDRIP received overwhelming support, the legal concept of self-determination has been opposed by the developed states as falling within the scope of rights accorded to indigenous peoples. For the purpose of the article at present, it is vital to highlight the general concept of self-determination of indigenous peoples.

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[20] Gordon, 'The Orang Asli: Aboriginal Policies in Malaysia', (1985) 58 (4) Pacific Affairs, hlm 638.
[21] Jones, 'The Orang Asli: An Outline of their Progress in Modern Malaya', (1968) Vol. 9 (No. 2) Journal of Southeast Asian History, hlm 287.
[22] Jones, 'The Orang Asli: An Outline of their Progress in Modern Malaya', pp 287- 293.
[23] In the preamble of the act, it mentioned the purpose of the act. Section 1 of the said act provides that it only applicable to Orang Asli in Peninsula Malaysia.
[24] Section 3 of the Orang Asli Act classified 3 different situations to define the Orang Asli in Malaysia that includes any person whose male parents, or any person who adopted by aborigines or the child of any union of another races who habitually follows aboriginal lifestyles and their belief and speaks in their languages.

The right to self-determination is accepted under international law.[25] In 1996, International Court of Justice in the case of *Portugal v. Australia (East Timor Case),* ICJ Reports (1996), defined the right to self-determination as "*erga omnes*". Anaya submits that the right to self-determination constitutes a part of *jus cogens* and is generally accepted under international law.[26] Further, the right to self-determination can be understood as freedom, integrity and respect. It extends beyond human rights, despite its inclusion in both international covenants.[27] In the context of indigenous peoples, self-determination represents the freedom to make decisions regarding matters that affect them; to live in accordance with their traditional lifestyles, values and beliefs; and to be treated equally within the state.[28] The test to evaluate to the right of self-determination of indigenous peoples is whether they have the freedom to determine their own lifestyle.[29] Daes added that self-determination is the central tenet and acted as significant symbol of their movement.[30] On a separate note, Anaya pointed out that the fundamental spirit of self-determination is freedom and equality and it is known as ground for decolonization which resulting an independent statehood.[31]

It is important to note that the right to self-determination is provided for by article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Right (ICCPR) that is identical to article 1 of the International Covenant on Social, Economic, and Culture Rights (ICSECR) which recognizes the rights to self-determination of all peoples.[32] Under international law, the right to self–determination of

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[25] Rohaida Nordin, Muhamad Sayuti Bin Hassan @ Yahya, Matthew Albert Witbrodt, Indigenous Peoples in Asia: Indigenousness and Self-determination, paper presented at The 9th Annual Asli Conference 2012, Singapore on May 31 – 1 June 2012, p 3.

[26] Anaya, JS, Indigenous Peoples in International Law, Oxford university Press, New York, 2004, p 97. For clarity, Brownlie and Gos Espiell submit that self-determination constitutes jus cogen, particularly in light of General Assembly Resolutions 1514 and 2625. See. Hannum, H, Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-determination, The Accomodation of Conflicting Rights, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1990, p 45.

[27] Two international covenants on Human right are International Covenant on Civil and Political Right and International Covenant on Social, Economic, and Culture Rights. According to the African Charter on Human and Peoples Right, self-determination is a right to be free from any kind of colonial subjugation. Ivor Denning describes self-determination as the freedom to make a decision, whereas Micheal Addo added that the definition of self-determination depends upon the instrument utilized under international law. See Robert Mc Corquodale, Self-determination in International Law, Ashgate, Dartmouth, 2000, p xv.

[28] Daes, EI, The Concept of Self-determination and Autonomy of Indigenous Peoples in the Draft United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 14 St. Thomas L. Rev. 259 2001-2002, p 263.

[29] Daes, EI, St. Thomas L. Rev, p 263.

[30] Corntassel, JJ, The Concept of Indigenous Peoples in Asia, A Resource Book, p 57.

[31] Anaya, A Contemporary Definition of the International Norm of Self-determination, Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems, Vol 3:131, p 132.

[32] Article 1 of ICCPR provides that "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

"peoples" may also include the right to secession and the right to choose independent statehood.[33]

In 2007, indigenous peoples received international recognition as beneficiaries of the right to self-determination through article 3 of the UNDRIP, which provides:

> Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

The wording of article 3 is rather clear on the recognition of the right to self-determination. The right extends to political rights; rights to economic development; and rights to social and cultural development. Additionally, the right to self-determination is closely linked to natural wealth and resources.[34] Article 4 of the UNDRIP further provides that in exercising the right, indigenous peoples "have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions". Therefore, arguably the rights to self-determination of indigenous peoples do not equate with the rights accorded to "all peoples". In the spirit of non-discrimination, the right of indigenous peoples to self-determination should not be limited only to internal and local affairs only.

In the context of natural resources, *Convention No 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, International Labour Organization* (ILO 169) provides a clear standard on the usage of natural resources by indigenous peoples. It can be seen under article 15, ILO 169 where the convention give special attention to safeguard the right to natural resources among indigenous peoples which includes right to use, manage as well as conserve of the resources. The convention went further to provide specific provision on the sub-surface resources.[35] Besides that, the indigenous rights to land and natural resources was internationally accepted where it was evidenced in the preparatory work of some of the international documents

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[33] Daes, E.I, The Right of Indigenous Peoples to "Self-Determination" in Contemporary World Order, in the Self-determination, International Perspectives by Donald Clark, Macmillan Press Ltd, London, 1996, p 49. This right only can be exercise by "peoples" who subjected to "alien subjugation, domination and exploitation".

[34] Daes, E.I, The Right of Indigenous Peoples to Self-determination in the Contemporary World Order, in Self-determination, International Perspectives, p 49.

[35] Article 15 (2), ILO 169.

such as Chapter 26 of Agenda 21 adopted by the United Nations Conference in Environment and Development as well as World Bank Operational Directive, No. 4.20, 1991.[36]

In addition, the UNDRIP provides for even much clearer provision on the rights of indigenous peoples on natural resources.[37] Article 26 (2) specifically provides that:

> "Indigenous peoples have the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, as well as those which they have otherwise acquired."

Pursuant to the case of *Delgamuukw v. British Colombia*, the chief justice ruled that the indigenous titles is *sui generis* whereby the title will be belonged to them based on their habitation on that land since long time ago.[38] Besides that, in the case of *The Mayagna (Sumo) Awas Tingi Community v. Nicaragua,* the Inter-American Court of Human Rights recognized the property right of indigenous peoples by looking at the international instruments such as article 14 (2) of ILO 169 and American Convention on Human Rights.[39]

Pursuant to the above discussion, it is submitted that the international law recognizes the indigenous people's rights to self-determination. In respect of land and natural resources, international attention has been given to the UNDRIP although it hold the status as soft law which not legally binding upon states. Nevertheless, it can be presumed as a good standard and it recognize all indigenous people's right around the globe to stand equal with others.

Malaysian Legal Framework on the Right to Natural Resources

This section evaluates the adequacy of national provisions and laws on natural resources. It covers various statutory laws as well as judicial aspect that affect the life of Orang Asli directly or indirectly.

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[36] Anaya, J, Indigenous Peoples in International Law, p 145.
[37] Jayantha Parera, Land and Cultural Survival, The Communal Land Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Asia, Asian Development Bank, Philippine, 2009, p 22.
[38] Jayantha Parera, Land and Cultural Survival, The Communal Land Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Asia, p 25.
[39] Anaya, Indigenous Peoples in International Law, p 146.

The Federal Constitution of Malaysia is silent on the rights of Orang Asli to claim natural resources. The law related to it was enunciated under article 74 (2) that delegates the power to states to enact laws or control any land and natural resources within their territory. In other words, land and natural resources in Malaysia fall within the ambit of state jurisdiction as enlisted under Second List of the Ninth Schedule in the Federal Constitution.[40] Nicholas submits that there was a conflict between the power of state and federal where the Orang Asli matter fall under the federal concern whereas the land and natural resources fall under state's jurisdiction.[41] He further expressed his concern on this matter as state has all legal control on the land and natural resources.[42]

As far as the right to land and natural resources is concern, the APA 1954 arguably failed to offer absolute recognition in protecting their rights in this matter. Sections 6(1) and 7(1) of the act implicitly deny the right of Orang Asli where these provisions empower the Minister to grant land for the use as Aboriginal areas or reserves. Sections 6(3) and 7(3) went further to allow the Minister to revoke those grants at any time, without consultation.[43] Additionally, section 8 of the act authorizes state to perform their discretionary power to grant right of occupancy to Orang Asli on the land within aboriginal areas or reserves.[44] Therefore, at this point, it was suggested that the act fails to recognize the ownership of ancestral land to Orang Asli where it only offers right of occupation and they were impliedly be considered as "tenant at will".[45]

Besides that, National Land Codes 1965 (Act 56) affirms that all land and natural resources matters are under state's jurisdiction. In Malaysia, the Torrens system is applicable throughout peninsular that all land requires registration and it is conflicted with the indigenous concept on land where they

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[40] Colin Nicholas, The Law On (Natural Resource Management As It Affects The Orang Asli, Paper Presented At The UNDP-RIPP/PACOS Workshop On Indigenous Peoples And Natural Resource Management Laws, 10 November 2005, Donggongon, Sabah, Http://Www.Coac.Org.My/Codenavia/Portals/Coacv2/Code/Main/Main_Art.Php?Parentid=11400226426398&Artid=11475792539604, (15 August 2012).

[41] Colin Nicholas, The Law On(Natural Resource Management As It Affects The Orang Asli, p 2. Under Ninth Schedule of the Federal Constitution, item no 16 provides on the welfare of aborigines.

[42] Colin Nicholas, The Law On(Natural Resource Management As It Affects The Orang Asli, p 2.

[43] Amy Dennison', Evolving Conceptions Of Native Title In Malaysia And Australia - A Cross-Nation Comparison, 11 Austl. Indigenous Law Review, 79 2007, p 82.

[44] Section 8, Aboriginal Peoples Act 1954 (Act 134).

[45] Amy Dennison', Evolving Conceptions Of Native Title In Malaysia And Australia - A Cross Nation Comparison, p 82. See Colin Nicholas et al, The Orang Asli and The UNDRIP, from Rhetoric to Recognition, Center For Orang Asli Concerns, Subang Jaya, 2010, p 77.

traditionally owned the land without documentation.[46] In that case, it is argued that the National Land Code 1965 is failed to provide statutory recognition to Orang Asli right to ancestral land.[47] Prior to judicial recognition towards ancestral land, they were regarded as landless as all their land belongs to the State.[48] Furthermore, National Forestry Act 1984 (Act 313) provides on the conservation of forest and forestry development in Malaysia. Section 14 of the said act indicates that all forest products are the state property.[49] The rights of Orang Asli become more threaten when section 19 of the same act further requires all product collectors to get a license in order to collect the product of the forest.[50] These two sections in away infringe the Orang Asli's traditional way of life that has strong attachment with their land and resources in the forest. On the other hand, the Protection of Wildlife Act 1972 (Act 76) recognizes the rights of Orang Asli's activities where the law allow Orang Asli to proceed with their traditional activities such as hunting, shoot, or kill to any wildlife within Wildlife Reserves and Sanctuaries Area which declared under this act.[51] As far as legislation is concern, it is seems that, Orang Asli rights are not ready to be recognized. A lot more has to be done towards recognition.

Besides statutory provisions, judicial rulings delivered by Malaysian court play very important role in the protection of Orang Asli's rights. It can be seen in the case of *Koperasi Kijang Mas v Kerajaan Negeri Perak* where the High Court ruled that the Orang Asli has the rights to the natural resources. Further, the state has been declared breach of the provision contained in the APA 1954 and the contractor in that case has no right to proceed on the logging activities within the Aboriginal Reserves.[52] The decision is significant to Orang Asli especially when the court directed that state gazette was not mandatory to allow Orang Asli's enjoyment of the natural resources in the reserves.[53] This case was further supported with the case of *Adong bin Kuwau v Kerajaan*

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46 Amy Dennison', Evolving Conceptions Of Native Title In Malaysia And Australia - A Cross Nation Comparison, p 82. See also Colin Nicholas, The Law On(Natural Resource Management As It Affects The Orang Asli, p 3.
47 Amy Dennison', Evolving Conceptions Of Native Title In Malaysia And Australia - A Cross Nation Comparison, p 81.
48 Amy Dennison', Evolving Conceptions Of Native Title In Malaysia And Australia - A Cross Nation Comparison, p 81.
49 Section 14, National Forestry Act 1984.
50 Section 19, National Forestry Act 1984.
51 Section 52, the Protection of Wildlife Act 1972 (Act 76). The act of shoot, kill or take of th wild animal and birds are described under Schedule Two and Four of the same act.
52 [1991] 1, MLJ 486.
53 Colin Nicholas et al, The Orang Asli and The UNDRIP, from Rhetoric to Recognition, p 79.

Negeri Johor, where the Orang Asli has been declared to enjoy the proprietary right on the land.[54] Judge Mokhtar Sidin in this case pronounced that the Orang Asli has the rights on the land as provided under both common law and statutory law.[55]

The decision of the High Court and affirmed by the Court of Appeal through landmark case of *Sagong Tasi and Ors v Government of Negeri Selangor* has brought a tremendous victory to the Orang Asli. It was declared that the establishment of the ancestral ties would confer upon the Orang Asli as actual ownership of the customary land and thus entitled to compensation for the loss suffered, which is the value of the land.[56] In this case the court upheld the rights of Orang Asli to their ancestral land to include "in and on" the land.[57] Thus, the case of *Sagong Tasi* gives further recognition towards Orang Asli's rights to customary land that includes rights on and to the land itself. In respect of judicial recognition, a positive development can be seen where the court starts to play their role to open up our mind that Orang Asli has to be respected by all nation. With the good decision, it is hope that, it will trigger the importance of recognition of Orang Asli rights towards land and natural resources.

Economic Dimension of Self-determination on the Rights to Land and Natural Resources: An Analysis

The international law recognition of the rights to self-determination to all indigenous peoples are clear particularly after the adoption of UNDRIP. Nevertheless, within domestic law the issue of recognition on that right is still not absolute. This article submits that the legal framework on the Orang Asli's rights over natural resources to a certain extent is incompatible with the international law.

The availability of law to protect Orang Asli's rights undeniably beneficial to them particularly APA 1954, however in some provisions it goes against the

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[54] [1997] 1 MLJ 418.
[55] Ramy Bulan, Native Title as a Proprietary Right Under the Constitution in Peninsula Malaysia: A Step in the Right Direction? 9, Asia Pacific Law Review 83 2001. The proprietary rights on the land includes right to freely move, right to live on the land like their forefather and others. See Yogeswaran Subramaniam, Common Law Native Title In Malaysia: Selected Issues For Forest Stakeholders, [2010] 1 MLJ Xv; [2010] 1 MLJA 15, p 2.
[56] [2002] 2 MLJ 591.
[57] [2002] 2 CLJ 591.

norm of self-determination that they were entitled under international law. The provisions of section 6, 7 and 8 of APA 1954, National Forestry Act 1984, and National Land Code 1965 on the right to land and natural resources of Orang Asli is incompatible with the provision laid in article 26 (2) of UNDRIP as well as article 15 of ILO 169. On the other hand, the section 52 of the Protection of Wildlife Act 1972 upholds the right of Orang Asli to enjoy their traditional way of life which is inline with the international law standard on the right to natural resources.

In addition, as far as Malaysian Courts is concerned, the above cases demonstrate that the rights of Orang Asli to natural resources have positively evolved towards better protection and recognition. Besides considering national statutory provisions on that matter, the judges in the above cases were correctly referred to the international practices and common law in delivering their judgment. The case of *Sagong Tasi* signified that Malaysian court took very important step to uphold the better recognition of Orang Asli as postulated under international law.

The fact that Malaysia did not ratify the ILO 169 and the nature of UNDRIP as soft law imposes Malaysia with no legal obligation to comply to those international law standards. Nonetheless, Malaysia has no choice but to observe the indigenous rights to self-determination as it was recognized as a norm under international customary law.

Conclusion

In conclusion, a significant amount of efforts need to be invested in order to secure the right to self-determination of Orang Asli. The political interests of the majority should be set aside in order to ensure the protection of the right. Rather than simple rhetorical recognition within legal provisions, Orang Asli require compatible policies and practices in order to realize such rights. The existing diversity between theory and implementation should be bridged by the appreciation of the Orang Asli right to self-determination. As such, active, progressive and concerted efforts between State governments and non-governmental organizations could significantly aid in the resolution of issue relating to Orang Asli within the State. The role of the State is of paramount

importance in the transition from the theoretical existence of international human rights accorded to Orang Asli and the actual enjoyment and realization of indigenous rights by indigenous peoples within their territories. The discriminatory and prejudicial treatments towards indigenous peoples should be eliminated and all indigenous peoples in this world should be treated with due justice and fairness.

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Panel 12

Legal Problems of
Indigenous Land Conflicts

"CONFLICT OF LAND BETWEEN ADAT PEOPLE, THE GOVERNMENT, AND CORPORATIONS:
A State of Legal Plurality in Industrialized Indonesia"[1]

JOENI ARIANTO KURNIAWAN[2]

ABSTRACT

Industrialization has been so popularly established in the modern world, and it is justified by a perception that it can foster development in a country. So many countries are then encouraged to establish policies expected to promote industrialization, including in the realm of legal policy which is usually imposed through the politics of legal centralism. However, such perception may contain serious risk. In a pluralistic country like Indonesia where there are still so many social groups called as adat people (*masyarakat adat*) who are still living in traditional community based on traditional-customary law called as adat law (*hukum adat*), such centralistic policies imposed regarding to the development interest often neglect the existence of these people and this situation often leads into tensions and conflicts between the government and corporations in one hand and the adat people in another hand. This paper will elaborate a phenomenon of legal plurality as the cause of land conflict involving community of adat people in Indonesia, by taking a case study of land conflict between a community of adat people called as "*Sedulur Sikep*" and a cement company supported by the government regarding to a plan of industrial establishment in Central Java."

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1   This paper is presented in the 4th International Graduate Studies Conference on Indonesia (IGSCI): "Indigenous Community and the Project of Modernity", Yogyakarta, 30-31st October 2012. This paper is also the shortened version of the writer's book entitled "Legal Pluralism in Industrialized Indonesia: A Case Study on Land Conflict Between Adat People, the Government, and Corporation Regarding to Industrialization in Middle Java" published by VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, Germany (ISBN: 978-3639314342).

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Introduction

What makes Indonesia to be so Indonesia? The most significant answer is its plurality. There is no doubt that Indonesia is one of the most plural countries in the world. This country is full of plurality of tribes, languages, and cultures and such pluralities also include the plurality of ways of life of the people in their society.

Long before the independent country called as Republic of Indonesia is established, the people of *nusantara*[3] was a stateless society. They lived separately in so many social groups based on tribe, family, or particular territory. Thus, they lived in various cultures which include variety of values and norms as the fundament of their way of life.

Such social structure has been changing since colonization period when the Dutch ruled all people in *nusantara* under a state governmental authority called the Netherland Indies. Since that time, the government of the Netherland Indies established a single system of law called as Civil Law System. This legal system originally came from the Netherland as the legal system of all continental European countries, and it was then transplanted into the the Netherland Indies as the Netherland's colony. According to such system of law, all the law is the state law, written and made by state's formal institution having a capacity to do so, and binding all citizen of such state (Apple, without year; Suherman, 2004, p. 68; Jamali, 1993, p. 67). Thus, the people's conduct was expected to be ruled and regulated by the law of the state, uniform for all people.

After the moment of independent on 17th August 1945, the social structure as a state built by the Dutch colonial government was then continued as a completely independent country called as Republic of Indonesia, and such decision is followed by a consequence. As a (greatest) social organization, an establishment of a state will always require an establishment of particular law to regulate internal relations among the members of such organization, in which such law must bind all the members. Thus, the Republic of Indonesia must also establish a legal system binding for the entire citizen as well as what implemented

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3   The term "nusantara" is an acronym of two words, which are: "nusa", which means archipelago, and "antara" which means in between. So, the term "nusantara" literally means the archipelago which is in between (two oceans, which are the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean). This term then has general meaning as the area of archipelago belonging to Indonesia (Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional, Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, http://bahasa.kemdiknas.go.id/kbbi/index.php, accessed on September 29, 2012).

by the Netherland Indies, and continuing the legal system introduced and implemented by the Netherland Indies, which is the Civil Law System, is a logical decision in such situation. So, by establishing the Republic of Indonesia as an independent nation state, the people's life in *nusantara* are still ruled under a central authority, not by an alien nation but by their own self.

However, even though the political situation developed as what described above, the socio-cultural situation didn't work in line with what happens in political realm. Though the concept of state as a social organization as a whole had been introduced and implemented for centuries by the Dutch and thus the life of all people were ruled under a central governmental authority with its positive laws[4], such policy didn't totally change the way of life of the colonized people in *nusantara*. Instead of behaving like what the Dutch did, the colonized people in nusantara still lived according to their *adat*[5]based on their own norms and values. Such situation then forced the government of the Netherland Indies to impose a policy of legal pluralism, as regulated in article 131 and 163 of the *Indische Staatsregeling*[6], in realm of private law. According to such regulation, the law in private matter was differentiated in accordance with the race differentiation among the citizens, in which the Dutch Civil Code (the *Burgerlijk Wetboek*, usually abbreviated as BW) was used for the Europeans while the indigenous people[7] were let to use their *adat* law (Jamali, p. 24; Wignjosoebroto, 1994, p. 129).

A little bit different with what implemented by the government of the Netherland Indies, the principle of Civil Law System as a legal system of unified, written, and state made law, is consistently implemented by the authority of the Republic of Indonesia, in which all people's conduct are ruled under the state's law even in the realm of private law. Though the Indonesian authority hasn't

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4   The term "positive law" is a legal term refering to the law established by the state / governmental authority (Merriam Webster Dictionary, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/positive%20law, accessed on September 29, 2012)

5   The term "adat" originally comes from Arabic having meaning as custom (Koesnoe 1992, p. 36; Hadikusuma 1992, p. 8)

6   Indische Staatsregeling is such a constitution of the Netherland Indies that regulates all the fundamental matters in the Netherland Indies.

7   The term "indigenous people", according to the ILO Convention on Indigenous and Tribal People (ILO Convention Number 169 of 1989) article 1, refers to the peoples in a country who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions. Thus, this term is appropriate to be used in the context of Indonesia during colonization period.

achieved a comprehensive work like the Dutch did with the *Burgerlijk Wetboek*, some fields of private matter have been regulated uniformly by the Indonesian legislations, and one of such legislations is the Indonesian Legislation Number 5 of 1960 (*Undang-Undang tentang Pokok-Pokok Agraria*, usually abbreviated as UUPA) as the Indonesian law of land.

However, the fact that socio-cultural matter doesn't change as easy as it does in political realm still remains. So, even though the state has established a legislation uniformly binding all citizen in particular field, the people's conduct in such field are factually not uniform as what expected by the legislation due to the plurality of cultural values factually existing in the society of Indonesia.

Such situation then often leads into conflict in Indonesian society, especially between those who already submit them self under the state law and those who still defend their *adat* law, and one case that can be taken is as what will be described below.

Conflict of Land between Sedulur Sikep Community, the Government, and Corporation Regarding Industrial Establishment in Central Java

Sedulur Sikep community is a traditional community of the people believing and practicing the value of *Saminism* firstly introduced and disseminated by a person named Samin Surontiko at Blora, Central Java, since 1890 (Benda, 1969, p. 210). The members of this community spread along the area of *Kendeng* hills in Central and East Java which comprises of the Regency of Kudus, Pati, Blora, and Rembang in Central Java, and the Regency of Bojonegoro and Ngawi in East Java (ibid, p. 216-217). What makes this community becomes notable is its history in fighting against the Dutch colonial government. As what practiced by Samin Surontiko and his adherents, the members of this community rejected to pay tax as obliged by the government of the Netherland Indies (ibid, p. 211). That's why the *Saminism* is then often perceived as the traditional movement of Javanese people against the Dutch colonialism.

Nowadays, this community is well known due to their particular behavior based on the value of *Saminism* which is quite different with what practiced by the common people of Java. They have religion that we can only find on them

called as *Agama Adam* (ibid, p. 226; Widodo, year unknown, p. 273-274). Another notable characteristic of this community is the fact that all of the members of this community are farmer. Different with the common people who become farmer by choice, the member of *Sedulur Sikep* works as farmer because the value of *Saminism* obliges them to do so and they are disallowed to work in another field. In land matter, this community perceives land as a communal property owned collectively, as reflected in following expression: "*lemah podo duwe, banyu podo duwe, kayu podo duwe*" which means land, water, and forest are owned collectively (Benda, p. 223).

One group of this community exists at Sukolilo village, the Regency of Pati, Central Java, where in 2008 some areas in this village were proposed to be utilized as the new location of cement industrial area of *P.T. Semen Gresik* as one of the biggest state-owned cement companies in Indonesia. Such proposal was then fully supported by the local government of Pati by issuing SIPD (*Surat Ijin Penambangan Daerah* / the letter of permit for local mining) (Kristianto, 2009, p. 11). Perceived as a threat for their culture as farmer, the proposal of a new cement industry establishment in Sukolilo village were highly opposed by the community of *Sedulur Sikep*. All the members of this community rejected to sell their land to *P.T. Semen Gresik*. Furthermore, this community then actively encouraged all people in Sukolilo to reject such proposal. Such encouragement were done due to reason that the plan to establish a new cement industrial area at Sukolilo village will not only threaten the culture of the people, but will also potentially damage the environment of the *Kendeng* hills as the limestone hills planned to be exploited for the cement raw materials (Kurniawan, 2010, p. 22). Such encouragement was then quite successful, as shown by the establishment of a movement group to reject the plan of cement industrial area establishment called as JMPPK (*Jaringan Masyarakat Peduli Pegunungan Kendeng* / the network of people caring about the *Kendeng* hills), in which this movement group was led by Gunritno who is a member of *Sedulur Sikep* community at Sukolilo village (ibid, p. 23).

In another side, instead of accommodating the aspiration of the people at the location proposed to be the cement industrial area, both the local government of Pati and the provincial government of Central Java had completely different perception regarding to the proposal of *P.T. Semen Gresik*. Such

proposal was perceived very positively due to a (classic) reason that the establishment of cement industrial area at Pati will give huge revenue for the government (ibid, p. 24), which is about 50 billion rupiah per year.[8] In accordance with the position of the local government of Pati, the provincial government of Central Java also supported any proposal of industrial and mining area establishment at Pati, regardless the opposition of people at such area, by issuing the Provincial Regulation of Central Java Number 6 of 2010 which declares the *Kendeng* hills at Sukolilo village as industrial and mining area. Therefore, the opposition against the proposal of cement industrial area establishment conducted by the *Sedulur Sikep* community and the people of Sukolilo village were perceived so negatively by both authorities. It is reflected by the statements given by Bibit Waluyo who is the governor of Central Java by saying that it would be a great loss for his government and especially for the local government of Pati if *P.T. Semen Gresik* cancels its plan due to the rejection of some people in Sukolilo (ibid, p. 25). Furthermore, the representative of the local government of Pati released much more hard statement by saying: "(For those who oppose the plan of cement industrial area establishment,) never try to bother a tiger!" (ibid, p. 24).

Perceiving that the plan to establish its new cement industrial area at Sukolilo village may cost a serious negative risk due to the people's opposition against such plan which was getting stronger day by day, *P.T. Semen Gresik* was then reported canceling such plan. However, according to the information I directly received during my visit to the *Sedulur Sikep* community at Sukolilo village at 2011, the proposal abandoned by *P.T. Semen Gresik* is then switched to be continued by the sub-corporation of *P.T. Indosemen*, as another giant company of cement industry in Indonesia. Different with the plan of *P.T. Semen Gresik*, the proposed area for the cement industrial establishment doesn't remain to be located at Sukolilo village, but it is switched to Kayen village, in which interestingly, there is no member of *Sedulur Sikep* community living in this village.

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8   According to the statement given by Desmon Hastiono who is the 2nd Assistant of the Secretary of Local Government of Pati (Kurniawan, p. 24).

However, it could be quite frustrating for the governmental authorities of Central Java because even though they have switched the plan of the cement industrial establishment into different area, they still encounter strong opposition from the people of Kayen village thanks to the effort done by Gunritno and his fellows who tirelessly keep encouraging people to reject any plan of cement industrial establishment, including with the people of Kayen village, and thus this conflict is still prolonged until nowadays.

According to my research on this conflict, I've found that one of the most significant factors serving as the background of this conflict is the difference of values and norms used by conflicting parties as the fundament and the guidance of their actions, in which this difference of values and norms derives from the socio-cultural plurality of Indonesian society. In the other words, this conflict happens due to the conflict of laws serving as the guidance of conduct of each party, and that will be described further in the following points below.

"Earth as Mother." The Regulation of Land Matters According to the *Adat Law*

According to the description above, it obviously can be seen that the *Sedulur Sikep* community at Sukolilo village is the most militant party opposing the plan of cement industrial area establishment. Thus, there must be a fundamental reason ecouraging them to oppose such plan persistently.

According to the research I conducted on the *Sedulur Sikep* community at Sukolilo village, there are at least two fundamental values serving as the backgrounds of this community in opposing the plan of cement industrial area establishment.

The first one is the value that the people of *Sedulur Sikep* are farmers, and they must defend the culture of farming. The question is then why must farming? The people of *Sedulur Sikep* are well known as people who never lie in their life because they hold the principle of honesty very tightly, and according to such principle of honesty, the people of *Sedulur Sikep* are prohibited to enrich them self by taking advantage from others. That's why they forbid them self to work as merchant. Thus, the people of this community

always avoid using money in their life, and if they factually use it, it's just to enable them to exchange their goods with another thing they need and not to be saved to enrich their self (Benda, p. 47). So, according to these values, the only possible work that can be done to fulfill the daily need without taking any advantage from other people is only farming.

The second, and the most important one, is the value which perceives land as "the mother", and it is the value encouraging the people of *Sedulur Sikep* to oppose the plan of cement industry establishment according to reason to protect the environment. As explained by Gunretno, the *Sedulur Sikep* community perceives *bumi* (the earth) as "*ibu-mami*" (the mother or the mommy) which is the mother giving birth all mankind living on "her" and therefore all mankind as the children of the mother-earth will obviously rely their life on "her" (Kurniawan, p. 24). Gunretno explained further (ibid):

> "As a mother who usually experiences some bad habits and bad behavior of her children, the earth also usually suffers misconduct done by mankind, such as being used as the disposal of human waste. However, as the common characteristic of a mother, the earth still always gives its best for the mankind, and as a mother who always feeds her children, the earth gives many resources and plants used by humans as their food. Therefore, as what children usually do to their mother as their duty due to all the best things given by their mother to them, the humans are obliged to respect and protect the earth by keeping it from any kind of destructing conduct such as exploitation and mining activity."[9]

Such explanation given by Gunretno above obviously gives a clear picture why the community of *Sedulur Sikep* are so persistent in opposing the plan of cement industrial establishment because they perceive such plan as a serious threat which can be really harmful for the environment and the earth, and thus as the children of the "mother earth" they are obliged to reject this plan.

A notion about the earth or land as "the mother" is actually the fundamental value of land regulation according to the *adat* law. According to Koesnoe (2000, p. 6), there is a mythology serving as the fundamental value lies behind the norms of *adat* law regulating about land matters, which is a notion that all creatures living on the earth are born as the result of the marriage between the sky as "the father" and

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9   Translated from Javanese by the writer.

the earth as "the mother". Thus, according to this philosophical notion, there is a strong-metaphysical relationship between a man and the land where he or she belongs with its all environment, as well as the relationship between a man, the mother, and the brothers and sisters, and such intimate relationship will obviously entail a responsibility to love, help, and protect each other (ibid, p. 7). That's why, as the children of the "mother-earth", the humans living on land are responsible to defend and protect the preservation and the prosperity of the environment of the land where they belong as the responsibility of the children to protect and defend the dignity of their mother and their family (ibid, p. 11). This is also the reason why there is no any harmful conduct to land and the environment allowed according to *adat* law.

Furthermore, according such philosophical notion above, land with its all natural resources are not simply perceived as properties or material goods which can be owned and enjoyed individually, or even to be exploited. Instead, they are things that can only be enjoyed collectively along with the responsibility given by nature to protect and defend their preservation (ibid, p. 22). Therefore, land, according to *adat* law, is a communal property owned by a community (of *adat* people) collectively, and such collective ownership of land is called as *ulayat* (ibid; Sudiyat, 1981, p. 2; Wignjodipuro, 1979, p. 248). The notion of *ulayat* as the collective right of land owned by a community of *adat* people then determines further the regulation of *adat* law about land ownership. Due to the existence of *ulayat*, a particular land area on the highest level is under the authority of *adat* law community living on such land, and thus such area is forbidden for any party outside such community (Koesnoe, p. 39; Wignjodipuro, p. 250). So, according to such regulation, those who can utilize the land with its resources are only the members of *adat* people community which has the authority of *ulayat* of such area, and thus the right to utilize the land can only be distributed among the member of such community. Therefore, according to *adat* law, it is forbidden for any member of *adat* community to sell their land to any outsider because principally the existence of *ulayat* always binds the community living on such land and such authority can never be given to another party (Wignjodipuro, ibid). Such regulation is in accordance with the notion of the eternal exclusive relation between a mother and her children which can never be intervened by another party.

So, according to all description above, it's clear that what conducted by the *Sedulur Sikep* community at Sukolilo in opposing the plan of cement industry establishment is due to the *adat* law regulating them, as a traditional community who still defends their particular *adat* values (*Saminism*), to do so. This kind of law is what Eugen Ehrlich called as "the living law", which is the law factually regulating the daily life of the people though it is not made and enforced by the formal institution of the state (Griffiths, 1986, p. 26).

However, if the people (of the *Sedulur Sikep* community) have their living law, then the government has the state law, in which according to the Civil Law System as the legal system formally implemented by the state, this law is the strongest law and expected to bind all citizen without any exception.

How do the Indonesian positive laws regulate about land matters? That will be elaborated in the following point below.

Land as the Authority of the State. The Regulation of Land Matters According to the Indonesian Positive Laws

In order to understand the way of working of the Indonesian positive laws, we have to know first that these positive laws are structured in a hierarchy in which the constitution serves as the fundamental law. Therefore, what we firstly have to look is the regulation of the Indonesian Constitution (*Undang-Undang Dasar 1945*, usually abbreviated as UUD 1945).

The fundament of land regulation according to the Indonesian positive laws can be found in the article 33 paragraph 3 of the UUD 1945. Such article states that the earth, water, air, with all resource contained by them are under the authority of the state for the biggest prosperity of people.

Such regulation of the constitution above is then regulated further by the Indonesian Law of Land, which is the Indonesian Legislation Number 5 of 1960 (*Undang-Undang Nomor 5 Tahun 60 tentang Pokok-Pokok Agraria*, usually abbreviated as UUPA). According to the article 2 and article 4 of the UUPA, it is emphasized that the earth, water, air, with all resources contained by them are under the authority of the state and therefore the state has the sole authority to award rights over land to the people, either individuals or corporation.

So, according to such regulation, the state has the control over land ownership, and therefore no one can obtain a right of land except it is given by the state.

Based on the regulation of UUPA as described above, it is clear that on the perspective of the state law, the state has the highest authority over land and thus it also has the authority to determine the usage of particular land area, whether it is for individual ownership of a person or for an industrial area. It is emphasized by the article 41 and 42 of the UUPA regulating about the right of land that can be given by state either to a person, a company, or even a foreign company to use the land and exploit its resource.

So, according to the regulation of the Indonesian positive laws about land, such plan as proposed by *P.T. Semen Gresik* is fully legal, and therefore it's not a surprise if both the provincial government of Central Java and the local government of Pati fully support such proposal and insist that such plan should be actualized.

Regarding the existence of an *adat* or traditional community, the UUPA regulates it on the article 3 which states:

> According to the article 1 and article 2, the implementation of *ulayat* right, or any other right equal with it, as long as it still exists, has to be in accordance with state's and national's interest based on the national unity, and should not be contradictory with any legislation and regulation of the state.

So, according to the article 3 of UUPA above, it can be seen that the *ulayat* of an *adat* community on particular land area is allowed to exist, as long as the state has no interest on such area. So, if the state has an interest on it, such existence of ulayat can be disregarded.

Concluding Remarks

According to the description of the last point above, it can be known that the regulations of the Indonesian positive laws about land are completely constructed based on the sole perception of the state as the highest socio-political institution of the people, and it tends to disregard any interest outside the interest of the state.

However, such construction is laid on a fictional perception that the social life of all people can be merged into a single centralistic institution called as state and thus the only one law regulating the people's conduct is only the state law, meanwhile the fact of social life is far from it. As what explained by Sally Folk Moore, the social space between the state and a subject is not a normative vacuum, but it is full of social institutions with their own regulation (cited Griffiths, p. 34).

The conflict between *Sedulur Sikep* community, the government, and corporation regarding the plan of industrial establishment at Pati, Central Java, clearly shows that there are plurality of laws factually existing in society, in which according to this case, such laws are the *adat* law and the Indonesian positive laws about land matter, and all of them have their own institution where such law is applied.

The philosophical notion of development is bettering the life of all people, and therefore it is the responsibility of a state through the government to conduct the project of development to better the life of its people. However, according to such philosophical notion, the mission of development can only succeed if the targets of development perceive that such project is good for them. Thus, the social fact of legal plurality, as one of effective indicators of the plurality of values existing in society, should highly be considered by any party planning to conduct a project of development. Otherwise, such project will simply be absurd.

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STATE LAW *VS.* CUSTOMARY LAW:
The Problems in Indonesia's
Legal Pluralism

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ABSTRACT

Much of the debate regarding legal pluralism is characterized by polarized presumptions that disregard the complexity and variety of local situations. Plural legal orders lie at the centre of this contestation with both state and non-state actors mobilizing law and culture towards ends that can be either inclusive or exclusive. Recognition, incorporation, and decentralization are ways by which a non-state legal order may become part of a pluralized state legal order. All involve questions of: normative content; jurisdiction (over territory, issues and persons); authority (who has it, who bestows it, and how); adjudicatory process (procedure); and enforcement of decisions. Recognition presents numerous conceptual challenges and policy dilemmas. Claims to recognition based on religious, minority ethnic or indigenous identities each have distinct legal and socio-historical foundations. The incorporation or recognition of customary law presents particular challenges. One approach is 'translation', which attempts to find precisely equivalent rules or institutions that can be recognized or incorporated, but which is not always possible in practice. A different approach is to recognize customary laws without elaborating their content but this also raises questions about the state's adherence to human rights standards. The calls to recognize the 'customary' do not always imply a retreat into the past: they may legitimate present and future political claims. Such calls are often associated with claims to 'authenticity'. These are

not only reminiscent of colonialism, but have policy and human rights implications: how is 'authenticity' and 'expertise' established and thereby whose knowledge and power is privileged. The demand to recognize cultural particularity in law is based on the principle of universal equality but, by definition, it implies acknowledging and giving status to something that is not universally shared. In addition, those who demand recognition of their cultural diversity may themselves prove intolerant of other differences and pluralities. Further, recognition by a state that is considered to be alien and inequitable can erode the non-state authority's legitimacy. Finally, when state recognition requires the formalization of custom, this may block the dynamic evolution of customary laws and the internal political contestation that drives it. Indonesia with its legal pluralism is facing the problems mentioned above. Conflict arises from the contestation between state law and customary law, especially in natural resources area. Land conflict in Mesuji, West Sumatera is one example of how legal pluralism cannot bridge differences and legal issues in the community. It happens since state law is placed in the top position and eliminate the existence of customary law. This paper will present some examples of conflict between state law with customary law in Indonesia. These examples are expected to be a reference to the ideal model in the implementation of legal pluralism in Indonesia.

K E Y W O R D S : *legal pluralism, indigenous peoples, customary law, agrarian conflict*

Introduction

Legal pluralism is generally defined as a situation where two or more legal systems work side by side in a similar area of social life, or to explain the existence of two or more systems of social control in one area of social life (Griffiths, 1986:1), or describes a situation where two or more legal systems interact in a social life (Hooker, 1975:3), or a condition in which more than one legal system or the institutions work together in activities and relationships within a community group (F.von Benda-Beckmann, 1999:6).

The concept of legal pluralism (legal pluralism) are generally opposed to the ideology of legal centralism. The ideology of legal centralism is defined

as an ideology which requires the application of state as the only law for all citizens, regardless of the existence of other legal systems, such as religious law, customary law (*adat law*), and also all forms of inner-order mechanism which are empirically and thrive in society. In this context, Griffiths asserts:

> "*state, uniform for all persons, exclusive of all other law, and administered by a single set of state institutions. To the extent that other, lesser normative orderings, such as the church, the family, the voluntary association and the economic organization exist, they ought to be and in fact are hierarchically subordinate to the law and institutions of the state.*" (Griffiths, 1986:12)

It is clear that the ideology of legal centralism tends to ignore the social and cultural pluralism in society, including local legal norms that are adopted and adhered to real people in public life, and even more frequently observed than in the law that created and enforced by the state. Therefore, enforcement of legal centralism in a community of people who have social and cultural diversity is just an impossibility. The concept of Griffiths's legal pluralism presented above is basically meant to highlight the existence and interaction of legal systems within a society, the state law, religious laws, and customary laws (*adat law*). In this regard, Tamanaha (Tamanaha, 1992:25-6) provide critical commentary on the concept of Griffiths's concept who tend to focus on reducing the dichotomy between the existence of state law and other legal systems that works in the society, such as the following:

1. The concept of Griffiths's legal pluralism is basically divided into two kinds, namely strong legal pluralism and weak legal pluralism. Weak pluralism is another form of legal centralism, because despite the fact that state law recognizes the existence of legal systems to another, but state law still regarded as superior, and while the legal systems of other system is inferior in the hierarchy of state law. The example shows a weak legal pluralism is the concept of legal pluralism in the context of the colonial legal system interact with customary law (*adat law*) and religious law which took place in the colonies as described by Hooker,

2. Meanwhile, a strong legal pluralism refers to the fact that there is diversity in the legal order of all groups of people who viewed the same position, so

there is no hierarchy that shows one legal system is more dominant than other legal systems. For this, the theory of living law by Eugene Ehrlich which states that every society has their own living law in a normative order (Sinha,1993:227; Cotterrell,1995:306), which is usually contrasted or opposed to the state law.

In addition, the category included a strong legal pluralism is a theory of Semi-Autonomous Social Field which Moore introduced on the capacity of social groups in creating mechanisms for self-regulation, with its own coercive mechanism powers. Therefore, the Griffiths notion of legal pluralism adopted Moore's concept describe as:

> "Legal pluralism refers to the normative heterogenity attendant upon the fact That social action always take place in a context of multiple, overlapping" semi-autonomous social field "(Moore, 1978).

Meanwhile, the law in Griffiths's concept of legal pluralism is not limited only to the state law, customary law or religious law, but later expanded to the normative system of self-regulation mechanisms as Moore introduced which is *Law is the self-regulation of a 'semi-autonomous social field'* (Tamanaha, 1992:25). In subsequent developments, the concept of legal pluralism is no longer emphasizes the dichotomy between the state law on the one hand with customary law (*adat law*) and religious law on the other side. At this stage of development, the concept of legal pluralism is more emphasis on interaction and co-existence of different legal systems that affect the operation of norms, processes, and legal institutions in society.

Study of legal pluralism is helpful to give an explanation on the reality of the social order that was not produced by state law (Simarmata, 2005b: 3). The issue of social order is denied in a centralized legal thinking as adherents of the only centralized order due to state intervention in the form of law. In fact, the reality is there are 'forces of law that does not come from the state' (Irianto, 2005:53). For example, customary law, religious laws, customs, rules that apply in the semi-autonomous field, transnational trade agreements, or agreement between the international donor agencies with NGOs in one country (Benda-Beckman, 2005).

One of major criticism of legal pluralism is its legal certainty, although this can be answered by the argument of legal certainty realistic. There are several characteristics associated with a realistic legal certainty, First, there are a clear legal rules, consistent and accessible which are declared by or representing the state; Second, governmental institutions to implement these state law consistently and their own well obeyed; Third, most citizens obey the principle of majority rule; Fourth, if there is a dispute then the judge in an impartial and independent to apply these rules consistently; Fifth, the judge's decision is actually implemented (Otto, 2002:25) .

Agrarian Law Politics in Indonesia

The debate that continues to this day on customary law in Indonesia generally revolves around the choice between unification and pluralism. Historically, the unification has been supported as a prerequisite for national development, a process that said requires a national entity. While legal pluralism is seen as a social necessity, logical impact on the diversity of the "living law" The fact is, it is unavoidable for Indonesia, with a long history of colonization by the Dutch and the diversity in the community with each rules, not to practice legal pluralism by giving a recognition to other laws than the state law (Bell, 2006:315). Modernization in law is a strategic choice to support modern law as an instrument of capital[1]. Through this concept all social relations are classified under state law relationship. Furthermore, this state law relationship deliver some kind of political economic relationship, where money and power is generated. In relation to land and natural resources, the legal relationship between the modern state led to the formal categories, which ultimately excluded the indigenous peoples from the legal protection regime. For example, because it has no proof certificate on the land, they should lose their livelihood sources, such as houses, rivers, forests, the sea and all relationships with the natural shape of their civilization.

Post-reform, local and national political demands the government to accommodate indigenous peoples' right in policy instruments. But soon felt that the government's response is to repeat the colonial legacy and the political

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[1]   See Adji Samekto, Studi Hukum kritis Kritk Terhadap Hukum Modern, (Bandung: Citra Aditya Bakti, 2005), pg. 23-32.

era of the New Order, both in concept and practice of indigenous peoples. This heritage is visible from at least two of the following: *First*, existence of indigenous people exist only in the context of unification of law and political stability of the state; *Second*, the relationship of indigenous peoples to land and natural resources are bounded by at least three conditions: (1) the community, who still feel bound by the existing customary law, recognizing and applying theses customary laws in their daily life; (2) territory, the existence of communal land; and (3) the relationships between the indigenous peoples and its territory, where the legal order of administration, control, and management of communal land is still valid and obeyed by the citizens of the legal community.

These conditions seem merely to repeat the approach of the Dutch colonial political economy of natural resources controlled by natives. The difference is, the colonial era still recognized the traditional structures as a governance system that regulates itself. Through the IGO (Gemeente Indlanshe Oronantie), Staatsblad No. 1906. 83, the Dutch government acknowledged *Pemerintahan Desa* in Java and Madura, while IGOB (Gemeente Indlanshe Ordonatie Biutengewsten) *Staatsblad* No. 1938. 490 recognizes indigenous governance structures in the surrounding areas outside Java and Madura. Therefore, in the Dutch colonial era, the government does not try to create a new structure for the village community, but give legal recognition to the structure of the traditional governance in rural areas (Zakaria, 2000: 46-46, Wignjosoebroto, 2004).

Meanwhile, post-independence, traditional structures applicable to a tightened condition, New Order regime even eliminate these structures by Act No. 5 of 1979 on Village Governance. Reform Order then pass through the above terms. These conditionalities deliver procedures and administrative hassle to the indigenpus peoples. In any claim for indigenous forests, according to Rikardo Simarmata findings, at least there are three steps that must be taken, (1) the forest must be recognized by the provincial government; (2) customary forest's territory should be established by the Minister of Forestry; (3) forest use permit granted by the Minister / Governor / Regent / Mayor. These stages, the complexity of it (bureaucratic, unfriendly, high cost), so it is almost difficult to be reached by the indigenous people who are not familiar with the formal procedures (Simarmata, 2006: 24-27).

Legacy of colonialism and the era of independent states, thus, similar in outlook and political character, conquer and rule the indigenous identity. Integration of indigenous peoples into the modern state (the Republic of Indonesia) was also followed by reduced claims to territorial rights inherent in their identity as agrarian rights. According to Daniel Lev (1990), the concept of customary law has long been removed from the socio-political context, to make way for the political unification of colonial law. The colonial government regarded as the only existing government, while the indigenous peoples shall be subject and subordinated under colonial control and mastery. In a similar way, Indonesia is also treated by recognizing indigenous identity but at the same time get rid of the others. In many cases, the identity of the other is often related to natural resources such as capital accumulation[2].

From the view of legal pluralism, today's agrarian law politics described the fact that there are systematic neglect of the existence of customary laws governing land rights of indigenous people including land, forests and mines.Hak menguasai negara (state's right over the land) based on two concepts, namely the concept of a welfare state and communal concept known in customary law. The welfare state is a critique over the concept of classical state law which influenced by liberalism and socialist staste. In the concept of the welfare state, the state is not seen merely as a tool of power, but the state also stand as an agency of service (Abrar, 1999: 1-98). Meanwhile, the concept of communal right gives the indigenous peoples the sovereignty in management over their natural resources. This right is implemented by their representatives, such as *kepala adat*. In Minangkabau, where the term of customary land rights are often found, the communal land rights contained in all natural resources. It is run by *pangulu* as ownership representation of land rights holders. *Pangulu's* rights to 'master' did not mean it as the 'owner'. Customary arrangement is then followed by setting how the utilization of communal land by a third party.

Ideally, the authority contained in the state's right to control is also the content of customary rights of indigenous peoples. So in other language , communal land rights can be referred to the rights of indigenous people. Basic

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[2] See Dianto Bachriadi dan Anton Lucas, Merampas Tanah Rakyat, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama) dan Rahmina, "Kami Masig Disini: Perjalanan Status Yang Belum Selesai Untuk Pegunungan Meratus" dalam Tanah MAsih di Langit: Penyelesaian Penguasaan tanah dan Kekayaan Alam di Indonesia Yang Tak Kunjung TUntas di Era Reformasi, (Jakarta: Yayasan Kemala, 2005), hal. 213-230.

Agrarian Law put authority in the scope of customary rights of indigenous people within the framework of the state's right. This framework gives the state a right to intervene over communal land rights. In the other hand, the communal land right cannot do so. It stops in the maze that limit its authority where the government stands as an actor who runs the state's right.

Legal collisions that occur in the allocation of land and natural resources cause a social conflict with indigenous peoples as the biggest victim. Conflict shows that the relation between state law with customary law does not run in complementary concepts but rather the conflict between the superior (state law) and the inferior (customary law).

This paper use agrarian conflict to describe the condition of legal pluralism in Indonesia, especially with the rise of agrarian conflict that occurred Indonesia in recent years. Source of conflict will be discussed in general by comparing the differences between state law's agrarian concepts with the concepts that has been acknowledge by its indigenous people.

Agrarian Conflicts In Indonesia: A Result Of Agrarian Legal Pluralism

Conflict is a situation that arises because of the seizure of the object or the position of the person or persons who caused the loss of recognition of the rights of the person or group to another person or group of objects and their position (Wijardjo, et.al., 2001:50). Agrarian conflicts are conflicts that arise due to the seizure of power and ownership of land and natural resources by different actors with different interests. One of the important actors in the agrarian conflicts in Indonesia are indigenous people. It is well known that indigenous peoples have their land and natural resources in a region long before the establishment of the country.

Long before the concept of monarchy or sultanate, throughout the archipelago has been alive and growing several sovereign social and political entities. They are autonomously organize and manage themselves over land and other natural resources in their respective habitats. These communities have developed rules (law) and institutional system (political system/ government) to maintain a balance between people in the community and also between those

communities with the environment. These communities is known globally as the indigenous peoples, and Indonesia has some terms refer to these as *masyarakat hukum adat*, native people, local community who generally have some difference one community to other. The diversity of the local system is often also appear in one race or ethnicity or even on the same part who generally also have a native language and original religious systems (World Agroforestry Center (ICRAF), the Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago (AMAN), the Forest People Programme (FPP), 2003: iii-iv).

However, by the state law, the state and investors or capital holders are often control the lands and natural resources that originally owned by *masyarakat hukum adat*. This is what led to agrarian conflicts involving indigenous people is also a legal conflict. Conflict of laws is defined as:

> "A difference between the law of different states or countries in a case in the which a transaction or occurrence central to the case has a connection to two or more jurisdiction." (Black's Law Dictionary, 2004: 319)

For the Republic of Indonesia, the 1945 Constitution is a "social contract" to unify the various regional differences in background, ethnicity, and religious sense, as well as guidelines for every element of this country, especially the government in serving the people. As the constitution which has a religious foundation, the 1945 Constitution recognize and acknowledge the fact, that Indonesia was built and consists of diverse communities or ethnic groups. Therefore, the 1945 Constitution states that the state recognizes and respects the local government units that are special or extraordinary (Article 18B Paragraph (2)). In addition, the community's cultural identity and traditional rights must be respected in accordance with the times and civilizations (Article 28 Paragraph (3)).

As one of the implementing regulations of the Constitution and serves as the basis of national agrarian law, Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria Law Number 5 of 1960 (hereafter Basic Agrarian Law/BAL), have created a new concept for the existence of diversity in the field of agrarian law in Indonesia. By removing the dualism of agrarian laws passed by the Dutch colonial government, BAL created agrarian law unification. BAL simultaneously also stated that the agrarian law applies to the earth, water, and airspace, including

the natural wealth is the *adat law* (Article 5). BAL seems in line with the TAP MPR No. IX/MPR/2001 who wear the principles of "diversity in legal unification". Therefore, formally, there are a recognition on legal pluralism in agrarian law and the implementation of this principle will lead to interaction between the two legal systems in the field.

This concept apparently has failed to create unity and legal certainty (Fitzpatrick, 1997:174-177). The failure main caused is BAL's syncretic approach to the unification by taking the principles of *adat law* and carelessly combined it with western styles, such as land registration. The end result is rather disastrous as the traditional indigenous land rights in practice were not displaced by the BAL and in fact very little land was ever registered under BAL. The people simply ignored the law and national posited their continued life and land tenure according to their own *adat laws*. Yet BAL does not recognise unregistered traditional land rights. This creates a new legal pluralism, That Is Generally state law and traditional customary law ignored no longer fully recognise by the state but the which in reality is the law that people follow (Bell, 2006:325).

It has generally been understood that land conflicts that initially simple, in timely be the most complicated conflict due to uncompleted undertaken. In the mean time agrarian conflict happens everywhere and needs sound resolution in juridical and political ways. Agrarian conflicts could be identified as latent problems, meaning that although an agrarian conflict has been undertaken and assumed to have been resolved, similar problem or case could arise unexpectedly the other day.

In order to ease and to efficiently undertake the agrarian conflicts, in general agrarian conflicts are grouped in 8 big classifications, they are:

1. Estate Land Conflict caused by:
    a. Unaccomplished compensation process;
    b. Inherited land of the people taken over for plantation;
    c. The width of the land in field is larger that it is stated in the certificate of Rights to Building Use (HGU);
    d. The estate land is a district land inherited from a sultanate or the certain communal;
    e. The estate land which is not well cultivated, under scoring of appraisal to be in the Fourth (IV) or Fifth (V) class.

2. Conflicts to proposal of right to land located in forest areas and the agrarian conflict between community and public corporation of Indonesian Forestry.

3. Agrarian Conflict of registration to land rights related to the overlapping rights or conflict to land territorial border.

4. Agrarian Conflict related to land occupation and/or compensation demand of community whose land is exempted for developer to real estate, industrial estate, office buildings and tourism areas.

5. Agrarian Conflicts related to claims of sultanate land which is difficult to determine the existence rights to the land.

6. Agrarian conflicts related to exchanging the "*bengkok*" land for use of village employees as a replacement of salary.

7. Other agrarian conflicts such as conflicts of abandoned land and vacant land.

Agrarian conflict is spread from sea to land, from the fisheries sector to the plantation sector, forestry and mining. Indonesia Forum for Environment (Walhi) notes, since 2003 until the first half of 2010, the number of conflicts related to the acquisition and management of natural resources as much as 317 cases. At the same time Palm Watch documented more than 630 oil palm conflict occurs. National Land Agency (BPN) in 2008 released the data of land conflicts in Indonesia's 8,000 small and large-scale conflicts. Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) in 2008 noted a 1753 land conflicts that resulted in 1,189,482 households victimized.

Based on the research Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) and Forest Watch Indonesia (FWI), forestry conflict peaked in 2000 and 2002. One form is the conflict to forest use. The conflict occurred in the area of Industrial Plantation Forest (*Hutan Tanaman Industri/HTI*), area of Tenure Rights of Forest (*Hak Penguasaan Hutan/HPH*) and the conservation area. The mode varies from area to area. Nevertheless, in general, these conflicts involve the indigenous peoples, private companies, Central and Regional Government.

Forest conflicts are usually occur due to forestry companies and the government makes the licenses issued by the Central Government and Local Government as the basis of forest utilization. In the other hand, land ownership

by indigenous peoples adhering to their historical background and their *adat laws*. CIFOR's research concluded that the causes of conflict can be specify in 5 category, ie encroachment, illegal logging, environmental destruction, boundary or access to and land use change and forestry (Wulan, et.al., 2003:65).

When many forest conflicts have not found a permanent settlement, the recent outbreak of conflict also plantations, especially the conflict over control of oil palm plantations. The rapid growth of the palm oil industry adds to the intensity of the last ten years and the number of conflict. Sawit Watch noted, until the year 2007 occurred in 513 conflicts involving oil palm plantations of indigenous people (Sawit Watch, 2009).

Agrarian conflicts cannot be denied caused due to a variety of state laws governing natural resources. This can be seen from the birth of various laws and regulations that accompany the implementation associated with the earth, water, natural resources contained therein. Indonesia has Law No. 4 of 2009 on Mining, Mineral and Coal, Law Number 41 Year 1999 on Forestry, Law No. 31 of 2004 on Fisheries, Law No. 7 of 2004 on Water Resources, etc.

In practice, all legislation is simultaneously experiencing overlapping applicable law, for example, between the area of land, forestry and mining. Finally, the diversity that is out of sync and harmony delivered conflicts among state officials who eventually also impact on indigenous peoples. Another issue is unsynchronized between BAL with the legal system of local government, as regulated in Law Number 32 Year 2004 on Regional Government. This Act gives authority to the regions to take control and manage the resources of agriculture, but the provisions in many things is not in line with the BAL and other sectoral agrarian law resources.

Agrarian conflicts are also occur because of a conflict of interest between the countries represented by the capital owners and indigenous people who had been generations to controlled their territory, both communal and individual. Indigenous peoples have their own customary principles of agrarian ownership and utilization (land or water). The principles of togetherness where the agrarian resources, especially land, is not only belong to one individual but also the rights of all members of society within *hak ulayat*.

As mentioned above, the BAL only recognizes lands that have been registered and certified. Assumptions inherent in the soil sertification program

is to clarify who is entitled to a piece of land so as to facilitate the land transaction process. Of course this cannot be separated from the goal of commercialization of the land embraced by some international financial institutions and the investors. On the basis of this assumption is communal land tenure led to additional costs and time for the process of tracing ownership. As a result, the economy will occur in the calculation of the high cost burden to the corporation that will use the land. In other words, the communal land tenure, which is a basic concept of land ownership by indigenous people, will complicate the process of transfer of land rights and at a more distant, it's inefficient for land market system. In addition, communal land tenure is also prone to conflict, when the commercialization of the property is owned communally (Andiko, 2003:1).

In addition to land registration, agrarian conflicts are also caused by farm/plantation legislation. Plantation land, in the perspective of state law is, *Hak Guna Usaha* (HGU). Acquisition of land for the benefit of the plantation began with licensing of regents or the location of the local governor as provided in Regulation of the State Minister of Agrarian Affairs / Head of the State Land Board No. 2 of 1999 on the Location Permit. Conflict of understanding between *adat law* and state law occurred in the granting of locations associated with the use of the lands of indigenous people. In general, the perspective of indigenous peoples, there is never a process of transfer of rights over their land to the state. Indigenous and tribal peoples of the view that the agreement is an agreement that they made loans to farm lands, so that when the HGU is complete, then the former plantation land will be returned status under customary land tenure of indigenous peoples. Problems occurs when these indigenous peoples demand the return of the land after the period expires. The best argumentation given by states officials is that the state is not acknowledge the communal ownership over land. This is because there is no agrarian law granting of land rights by the government in the form of communal land, customary land, or similar terms. BAL only recognized Property Rights, Right to Build, Right to Use and so forth. Even if the lands were returned to the former customary land, the distribution can only be given in the form of individual ownership.

In the field of forestry, with the birth of Law Number 41 of 1999 on Forestry, indeed as if to give recognition to the indigenous forest. But this recognition contains a trap for the existence of indigenous forests was followed

by the phrase "state forest in the region for indigenous people". So the message to be conveyed is that the indigenous forest that does not exist at all. This law has been confirmed that indigenous people, in the form of collective, not entitled to have its own forest. This article assumes that all of Indonesia's forest area has been designated and established as state forests and forest rights, thus there can be no remaining forest areas, including those located in the area of indigenous people (Laudjeng, 1999:81).

The mining sector also experienced a tough struggle of peoples' rights over the territory governed by customary law. Indigenous and tribal peoples often experience conflicts in mining deals with the determination of the mining area, that are originally customary land, which has been approved by the positive law.

Conclusion

Legal pluralism, at this time, should no longer merely accentuate the dichotomy between the legal system on the one hand and the legal system of the people on the other side. Legal pluralism more emphasis on "a variety of interacting, competing normative orders - each mutually Influencing the Emergence and operation of each other's rules, process and institutions" (Kleinhans and MacDonald, 1997:31). The diversity of the law must be followed by a mutually beneficial interaction between the legal system. Conflict shows that the relation between state law with customary law does not run in complementary concepts but rather the conflict between the superior (state law) and the inferior (customary law).

The above explanation giving facts of the systematic neglect of the existence of adat laws governing customary rights of indigenous people which includes land, forest and mining. Customary law competed with state law and tend to always lose. Therefore, we judge the worth, generally, in the matter of the agrarian law in Indonesia there was a weak legal pluralism. In the midst of this limitation, agrarian legal pluralism soread sporadically in various places as a result of political turmoil and the antithesis of the tensions between central and local governments. Special autonomy granted to Aceh and Papua, for example, a wide range opportunity on *adat law* in regulating agrarian affairs. Meanwhile, West Sumatra interpreted autonomy as an opportunity to restore

local government (well known as *nagari*), although not yet have a significant impact in the field of agrarian . Regardless of the political tide of agrarian law in strengthening governance and management of indigenous peoples to land and natural wealth, the struggle for recognition of the rights of indigenous people, including communal rights to organize themselves in terms of customary law is ongoing. Search model of the relationship between state law with customary law in regulating the agrarian matters needs remain to be done to find the ideal model in the context of contemporary Indonesia.

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NGINDUNG & MAGERSARI:
The Harmonization of Customary Law and State Law Dealing with Land Ownership and its Shifting Meaning in Jogjakarta

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Abstract

Ngindung and *Magersari* are very common terms for the people of Jogjakarta. The former is dedicated and related to the land owned by people in general, while the latter is designated and associated with the land owned by the Sultan of Jogjakarta. There is a historical relationship between the latter and the former. Agrarian Act (*Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria*) of 1960 as a representation of the state laws have been enacted in the Yogyakarta Province entirely since 1984, however, the influence of historical background on the status of magersari and ngindung still maintains in harmony up to the present. The development and the rapid rate of population growth affect the existence and the commercial value of land. Indeed, the social value of land tends to be changed into commercial values which inspires the relationship among the members of the society, especially in terms of land tenure. Nature of the relationship between them initially is based on kinship and mutual relationship. The relationship is recognised as *batih* relationship or family relationship, nonetheless, the relationship has changed into self-interest relationship. Hence, the meaning of *ngindung* and *magersari* has already changed into commercial function, and not a social one anymore.

K e y w o r d s : *ngindung* and *magersari,* local law, state law, the shift of meaning

Introduction

The land law in "Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta" right now is not in spite of the continuity of history which would greatly influence by *ugeran* and policies Kraton Jogjakarta. That is included the tradition of the local laws related to land rights called "*Ngindung*" and "*Magersari*". *Ngindung* and *Magersari* are an individual land rights born of gratitude landowners based on the principle of mutual help and kinship. Someone who gets *ngindung* authorized by the owner of land may build houses on the land or the inhabited portion of the building houses the landowner at no particular payment. If possible it contained payment, merely marks (symbols) into the yard or the house is owned by someone else.[1]

Ngindung and *Magersari* are very well known among the people of Jogjakarta. The term is typically intended *ngindung* and lands associated with the title rights held by the general public. On the other hand *Magersari* designations and associated with specific understanding of the yard for the land title rights owned by the Sultan of Jogjakarta and people who are there for historical ties.[2]

Looking from history, the first king (Sultan) of Jogjakarta is the absolute owner of the land that is his national territory. King as the absolute owner of the land is a logical consequence of the understanding of the origin of the state theocracy legitimism its power, including the power to the land itself. The absolute power of the king and the royal thoroughly understand its contents are classic understanding which received at that moment, as the Majapahit Javanese Period accepted since the Islamic Mataram.

According to this understanding, the land territory of the king and the king is the king of the land is free to do as they wish. The concept of the king as the owner of the land until today, especially in Yogyakarta is known as the "Land of *Kagungan Dalem*". In further developments is known as "Sultan Ground" with the title of SG.[3]

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1   Ter Haar Bzn. 1959. Asas-asas dan Susunan Hukum Adat, terjemahan, K.Ng.Soebekti Poesponoto, Jakarta: Pradnya Paramita. P. 115.
2   Pasal 1 Keputusan Kawedanan Hageng Punokawan Wahono Harto Kriyo Nomor 29/W&Kl/1981.
3   Soemarsaid Moertono, 1985. Negara dan Usaha Bina Negara di Jawa Masa Lampau, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia. p.135.

On the basis of this understanding, people merely have the right to use *(anggaduh)*. If the land is agricultural land, then the user *(Penggaduh)* obliged ceded half or a third of the land under their control.However, if the land is in the form of garden soil, then *penggaduh* shall work without pay for the benefit of the king or royal officials. In its development, the land belongs to the king was given to servants and royal officials as salary. The provision of land by the king is accompanied by the transfer of the right of the king over the results of the land. Stelsel is commonly called *Stelsel Apanage.* [4]

The beginning of the 1900s many Dutch entrepreneurs invested in the plantation sector. For this purpose many employers required land and it can be obtained easily from the king and *apanage* holder. King and *apanage* holder feel happy because it's easier to get rents from the planters. Similarly planters prefer to deal directly with the king and *apanage* holder*;* in addition to easily get the land can also be obtained for free labor. Instead, the cultivators of land (farmers) suffered quite lot because they had to give his cultivated fields ranging from half or one-third plus had to work without pay for the planters.[5]

Under such conditions, the Yogyakarta Sultanate government is aware. In 1918 held improvement in the affairs of granting land rights to the people. Yogyakarta Sultanate government action is known as the Land Stelsel Reorganization. Prior to the 1918 reorganization stelsel land, use of land in Yogyakarta Sultanate based on "Complying *Pranatan* 1863" which can be grouped into:

a. Land used by the Sultan for his palace with all the equipment as for the square, performances, *Siti Hinggil*, *mandungan (keben)*, *sri pengganti*, and so on. This land is called *Tanah Keprabon.*

b. Land that the Sultan handed over free of charge for use by the Dutch government (Gubernement) NIS, to Fort Vredenberg, *Karisidenen* Office, Railway Station, and so on.

c. Lands that are given to the Dutch and Chinese to *eigendom* right or *opstal* right.

d. Group Land, namely lands granted by the Sultan to the royal officials.

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[4] Budi Harsono, 1968. Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria, Sejarah Penyusunan, Isi dan Palaksanaanya, Djakarta: Djambatan. p.57.
[5] Werner Roll, tanpa tahun. Struktur Pemilikan Tanah di Indonesia. Jakarta: CV.Radjawali. p.52

e. *Kesentanan* land, which land granted by Sri Sultan to relatives or *Sentono* palace with use rights.

f. This land basically included the group land but it eventually released from the bonds of class and become yard of the other higher employees with the surrounding villages.

g. *Tanah Kebonan* (read garden), the land planted with trees and yard are usually located outside the center of the capital and it is given to *pepatih* with the right to use.

h. Land of the civilian, excluding of that categories land mentioned above. It placed directly under the *kepatihan.*

i. These lands are managed by *Bekel*; the land is called *maosan* palace land.[6]

Since 1918, the village in Yogyakarta area designated as a legal entity that has the rights to the land. Similarly, the rights for the people of the land are used as a residence and business recognition. With *Rijksblad* Sultanate in 1918 and No. 16 of 1918 *Rijksblad* Paku Alaman No. 18, both claimed control over the land in each region as follows: "*Sakabehane bumi kang ora ana tanda yektine kadarbe ing liyan mawa wewenang eigendom, dadi bumi kagungane kratoningsun Ngayogyakarta*" (all land that is not proven owned by someone else with the *eigendom* right, belonged to the Nagayogyakarta Palace).

On the basis of the domain statement, the Government of the Sultanate and Paku Alaman grant rights of use (*anggaduh* authority) to the establishment of villages. Later, rights based *Rijksblad* Sultanate of 1926 and *Rijksblad* Paku Alaman 1925, *anggaduh* right from the village was changed to the right or *andharbeni andharbeni* authority. However, the lands granted to the village with the *andharbeni* right not cover all the land that has been clearly worn by them, either to stay or processed or grown continuously or at an entrepreneur uses the grace period as contained in the registers *Kalurahan.*

Granting authority *andharbeni* land rights to the village accompanied by the obligation that the village should still preserve the rights of members of the public land users. The use rights of the people are hereditary (hereditary

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6   Notoyudo, 1975. Hak Sri Sultan atas Tanah di Yogyakarta, tanpa penerbit. p.9.

ananggo authority) as intended by the Sultanate *Rijksblad* 16 in 1918 and *Rijksblad* Paku Alaman No.18 in 1918.

This condition is different from individual rights to land inside the city. If *andharbe* right outside of town owned by the village, then in the city are owned by individuals. Thus individual rights over land in the city is stronger than the individual rights to land outside the city (rural) with the right to use it. Regarding land rights in the city, set in *Rijksblad* Kasultanah No. 23 in 1925 and No. 25 *Rijksblad* Paku Alaman 1925. Thus, it means that the reorganization of the city more than the final reorganization outside the city. But individual rights are acquired by the citizens in the city are more powerful than those in the village who are not bound by the village, no town given in the village.

Later in the year 1954 is an important step increase people's rights over land in DIJ, especially in rural areas. This year "Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta" born Regulation No. 5 of 1954, the contents of which promote the right to use or authorize *ananggo* proprietary hereditary. Despite the increased use rights to the property, but still within the bounds village, so the village is entitled to intervene in the execution of such property in the traffic society, for example in the case of transfer, use, and loading. Under the regulation, the landowner has the authority to exercise its right for the benefit of themselves and their families, for example, process and use to stay; divert forever: sell, donate, give, pass, move for a while: mortgage, rent, and the burden with debt. On the other hand, it has issued Regulation No. 5 of 1954, the position of individual rights over land in the town still remain under the rule of Rijksblad-Rijksblad Sultanate and Pakualaman. In case, this enrolment still uses the old way, i.e., according to the provisions of Rijksblad Sultanate No. 1 in 1926 and No. 13 in 1926 and Rijksblad Pakulaman No. 32 in 1925 and No. 36 in 1925.[7]

1 April 1984 pursuant to Presidential Decree (Kepres) No. 33 year 1984 and article 5 of the Basic Agrarian Act 1960 (Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria -UUPA) in Yogyakarta. With full force, the normative consequences of all the problems in the field of agriculture, including land subject to this UUPA comply.

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[7]   Soedarso, 1978. "Pengaruh Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria terhadap Tanah Adat di Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta," dalam Simposium Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria dan Kedudukan Tanah-Tanah Adat Dewasa Ini. Jakarta: Bina Cipta, p. 296-302.

Based on article 53 of the UUPA was determined that the land rights from indigenous rights by BAL ranked as the rights of temporary and needs to be regulated to limit properties as opposed to UUPA. These rights are also sought abolition in a short time. One of those rights is the right ride (*ngindung* and *magersari*). In the Customary Law library, rights are used to refer to the rights that can be held by a person to build a house on land owned by another person who has the permission of the land. From this sense is known as right to inhabit the yard inhabit home on the land of others. [8]

Problems

The problems that will be studied in this paper focus on the following questions: (1) How are *Ngindung* Rights and *Magersari* existence article 5 of the agrarian law of 1960 on the UUPA in DIY?; (2) What is the meaning of *Ngindung* and *Magersari* for Yogyakarta society?

Discussion

Although UUPA has been fully implemented in the province since 1984, but the influence of historical background on the status of *ngindung* or *magersari* rights are still going on until now. In this development, Kumoro (1996) explains that the right of *ngindung* or *magersari* appeared with the following characteristics:

1. Rights of Ngindung essentially born of a legal relationship or agreement which only put a strain unilateral obligation on one party only. *Ngindung* rights over land occurred during license or permission to set up and have houses provided by the landowner. From this observation the western civil law, rights over land can be classified *ngindung* the agreement for free of charge, because the profits or benefits of a relationship *ngindung* only be felt by one of the parties that the user.

2. Legal relationship that make on land rights of *ngindung* essentially just binding on the landowner and user only. Therefore user heirs who continue *ngindung* rights without the knowledge and permission of the land owner

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8   Iman Sudiyat, 1981. Hukum Adat Sketsa Asas. Yogyakarta: Liberty. p.54.

may have done occupy or use the land of another without right. On the basis that the person concerned can be sued as have committed unlawful *(onrechtmatigedaad).*

3. In line with the tendency for people to make changes in order to adapt to the developments, the legal relationship which spawned *ngindung* rights on land originally was based on incest relationships (familial) shifted towards relationships that are selfless. It is characterized by the existence of the obligation to provide a fixed payment each month or a year, commonly referred to as rent.[9]

Facts that cannot be denied that the enactment of the UUPA *(legal positivism)* in full in Jogjakarta as a whole does not mean removing customary law *(the living law)* are there. Actually, if examined carefully, the enactment of the UUPA in Jogjakarta actually strengthen the customary law of the land. It appears from the contents of article 5 of the basic agrarian law determines *"Agrarian Act which applies to the earth, water and air space are customary law, provided they do not conflict with national interests and the state, which is based on the unity of the nation ...* and so on". It must be acknowledged honestly, that although UUPA compiled based on customary law, but impressed at the level of practice occur dualism in land law. According to the writer, so more this condition can refer to as harmonization of law, namely the application of the conjunction between local law (custom) and state law *(positive law).* In other words, there is considerable scope to apply customary land regime in the UUPA and it is required by the law itself. Customary law and positive law are complementary so there is no contradiction *(legal gap).* Thus it can be said that UUPA is essentially a manifestation of customary land law, and both are one entity. [10]

Of the provisions of Article 5 of the UUPA can be understood that customary law is the basis of the implementation of the agrarian in Indonesia, because the native customary law is the law for the nation of Indonesia. However, the enactment can be interpreted as insincere because restrictions

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9   Endro Kumoro, 1996. "Aspek-Aspek Hukum Hak Ngindung atas Tanah di Kotamadya Yogyakarta". Tesis Program Pascasarjana Universitas Airlangga Surabaya. p.115-116.
10   Wisnu Susanto, 1983. Hukum Adat dan Perkembangannya, Bagian I. Surabaya: Yustisia, p.9.

are contained in Article 5 of the UUPA, namely:

a. Not to be contrary to the national interest based on nation unity;

b. Not contrary to the interests of the state by the nation unity;

c. Not against socialism Indonesia;

d. Not contrary to the rules contained in the UUPA;

e. Not conflict with other laws.

According to Mahadi (1978), restrictions on the entry into force of customary law should be interpreted narrowly so that these restrictions would likely eliminate the existence of customary law itself. In other words do not let these restrictions into the primary, while the force of customary law into secondary. Better validity of customary law was bent to a more harmonious (see harmony).[11]

The same thing also expressed by Abdurrahman (1984), that the common law as the basis of national agrarian law implies that all sorts of rights derived from customary law following concerning the legal relationship between man and the land or deed relating to land under customary law, should its place in the system of national agrarian law despite various modifications must be made certain.[12] As with Daniel S. Lev, Lev, that the influence of the presence of force UUPA land rights in fact been abolished land rights derived from customary law. Although still permitted some administrative policy that is in accordance with local customary law, but obviously UUPA denies indigenous rights are typical, with the aim of creating a land law which is general and national. [13]

Actually, the process of the relationship *ngindung* or *magersari* on land owned by Kraton Jogjakarta has been set in the Decree Kawedanan Hageng Punokawan Wahono Sarto Kriyo Ngayogyakarta 29 /W 7K/1981. In Article 2 stated that the right ngindung given to those who occupy / land use Ngayogyakarta palace and then made an agreement with the rent as high as 3% x the price of land every year. Meanwhile *ngindung* relations on land

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[11] Mahadi,1978. "Kedudukan Tanah Adat Dewasa Ini", Simposium Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria dan Kedudukan Tanah-Tanah Adat Dewasa Ini. Badan Pembinaan Hukum Nasional. Jakarta: Bina Cipta. p.28

[12] Abdurrahman, 1984. Kedudukan Hukum Adat dalam Perundang-Undangan Agraria di Indonesia. Jakarta: Akademika Pressindo. P.80.

[13] Ibid.

owned by individuals are generally only based on oral or written agreements. This resulted in a lack of regarding the terms that accompany the onset or the legal relationship between users with the landowner.

Ngindung or associated with this tenant, the palace has set conditions that must be met by anyone who occupy or use land in the state as a palace Ngayogyakarta user or tenant. The requirements are contained in a manuscript letter of agreement issued by the Office Panitikismo using Java language as follows:

1. *Samangsa pekarangan kagungan Dalem ingkang kula engeni wau wonten karsa Dalem bade kagem kula inggih nyumanggaaken, boten bade damel angel punapa-punapa, namun nyuwun paring Dalem kerugian (1/3) sapara tiganipun pengaosing griya miturut t a psiran, sarta nyuwun inah tumrap bede pindah kula saking ngriki lamilaminipun (3) tigang wulan kapetang wiwit titimangsa serat dawuh. Samangsa pekarangan kagungan Dalem ingkang kula engeni wau wonten karsa Dalem bade kagem kula inggih nyumanggaaken, boten bade damel angel punapa-punapa, namun nyuwun paring Dalem kerugian (1/3) sapara tiganipun pengaosing griya miturut tapsiran, sarta nyuwun inah tumrap bede pindah kula saking ngriki lamilaminipun (3) tigang wulan kapetang wiwit titimangsa serat dawuh..* (When the yard belonging to the Sultan that I occupy will be used before the Sultan, I will follow and will not be difficult, but I beg a third compensation (1/3) house prices as expected prices, and have approximately three months starting this letter into force);

2. *Tumrap tetaneman kula piyambak ingkang kula tanem wonten ngriku boten bade nyuwun kerugian punapa-punapa, Tumrap tetaneman kula piyambak ingkang kula tanem wonten ngriku boten bade nyuwun kerugian punapa-punapa,* (For plants that I planted in the ground, I will not ask for damages);

3. *Boten kenging ngrisak utawi unduh-unduh kerangkitri ing pekarangan kagungan Dalem ingkang kula enggeni, kajawi sampun angsal ijin Dalem mawi serat, Boten kenging ngrisak utawi unduhunduh kerangkitri ing pekarangan kagungan Dalem ingkang kula enggeni, kajawi sampun angsal ijin Dalem mawi serat,* (Prohibited

damage or picking crops in the garden of my land which belonged to the Sultan occupied, except the existing permit by mail);

4. *Boten kenging: ngewahi wewangunaning griya punapa dene nged e aken griya enggal sakderengipun angsal ijin Dalem mawi serat, angliyaraken wewenang dados magersari dateng tiyang sanes sarta sade griya tanpo ijin Dalem mawi serat. Boten kenging: ngewahi wewangunaning griya punapa dene ngedeaken griya enggal sakderengipun angsal ijin Dalem mawi serat, angliyaraken wewenang dados magersari dateng tiyang sanes sarta sade griya tanpo ijin Dalem mawi serat,* (Prohibited changing shape of the house and add new buildings prior permission from the Sultan by mail, transfer the tenant on others and also sell it without a license from the Sultan);

5. *Samangsa bade andadosi griya ingkang risak langung rumiyin kedah ngawuningaken angsal ijin Dalem mawi serat boten kenging miyagah lajeng andadosi sakajeng kula piyambak*; *Samangsa bade andadosi griya ingkang risak langung rumiyin kedah ngawuningaken angsal ijin Dalem mawi serat boten kenging miyagah lajeng andadosi sakajeng kula piyambak,* (When will repair damaged homes must obtain prior permission from the Sultan to the letter and can not fix itself at will);

6. *Kedah anjagi tata tentreming pekarangan ingkang kula anggeni, awit saking punika mila boten kenging damel reroyoman ingkang tumuju dateng reresah*; *Kedah anjagi tata tentreming pekarangan ingkang kula anggeni, awit saking punika mila boten kenging damel reroyoman ingkang tumuju dateng reresah,* (Had to keep the peace garden that I live in, and should not be doing noise);

7. *Pangindung menawi nrajang (nyulayani) prajanjian kasebat salah satunggal, menawi wonten dawuh Dalem andikakaken kesah, inggih kedah kesah boten mawi nyuwun kerugian punapa-punapa*; *Pangindung menawi nrajang (nyulayani) prajanjian kasebat salah satunggal, menawi wonten dawuh Dalem andikakaken kesah, inggih kedah kesah boten mawi nyuwun kerugian punapa-punapa,* (Pengindung when a promise from one of the items in this letter, and asked to leave the grounds by the Sultan, the will not get any compensation);

8. *Menawi wonten dawuh Dalem Ngewahi tatananing magersari, kulo inggih sagah angestoaken*; *Menawi wonten dawuh Dalem Ngewahi tatananing magersari, kulo inggih sagah angestoaken,* (If there is a change in this agreement, I will follow);

9. *Kula sagah bayar arta penanggalan ing saben wulanipun Rp..........,* (I could pay "in a date"; every month IDR ....);

10. *Menawi ladosan arta penanggalan ngantos kasep tigang wulan dumuginipun pitung wulan mboten ngadosi, menawi wonten dawuh Dalem andikaaken kesah inggih kedah kesah boten mawi nyuwun kerugian punapa-punapa*; *Menawi ladosan arta penanggalan ngantos kasep tigang wulan dumuginipun pitung wulan mboten ngadosi, menawi wonten dawuh Dalem andikaaken kesah inggih kedah kesah boten mawi nyuwun kerugian punapa-punapa,* (If payment is late from three months to seven months, when the Sultan asked to leave the yard, then had to leave without any compensation);

11. *Samangsa kula tilar donyo, waris supados ngawuningaken ing Ngarsa Dalem*; *Samangsa kula tilar donyo, waris supados ngawuningaken ing Ngarsa Dalem,* (If I die, then the heir to the Sultan to be informed);

12. *Yen salebetipun (1) satunggal tahun kepetang s a king titimangsa serat ijin siti gaduhanipun wau boten dipun degi griya, siti wau kaanggep kundur, hak anggaduh lajeng sampun lebur. Yen salebetipun (1) satunggal tahun kepetang saking titimangsa serat ijin siti gaduhanipun wau boten dipun degi griya, siti wau kaanggep kundur, hak anggaduh lajeng sampun lebur,* (If within one year from the application of this letter, then do not set the house , the land was considered returning to the Sultan, and his right clear).

Based *ugeran* set by the court is understandable that the right *ngindung* or *magersari* of land in essence is the right ride home building on land owned by someone else. It can be interpreted that the right to the land *ngindung* temporary. Therefore natural those landlords require that buildings owned homes user no permanent shape. This meant that any moment user must move his house building since the land will be used by the owners or their heirs; it is not difficult to deconstruct. The temporary nature of the right *ngindung* this land that is

often neglected by the user. It is unusual that after a long user inhabit or live on land owned by someone else and then trying to find it instead of garden that can be owned individually, instead it little by little trying to repair his house, even some that lead to a more permanent .[14]

Shifting Meaning Ngindung and Magersari

At first appearance *ngindung* rights and *magersari* relationships are based on kinship, mutual help and mutual assistance (incest relationship) between people who have land with people who do not own land. This relationship is based on the idea that became the basis of the actions that gave birth to these rights, which provide assistance to fellow members of the community who need help to meet their needs, the land for habitation. But in the next, due to the narrowness of the land from development and rapid population growth, the land changed in character to be commercially valuable objects.[15]

Shifted from the original value of the land is social to the commercial value affects the nature of relationships among the members of society, especially in terms of land tenure. The nature of the relationship between those who initially based on kinship, mutual assistance, and mutual assistance or incest relationships are shifted to a more selfless nature. Consequently *ngindung* and *magersari* have meaning that initially social functioning (not subject to payment to user and tenant) at the present time to shift to commercial functions (subject to any periodic payments to the landowner).

These conditions are reinforced by the results of studies that have been conducted by Endro Kumoro (1996) which shows that at the present time are rarely found an association *ngindung* and *magersari* are not accompanied by payment of money by user and tenant to landowners (Table 1).

The condition can be understood considering the changing society and to build tendency arising from community members to make changes in accordance with the pace of development. No exception, *ngindung* and *magersari* relationships that are initially free covenant relationship shifted to the lease relationship.

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[14] Endro Kumoro, op.cit. p. 88.
[15] Iman Soetiknjo, 1990. Politik Agraria Nasional: Hubungan Manusia dengan Tanah yang Berdasarkan Pancasila, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press. hlm.75

Table 1.
The Amount of Rent or Land Ngindung Calendar or Magersari

No.	The amount of money in dollars	Frequency	Percent
1	Not requested payment	5	15.15
2	Paying for UN	1	3.03
3	Less than 10,000 per year	7	21.21
4	10000-20000 per annum	12th	36.36
5	20000-30000 per annum	4	12.12
6	30000-40000 per annum	2	6.06
7	More than 40,000 a year	2	6.06
	N N	33	100

Sources: Endro Kumoro, 1996

Conclusion

Tradition *ngindung* and *magersari* in Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta is an example of the harmonization of local law and state law. At first the terms of *ngindung* or *magersari* of land is born of gratitude landowners based on the principles of kinship and mutual help. Someone who was given permission to establish *ngindung* or *magersari* houses on land partly inhabit the yard or house building land owners at no particular payment.

Although the UUPA has been a fully implemented in the province since 1984, but the influence of historical background on the status of land ownership and tenant rights *ngindung* still going on until now. Further development, due to the narrowness of the land from development and rapid population growth, the soil turns into its commercially valuable objects. Shifted from the original value of the land is social to the commercial value affects the nature of relationships among the members of society, especially in terms of land tenure. The nature of the relationship between those who initially based on kinship, mutual assistance, and mutual assistance or incest relationships are shifted to a more selfless nature. Consequently *ngindung* and *magersari* have a meaning that initially a social function at the present time to shift to commercial functions.

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Panel 13

Climate Change and Indigenous Adaptions

CLIMATE INJUSTICE AND LOCAL VALUES:
The Practice of Traditional Community in Bali[1]

DENI BRAM[2] AND I MADE BUDI ARSIKA[3]

ABSTRACT

In the issue of climate change, the climate justice aspects laid down in international and national regulations are interesting topics that have been widely studied nowadays. In the international context, the dichotomy of developed and developing countries often becomes the basis for determining the principles of climate justice. Ironically, while many developing countries fight for their rights to obtain better climate conditions through the mechanism of regulation and negotiation process, some people in developing countries precisely become free riders for climate quota in their own countries. In some regions in Indonesia we can find activities of traditional community which reflect the local values containing implications of emission reduction. As an example, it can be seen in the existence of traditional community in Bali. This paper hence attempts to elaborate the local values in the activities of Balinese people, mainly in concerning to their belief and tradition in protecting the environment. The principle of Tri Hita Karana which underlines the balance relation between human and his environment is explored to seek the philosophical basis of the daily live of Balinese people. The traditional practice of forest protection and the celebration of annual ceremony of Nyepi Day (silent day) are examples highlighted in this paper. Finally, this paper contents that those traditional practices have effect on the national emission reduction. It also concludes that the local

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[1] This is a draft of paper. The content may be revised after hearing inputs from seminar participants. Please do not cite this draft of paper without the permission of the authors.

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values can certainly become supporter to achieve the ideal concept of climate justice.

Introduction

One of the living environment issues that contribute a significant influence to all living systems among of the people these days is about the climate change phenomena. Climate change is a form of environmental damages that influences the most every life aspects and threatens the existence of human life at local, national and global levels.

This research is especially aimed at examining the concept of climate injustice which addresses into the weaknesses of the existing international and national regulations in tackling the issue of climate change. A part of it, the facts about the emission injustice will be used as basic of this research to provide the measurement of ideas that have climate justice perspectives. Some researchers have tried to discuss about climate change context in various angles. Brown Edit Weiss is one of the famous persons who discuss the climate justice. The derivation of climate justice, inter generation and intra generation, becomes a specific measurement tools in Weiss perspective.

This perspective is mainly used to assess the situation of climate injustice in Indonesia. The gap of emissions resulted by human activities inside the national territory of Indonesia is a phenomena which describes that there are some areas which persistently become big polluters while some others are oppositely. The local values and the traditional practices of Balinese people mainly with regard to their concern on the environment are chosen as research objects because those indicate the great impact on the climate. Subsequently, the principle of *tri hita karana*, the concept of *wana kertih* on the forest protection, and the practice of Nyepi day will be elaborated to illustrate that Balinese people have contribution in reducing the greenhouse emissions.

Climate Justice in International Arena

There are several existing international regulations which cover the matter of climate change In those regulations, many provisions determine the limit for emission allocation from every country based on a certain percentage number.

This matter, hence, of course interfere the feeling of justice from many countries with high numbers of population. Based on this matter, many experts recommend that the determination of emission values considering population in it. Some researches about climate change use many methods which are usually used to describe the calculation method for resulting emissions level, either in overall or for every country.

Referring to various researches that carried out by some institutions, it shows that there are the top five persistent contributors of greenhouse gasses emissions i.a .People's Republic of China (PRC), the United States of America (USA), India, European Union (EU), and Japan. Even if the emissions produced by PRC and USA are combined those emissions reach more than half of carbon dioxide emission in the world.[4]

Above descriptions become rational at the time of the developing countries having an interest to the emissions rights concepts that have been supported. This matter of course will not limit their flexibility to increase their economic competitiveness by establishing industrial activities centers which certainly tend to become the new contributors to increase greenhouses gasses emissions. In these conditions the developing countries try to preach the concept that their countries have the same rights to develop their economic potency.

Developing countries has an excuse that their countries have the justification cause in their actions give big contribution in increasing greenhouse gasses concentration. In their capacity as countries that develop their economic capability, increasing the energy based industrial absolutely become poverty reduction steps which compatible to their population numbers. This argument is hard to be disproved by developed countries, because all actions taken by developing countries are just following the pattern that has been done by the developed countries.

Another issue raised by the developing countries like PRC and India is the mechanism for emission calculation that based on a country capita. Based on the concept of emission per capita calculation with consideration on the population number as a divisor to the emission that produced, suddenly China and India become the low level country which contributing emission, according to in this version. Theoretically, the development for the emission per capita

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4   Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change., 2003.

concept indeed cannot discharge from the common but differentiated responsibilities principle as laid down in Rio Declaration and other international legal instruments.

Philippe Sands, a famous international environmental law researcher mentions that there are two important elements that containing in the 'common but differentiated responsibilities principle. First, this principle contains comprehension that the environmental problem is an international problem that absolutely needs cooperation. This element implicitly means that there are interconnections between one country to another in handling the environmental and economy issue, so the most effective way is to handling the problem together.

Second element, in Sands preposition, has at least 3 interpretations that can be retrieved. First is the assumption that every country has different contribution and ability in every form of international environmental problems. Therefore, this matter become the basic for the discussion in seeing that every country has different level in emission contribution history and those cases highly suitable to become a consideration in international environmental law obligation frameworks. Second interpretations that can be performed in every country that has a different capacity for responding international environmental problem like climate change. Developed countries with financial and technology excellences that they have, clearly were in the more responsible position to perform any attempts in fixing the environmental condition on current time.

Lastly, is an interpretation based on the different needs from every countries. Developing countries surely have different needs from the aspects of economic and technology if compared to developed countries that economically more established. This matter then becomes the basic thoughts that there are different interest and orientation for every single country.

Climate Justice in Our Homeland

Unfortunately, an imbalance situation is also happened at the national level. Laying on the calculation of greenhouse gasses emission data from energy sector that was released by the Indonesian Ministry of Environment in the year of 2009, shows that Java Island dominates the national energy consumptions. The Industrial survey data result that was published by *Badan Pusat Statistik*

(BPS) shows that in the year of 2003-2005, there's around 20.000 industries in Indonesia that using diesel fuel, kerosene and coal. The use of those fuels causing CO_2 emission in Java Island lies in highest ranked, followed by Sulawesi, Kalimantan (Borneo), Maluku–Papua and Bali–Nusa Tenggara. In Java Island, CO_2 emission from the industries that using all those three kinds of fuel keep increasing from around 13 million tons in the year 2003 to 24 million tons ton in the year 2005.

Not only based on the energy consumptions, lays on to the emission data from the transportation sectors also indicate the similar trends. CO_2 emission forecast from the motor vehicles, in the year 2007 released that DKI Jakarta Province (capital city) was contributing as the highest emission because it released 16 million tons of CO2. Other provinces that have emission forecast more than 5 million tons are Central Java and East Java. While the province with the lowest CO_2 emission forecast is North Maluku, as was estimated around 20.000 tons.

However, this becomes irony if we look at the researches from Institute for Essential Services Reform (IESR) as one of the institution that introduces the concept of carbon calculation. From the research result that using carbon calculation to count the carbon footprints, revealed that the region that dominated to access the site to doing carbon calculation is done by the region that have maximum contribution on the national emission. From the IESR research revealed that the dominant area where doing carbon calculation were Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, Banten, Sumatera, East Java, Yogyakarta and other regions. Paradox like this, are becoming shocking phenomena in the attempts to mitigate the climate change at the national level.

The condition made the emission per capita concept in a country that firstly assumed to have perspective of climate justice enough being questionable. The quota emission system in fact many free rider used it, whom they have many facilities and ability to accessing prosperity sources. Seeing at the imperfection that the national emission quota had, encouraging the researcher to use a personal emission concept. The growing of the free riders in national context at least has hurts the justice feeling at the national level. That is why, we need a reconstruction to the emission calculation comprehensively with fully consider the elements of justice inside.

The issue of advocating the climate injustice in Indonesia may be considered unrealistic. From the legal point of view, there is neither trade emission mechanism between different provinces or regencies nor any legal basis for dispute mechanism in the context of intra-national trade emission.[5] However, the free rider of emission is a fact that cannot be hidden. The different consciousness of the Indonesian people to protect the forest as a natural tool to reduce emission in the atmosphere perhaps can be used as an indicator. It cannot be denied that the massive deforestation in many areas of the Indonesian territory has had serious impact to the climate change. As a mega-biodiversity country, Indonesia is facing a serious ecological problem of the deforestation and the degradation of forest ecosystems, primarily caused by logging to secure timber, forest conversion for other utilities, or the development of physical infrastructure.[6] Therefore, the human activities are always blamed.[7]

Local Value as Trigger for Climate Justice

It is necessary to deliberate that the wide acceptance of climate change as a common concern of mankind at the international level[8] should be also approached at the regional, national, and local levels. In this regards, the daily live of traditional community in Bali seems can be used as a good example of how the local values have contribution to maintain the good condition of the climate has impact on the reduction of emission at national level.

As an introduction, it can be explained that Balinese people highly respects the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* as local value which must be

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[5]   See for instance the environmental cases in Indonesia which disputable in David Nicholson, Environmental Dispute Resolution in Indonesia, KITLV Press and ISEAS Publishing, Singapore, 2010.

[6]   See Hariadi Kartidihardjo and Hira Jhamtani (Eds), Environmental Politics and Power in Indonesia (translated by Mark Havard), Equinox Publishing, Singapore, 2009, p. 94-95.

[7]   In this regard, Charles L. Redman argues that deforestation is caused not only by human action but also by "natural" forces such as climatic change or natural fires, although at the same time, a lot of evidences indicates that in countless cases human activities have seriously exacerbated deforestation. See Charles L. Redman, Effects of Agriculture and Urban Society, in Charles L. Redman, Steven R. James, Paul R. Fish, and J. Daniel Rogers, The Archaeology of Global Change, The Impact of Humans on their Environment, Smithsonian Books, Washington, 2004, p. 89. See also the changing forest as an impact of climate change in David Hunter, James Salzman, and Durwood Zaelke, Thomson Reuters/Foundation Press, New York, 2011, p.628; See also Patricia Birnie, Alan Boyle, and Catherine Redgwell, International Law and the Environment, Third Edition, Oxford University Press Inc, New York, 2009, p.336.

[8]   Philippe Sands, 2003 (forth printing 2007), Principles of International Environmental Law, 2nd ed, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 358. Regarding the idea to use of this principle for the atmosphere, See also Patricia Birnie, Alan Boyle, and Catherine Redgwell, International Law and the Environment, Third Edition, Oxford University Press Inc, New York, 2009, p.338-339.

implemented in a good manner. Literally, it is formed by three single words; *tri* means three, *hita* which covers the meanings of good thing, happiness, sustain, safety, wealth, and *karana* means source or the causality.[9] Tri Hita Karana is a live philosophy of Balinese people that includes three elements establishes balance and harmony in relationships between human and the God, amongst the humans, and humans and their environment as sources of prosperity, peace and happiness for human life.[10] Hindu scholars consider that this principle is a reflection of Hinduism value which lay down in the holy book of *Bhagavad Gita* (III.10).[11] Basically, Tri Hita Karana covers three main components, namely *parahyangan (God aspects), pawongan (human aspects), and palemahan (nature/environment aspects).* This principle clearly underlines the important of environment in order to achieve a wealth and happiness.

One example that can show how the philosophy of Tri Hita Karana is genuinely implemented in Bali can be seen in the context of the protection of plants and forest.[12] As an overview, the forest area in Bali as declared by Decree of Minister of Forestry No.433/Kpts-II/1999 dated on June 15, 1999 is around 130,686.01 hectares or equal with 23.20% of Bali Island.[13] It consists of conservation forest area, protected forest and production forest.[14]. In West Bali, the Taman Nasional Bali Barat covers a wide area of forest where the animals, including the rare species of *Jalak Bali*, live freely. The forest surrounding Mount Batukaru is a famous natural forest where a peculiar tree of *majagau* exists. A large area of mangrove forests surrounding the coastal areas of Southern part of Bali is a positive development as a result of government and foreign initiatives. Sacred monkey forests in Sangeh, Alas Kedaton and Ubud have also widely known as tourist destinations.

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9   AA Gede Raka Dalem, Filosofi Tri Hita Karana dan Implementasinya dalam Industri Pariwisata, in AA G Raka Dalem, et, al (Ed), Kearifan Lokal dalam Pengelolaan Lingkungan Hidup, UPT Penerbit Universitas Udayana dan Pusat Penelitian Lingkungan Hidup, Denpasar, 2007 p. 83.

10   See Art. 1 of the Provincial Regulation of Bali Number 16 Year 2009 concerning the Zoning Plan of the Province of Bali Year 2009-2029.

11   See the explanation regarding the origin of the term "Tri Hita Karana" in I Ketut Wiana, Tri Hita Karana Menurut Konsep Hindu, Paramita, Surabaya, 2007, p. 5-10.

12   The English term of 'forest' is understood by Balinese people as what so commonly called as alas or wana in Balinese terms See I Gusti Made Sutjaja, Practical Balinese English, English Balinese Dictionary, PT. BP, Denpasar, 2000, p. 20.

13   Statistik Balai Konservasi Sumber Daya Alam Bali tahun 2009, Denpasar, Maret 2010, p. 7. http://www.dephut.go.id/files/Stat_BKSDA_Bali_09.pdf

14   Ibid.

The Balinese people believe that the existence of plants and forest are essential to ensure the good condition of live. They have much local wisdom in protecting their forest. As an example, there is a belief that if human cut a tree, they must plant a new seedling. The living concept of *wana kertih* certainly makes the Balinese people consider forest as an integral part of their live. *Wana kertih* are plants in the form of forests, which must be preserved by building an *alas angker* temple, in order to protect the forest from the nonphysical world.[15] In the concept of *wana kertih*, there should be ritual *pakelem*[16] to the forest or to the mount. According to I Ketut Wiana, such ritual should encourage the people to create action programs to maintain the existence of the forest.[17]

The Balinese people also incorporate the respect of the existence of plants and forest in their religious activity. The holy day of *tumpek pengatag* — which is also commonly called as *tumpek wariga, tumpek uduh* or *tumpek bubuh*"[18] — is an example of how Balinese people reflect their traditional consciousness to maintain the plants, forest, and the earth. Every 210 days — according to the Balinese lunar calendar system— *tumpek pengatag* is celebrated by giving offerings to the trees, in which this kind of ritual is generally classified as *bhuta yadnya*.[19] It is an old tradition which has been initially practiced since the era of *Maha Rsi Markandeya* in around 8 AC.[20] Philosophically it is an expression of thankfulness to the God because of his blessing to the plants and the trees.

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[15] See Elucidation of Article 2 (b) (2) of the Provincial Regulation of Bali Number 16 Year 2009 concerning the Zoning Plan of the Province of Bali Year 2009-2029. This elucidation also explains that wana kertih is part of Sad Kertih, a six-source welfare that must be preserved in order to achieve inner and outer happiness. Beside wana kertih, it consists of atma kertih (the preservation of the individual spirit/soul), danu kertih (the preservation of the lake), segara kertih (the preservation of the sea), jana kertih (the preservation of the human being as a perfect individual) and jagat kertih (the preservation of the social harmony). See I Ketut Wiana, Tri Hita Karana Menurut Konsep Hindu, Paramita, Surabaya, 2007, p. 66-68. The term 'nonphysical world' is a translation of Balinese word of '*niskala*', I Gusti Made Sutjaja, Practical Balinese English, English Balinese Dictionary, PT. BP, denpasar, 2000, p. 111.

[16] Pakelem is sacrificial animals or objects. See I Gusti Made Sutjaja, Practical Balinese English, English Balinese Dictionary, PT. BP, Denpasar, 2000, p. 117.

[17] I Ketut Wiana, Tri Hita Karana Menurut Konsep Hindu, Paramita, Surabaya, 2007, p.67.

[18] See also I Made Sujaya, Bali Post, Minggu, 10 Juni 2007 at http://www.parisada.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=368&Itemid=79

[19] This ritual is primarily aimed to stabilize the fluctuation of the environment and keep the environment in harmony. See I Gusti Agung Gede Putra, et.al, Sejarah Perkembangan Agama Hindu di Bali, Proyek Penyuluhan Agama dan Penerbitan Buku Agama 1987/1988, Pemerintah Tingkat I Bali, Denpasar, 1987, p. 107.

[20] See I Made Suasthawa Dharmayuda, Kebudayaan Bali: Pra-Hindu, Masa Hindu, dan Pasca Hindu, Kayumas Agung, Denpasar, 1995, p. 55

Interestingly, the traditional community which is organized in a traditional institution namely *desa pakraman*[21] also has significant role in the management and protection of the forest. For instance, the forest protection carries out by traditional community who live in Desa Pakraman Buahan, Kintamani Bangli can be used as a good model. This village has 450 hectares of forest — which is commonly called as *alas kekeran*— from the total 700, 11 hectares of its area.[22] They highly respect the customs and their ancestral messages to conserve forests, land and water.[23] Therefore, the existence of the forest remained intact until present day. It implies that the community-based forest management has applied effectively.

Scientifically, in the context of climate, forest is a natural carbon sink which provides plants and vegetation that are necessary to become the carbon's captors. Hence, the role of traditional community in Bali to conserve their forest which implies the low level production of emissions is actually cannot be denied.[24]

The controversy of the plan to establish a geothermal power plant in Bedugul area in the last 2 decades describes the dilemma between the need to provide sufficient energy and the preservation of forest. An environmental NGO WALHI accuses that the development of this mega-project has contributed for the 49 hectares deforestation of the forest surrounding Bedugul.[25] Unfortunately, there are different policies at the level of national and provincial governments. The Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources intended to continue this project while the Governor of Bali as well the Head of House of Representative of Bali expressed their objection. It must be underlined that the contrasts tendentiously ignoring the scientific research released by the pros, by insisting that this project can essentially disturb the balance of nature in Bali. They also expressed their concern on the religious, environmental, economic,

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[21]   It is a kind of traditional village in Bali which is also known as desa adat

[22]   Article "Desa Pekraman Buahan , Kecamatan Kintamani, Kabupaten Bangli, Provinsi Bali Tak sembarang orang berani menyentuh sumber air di Alas Kekeran, http://www.menlh.go.id/kalpataru/kalpa2008/ desa_adat_Pekraman_buaran.htm

[23]   This ancestor messages can be found in 23 sheet of inscription namely Prasasti Bhatara Ratu Pingit. It is stored at a perforated stone at the Alas Kekeran which is sacred as worship to the spirit of ancestors. Ibid.

[24]   The authors realize that there are also many criticisms regarding the change of livelihood pattern of Balinese traditional people from agriculture into tourism industry because of the progressive development of tourism sector. However, in the context of environmental protection, significant role from NGOs to campaign the need of proper environment has gradually opening the awareness of the Balinese people.

[25]   Article, "Walhi Bali Tuding Ada Kepentingan Lain di Balik Geothermal Bedugul", http://www.voaindonesia.com/ content/walhi-tuding-ada-kepentingan-lain-di-balik-geothermal-bedugul-136135978/102494.html

and social impacts that potentially resulted from this project. Interestingly, there are also engagements of traditional community in this controversy. Jro Gede Suwena, *Ketua Majelis Utama Desa Pakraman* (The Head of the Assembly of *Desa Pakraman* at the level of Bali Province) urged the Indonesian Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources not to force the running of the project by considering that Bedugul is a water catchment area,[26] while some Desa Pakraman clearly supports the continuing of this project.[27] A recent survey was carried out by Lembaga Kajian dan Penelitian Peradah, a research center under an Indonesian Hindu Youth Association**.** It has gaining perception of 302 respondents who are Balinese Hindu Community who live in the area of Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasi from April until May 2012.[28] On the question whether the respondents agree or not with the establishment of the Geothermal Power Plant in Bali, 58, 2 % expressed their agreement, while 21, 6 % disagreed and 22, 3% were abstain. Interestingly, on the question what aspects that should be taken into consideration if a renewable energy is managed in Bali, 51, 2 % mentioned the preservation of the environment while the others chose the aspects of society involvement, the sanctity area, not endangering, etc. In the context of carbon emission, this problem is like 2 faces of coin. One side, the geothermal power plant is scientifically considered as one of the cleanest technology. Hence, once it would be established, it will gradually replace the current diesel fuel power plants in Bali.[29] Certainly, this is a positive thing for the good climate. In other side, the fact that this project will eliminated some parts of forest surrounding Bedugul is not entirely good solution if it is viewed from the carbon sink prespective. Although, there is also argument that geothermal power plant is actually maintain the existence of environment. This is an ongoing matter. How this problem will be finally solved, whether it would be established or not,

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[26] Ibid

[27] Article, "Tokoh Masyarakat Bedugul Sayangkan Pernyataan Menteri asal Bali", http://bisnisbali.com/2011/12/17/news/bisnisumum/bbn.html and also P. Raja Siregar "Si Bersih Yang Ditolak Pemuka Agama (Pembangkit Listrik Geothermal Bedugul-Studi Kasus", http://www.forplid.net/studi-kasus/9-energi-energi-/120-pembangkit-listik-geothermal-bedugul-.html

[28] Media Hindu Edisi 104 Oktober 2012, p.

[29] According to the spokesperson of the Bali branch of state-owned electricity company PT PLN Agung Mastika, the plants' diesel generators consume 1.4 million liters of diesel fuel per day. Sixty percent of Bali's power was supplied by plants using diesel generators, including Pesanggaran plant in south Denpasar, which produces up to 152 MW, Gilimanuk in western Bali with 130 MW and Pemaron in North Bali with 80 MW. http://www.thejakartapost.com/node/167876

it will certainly describe a story regarding the role of Balinese people in re-contextualizing their traditional value.

Beside forest protection, another important example regarding the practice of Balinese people in reducing the carbon emission is Nyepi day.[30] It is a day for celebrating the New Year according to the *tahun çaka*. During Nyepi, Balinese-Hindu people partake in *catur brata penyepian*, the Four Abstinences, including *amati geni* (abstaining from lighting any fire or turning on electricity), *amati karya* (abstaining from working), *amati lelungan* (abstaining from going outside the family home) and *amati lelanguan* (abstaining from indulging in any pleasurable activities).[31]

Usually, the people stay at home with their own small family. Mostly, they praying, meditating or contemplating during the day, when some people are also fasting. With coordinating to the formal security apparatus, the *pecalang[32]* has given tasked to ensure the security of the Nyepi day.

One should be noted is that there are several villages in Bali that practicing Nyepi Day more than once a year such as Bugbug[33] and Banyuning. In the village of Banyuning, Singaraja, another form of Nyepi day is celebrated a day after *tilem sasih kapat,* the forth dark moon within the Balinese lunar calendar system.[34] This practice which has been recognized since the century of 13 AC is aimed at the respecting of the fertile of the earth (soil).[35] During this peculiar Nyepi day, the traditional community of the village of Banyuning also practices the *catur brata penyepian*.[36] There are also other villages which celebrate Nyepi day exclusively at their own area of village with regard to their peculiar rituals which is so called *ngusaba*, such the Village of Pujungan-Tabanan.[37]

During Nyepi day, the Government of Bali issues a policy to ensure the implementation of this ceremony by closing airport and ports in order to

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[30] There are several English translations for Hari Raya Nyepi, for example: Hindu day of Nyepi, Silent day, Bali's day of silence, and Balinese day of silence. In this paper, the authors use the term of "Nyepi Day"

[31] Ni Komang Erviani, Article "The Balinese Hindu Day of Silence, Nyepi, reduced the island's CO2 (carbon dioxide) emissions by up to 30,000 tons, according to an NGO", the Jakarta Post, Denpasar March 26, 2012 http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2012/03/26/nyepi-reduces-carbon-emissions.html

[32] The traditional guard (police) belongs to the desa pakraman

[33] http://iwbdenpasar.wordpress.com/2009/03/

[34] Article "Desa Banyuning Laksanakan Nyepi Khusus" Harian Umum Nusa Bali, Senin 17 September 2012, p. 4.

[35] Ibid

[36] Ibid

[37] See and http://mpuprema.blogspot.com/2009/09/nyepi-ngerestitiang-karya.html and http://www.journalbali.com/culture/etnika/nyepi.html

terminate the departure and arrival activities from and to the island of Bali. Positively, there is neither air pollution resulted by the people, nor water and soil pollutions. The road is free from the cars and motorcycles, the beach is empty from the machines of the fisherman's boat, and the airport also stops its regular aircraft activities. It is also amazing to realize that there is no single industry carries out its daily production. Hence, the sky is certainly blue during the day and thousands stars can be clearly seen during the night. In this regard, the practice of Nyepi day in Bali can be analogized as giving chance to the earth to breath in health for a day.

On 8 December 2007, there was a peace demonstration with the title "Cultural Parade for Climate Change" organized by NGOs in Renon, Denpasar Bali. It was a 'street summit meeting' which can be considered as a competitor of the formal UNFCCC which arranged in Nusa Dua, approximately 30 Kilometers from the location of the demonstration. Many Indonesian and international NGOs took part in the demonstration as well a lot of Balinese people which wearing their traditional clothes. Interestingly, there were many posters delivering messages about the Principle of *Tri Hita Karana* and campaigning the world Silent day every 21 of March as like annually practiced in Bali. A factsheet released by NGOs describes that the CO2 resulted by cars, motorcycles, and aircraft in Bali per day is estimated at least around 17.316 tons.[38] It excludes the CO2 resulted by the sea activities, industries, and power plants.[39]

There is also data which estimating that Nyepi day reduces 20,000 tons of carbon dioxide emission.[40] A few months ago, an NGO Walhi Bali mentions that during the 24 hours of the Nyepi Day in Bali, up to 30,000 tons of CO2 emissions can be reduced.[41]

A decade ago, there was a scientific data regarding the air pollution in Denpasar, the capital city of Bali Province, during the implementation of Nyepi

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[38] "Pesan Kearifan dari Bali untuk Mengurangi Emisi Gas Rumah Kaca" Lembar Informasi No. 4 Nopember 2007 Kolaborasi Bali untuk Perubahan Iklim (Bali Collaboration for Climate Change).

[39] It was also cited in Article "Nyepi (Hening) Untuk Bumi Menghadapi Perubahan Iklim Dengan Kearifan Lokal", published, Serasi, Media Komunikasi Lingkungan Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup Republik Indonesia, Edisi 02/2009, p.33. http://wwwnew.menlh.go.id/Serasi/tahun2009/Serasi_Vol-2-2009.pdf

[40] http://www.worldsilentday.org/

[41] Ni Komang Erviani, Article "The Balinese Hindu Day of Silence, Nyepi, reduced the island's CO2 (carbon dioxide) emissions by up to 30,000 tons, according to an NGO", the Jakarta Post, Denpasar March 26, 2012 http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2012/03/26/nyepi-reduces-carbon-emissions.html

day in April 2002. This data was published in an article with the title "Hari Raya Nyepi dan Maknanya dalam Kelestarian Hidup", written by Nyoman Adiputra, Ketut Tirtayasa dan Dewa Putu Sutjana.[42] It studies the air quality level in the Denpasar, by using 3 samples of area namely Pegok Denpasar Selatan, daerah UNHI Denpasar Timur, and Stadion Kompiang Sujana Denpasar Barat to collect data.[43] The survey was focused on the pollutant components such as SO2, CO, O3, NO2, and NO by comparing the air quality in those three samples on the Nyepi day and on the average days excluded Nyepi day in April 2002.[44] Foreseeable, the result of the study found that there was a wide gap of the level of air pollution between the Nyepi day and the other days.[45] It implies that the decrease of the pollutant level during the 24 hours practice of Nyepi day is successful to improve the air quality in the city of Denpasar.

The Nyepi day also extremely reduces the consumption of energy. It can be assessed that the use of electricity at the house of peoples almost nothing because of the abstention of use of lamp, radio, and television. During the Nyepi Day on 7 March 2008, two power plants in Bali, PLTGU Pemaron and PLTG Gilimanuk, are stopped operating.[46] According to the General Manager PT PLN Wilayah Distribusi Bali Mr. Sudirman, this action has successfully saved the use of around 500.000 liters of diesel fuel or equal with 3 billion rupiahs.[47]

In 2012, it has been calculated that 3,000 kiloliters of subsidized fuel were successfully saved during Nyepi day on 23 March 2012 and has been also estimated that Bali had also reduced the use of subsidized fuel by 20 percent on a day after Nyepi day as many residents had not resumed their normal activities.[48] Moreover —as released by Pertamina Bali-West Nusa Tenggara area sales manager Lin Febrian— Pertamina stopped the distribution

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[42] AA G Raka Dalem, et, al (Ed), Kearifan Lokal dalam Pengelolaan Lingkungan Hidup, UPT Penerbit Universitas Udayana dan Pusat Penelitian Lingkungan Hidup, Denpasar, 2007, p. 157-162
[43] Ibid, p. 158.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid, p. 158 and 160.
[46] Article "Nyepi Hemat Energi Rp3 Miliar" http://news.okezone.com/read/2008/03/10/1/90508/1/nyepi-hemat-energi-rp3-miliar
[47] Ibid
[48] Article "Nyepi, Pertamina Hemat 3.000 Kiloliter BBM Bersubsidi", 25 Maret 2012, http://regional.kompas.com/read/2012/03/25/0606155/Nyepi.Pertamina.Hemat.3.000.Kiloliter.BBM.Bersubsidi and Article "3,000 kiloliters of fuel saved during Nyepi" The Jakarta Post, Denpasar | Archipelago | Sun, March 25 2012, http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2012/03/25/3000-kiloliters-fuel-saved-during-nyepi.html

of aviation fuel around 80 Kiloliters as there was no aviating activity at Bali's Ngurah Rai Airport during Nyepi.

Indeed, the Nyepi day is a reflection of the local value of Balinese people. However, it must be objectively explained that the current practice of Nyepi day actually gets fully support from the Government at both national dan local levels. Since Nyepi day was officially determined as a National Holiday by the Government of Indonesia in 1983 by a Presidential Decree Number 3 Year 1983,[49] the celebration of Nyepi day in Bali and many other places in Indonesia relatively effortless to be organized. Annually, the national holiday for Nyepi —as well the religious days of other official religion in Indonesia— is always jointly discussed and determined by Minister for Religious Affairs, Minister of Labour and Transmigration, and Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucracy Reform. For instance, the celebration of Nyepi Day on the last 23 March 2012 has been previously decided on 13 July 2011 by the three ministers.[50] For the next year, they have also decided together that the Nyepi day will be officially celebrated on 12 March 2013.[51] Another example of the government support is with regard to the television. Before the celebration of Nyepi day in 2012, the Governor of Province of Bali on his letter Number. 482.11/971/Humas requested the broadcast enterprises not to broadcast or relay to the territory of Bali in order to give the Balinese people implement their *catur brata penyepian* solemnly.[52] The Head of Commission A of the House of Representative of Bali also held a consultation to the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission in Jakarta in order to support the restriction of broadcast in Bali during the Nyepi day.[53]

Birnie, Boyle, and Redgwell arguing that science has played a decisive role in the formation of the current regime of climate change.[54] By observing

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[49] This Presidential Decree can be accessed at www.bphn.go.id/data/documents/83kp003.doc

[50] Keputusan Bersama Menteri Agama, Menteri Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi, dan Menteri Pendayagunaan Aparatur Negara dan Reformasi Birokrasi Nomor 7 Tahun 2011, Nomor 04/MEN/VII/2011, Nomor : SKB/03/M.PAN-RB/07/2011http://kemenag.go.id/file/dokumen/Cutibersamadanlibur2012.pdf

[51] Keputusan Bersama Menteri Agama, Menteri Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi, dan Menteri Pendayagunaan Aparatur Negara dan Reformasi Birokrasi RI Nomor 5 Tahun 2012, Nomor SKB. 06/MEN/VII/2012, dan Nomor 02 Tahun 2012. http://kemenag.go.id/file/file/surat/wthg1343030346.pdf

[52] http://www.kpi.go.id/component/content/article/14-dalam-negeri-umum/30459-gubenur-imbau-media-tidak-siaran-selama-nyepi-

[53] http://www.kpid-baliprov.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=61:konsultasi-nyepi-kpi-bali-dampingi-komisi-1-dprd-bali&catid=1:berita-utama

[54] Patricia Birnie, Alan Boyle, and Catherine Redgwell , International Law and the Environment, Third Edition, Oxford University Press Inc, New York, 2009, p. 337. See also Stephen H. Schneider, Armin Rosencranz, Michael D. Mstrandrea, and Kristin Kuntz-Duriseti, Climate Science and Policy, Island Press, Washington, 2010

the phenomena of existing local values and traditions in Bali, this argument should be also complement by an understanding that local values also have significant contribution in solving the climate change problems, even though those values are not specifically recognized under the positivistic climate change regime.

Conclusion

The climate condition these days are worrying, have to be a main attention locally (nationally) and internationally. The characteristic of environmental problems that unattached with the region boundary and time makes the climate justice issue becoming priority for the authorities and policy makers. Globally this time, emission calculation is still using global approach as aggregate for general calculation. This matter becomes injustice to developing countries because they have the similar treatment when they giving the different contribution compared to developed countries that are main emitter. Based on the common concept but differentiated responsibilities, developing countries have justification to use their rights to develop what they have.

However, the proposition has not being smoothly acceptable and in fact for some people, they use it to maximize their own profit. The imbalance emission that happened in the big cities with curtain's lifestyle and uncontrolled energy utilization pattern made them as the main emission consumer in a country. This matter of course giving the conclusion that some people had becoming free riders to the emission quota utilization. One of the discourse and further research that can be performed in this context is the existence of personal emission concept without considering region and administration boundary. This concept for some people can be suitable, but recognition only to a country entity in the international law dimension will give its own difficulty for the implementation personal emission concept.

From the fact above, we can make note that there is correlation between local value and climate injustice. We can see that local value especially in Bali can drive lower carbon activities. In other regions maybe there's some local values which have the similar function. That phenomenon is a conclusion that global problem can certainly be solved with local attitude.

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THE POTENTIAL ROLE OF MOTHERS IN CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION

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Abstract

All of individuals can contribute in climate change mitigation either in reducing emissions of carbon dioxide (CO_2), methane (CH_4) or nitrogen dioxide (N_2O). One of the ways to prepare individuals willing to contribute in climate change mitigation is through education of family because all of individuals are part of the family.

Mother has been a family educator since long time ago and with this role, mothers have the potential to play a role in climate change mitigation. As a mother of her children, mother has potential as an intermediary to pass on the values of climate change mitigation to her children. As a wife of her husband, mother has potential to implement green behavior in housekeeping, this case as well as a role model to her children. Moreover, mother also has the potential to encourage her husbands to contribute in climate change mitigation. As a members of society, mother can suggest to the community to contribute in climate change mitigation and shaping the family that have green behavior as role model in the community. Providing insight of climate change for mother is an important step to mobilize communities to participate in climate change mitigation.

KEYWORDS : climate change, mitigation, role, mother.

Introduction

The impacts of climate change has reported (see UNFCCC, 2007). The climate has always changed naturally but the climate change currently and in the future is not only caused by natural events, but rather because of human activities (NUDP Indonesia, 2007) and changes in these behaviors have major potential to limit the magnitude of climate change (Stern, 2011).

Change the behavior is not easy, but it is possible. One of the ways is put education related to climate change to family because all of individual is part of the family and will return to the family. Educating the family is one of the role of mother. This paper will discuss the things that can be done by individuals in climate change mitigation and the potential role of mothers in preparing the individual willing to do it.

The options of individual's Contribution in Climate Change Mitigation

Mitigation efforts aim to reduce the rate of greenhouse gas emissions so that greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere is still in a tolerable level (RI, 2007). These greenhouse gases include carbon dioxide (CO2), methane (CH4) and nitrogen dioxide (N2O), and a rise in these gases has caused a rise in the amount of heat from the sun withheld in the Earth's atmosphere, heat that would normally be radiated back into space. This increase in heat has led to the greenhouse effect, resulting in climate change (UNFCCC, 2007).

Mitigation of climate change is not only the duty of the state or organization, each individual can contribute to climate change mitigation. Although in the individual scale is small enough, but if it is done by many people and continuesly, it will contribute significantly in climate change mitigation effort.

The main greenhouse gas that increasing is carbon dioxide. This gas is one of the gas that naturally comes out when we exhale, is also produced from burning coal, or wood, or from the use of gasoline and solar. Much of this carbon dioxide can be reabsorbed, including through process of 'photosynthesis', which is part of the growth of plant or tree (UNDP Indonesia, 2007).

To reduce carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, the things that can be done by individual including save electricity (there are electricity generation

that use coal energy), support the supply of biofuels (for example, collecting waste cooking oil as material for synthesis of biodiesel (Suirta, 2009)) and planted the vegetation around the residence for reabsorb of carbon dioxide (also see Lorenzen, 2012).

Methane (CH_4) is the second most important greenhouse gas after carbon dioxide (Suprihatin *et al*. 1998). Methane is emitted from a range of natural (wetlands, termite activity and oceans) and anthropogenic (relating to human activity involve agricultural livestock, rice cultivation, waste practices, coal mining, natural distribution and biomass burning) sources (http://www. eci.ox.ac.uk/research/energy/downloads/methaneuk/chapter02.pdf).

Humans in every activity is almost always produce waste and strategies to minimize the formation of methane gas from waste that can be done by individuals including composting, reduce, reuse, recycle and green consumer (Sudarman, 2010). In the process composting occurs aerobic reaction that does not produce methane gas, so this method will reduce methane emissions into the atmosphere. (Suprihatin *et al*. 1998; Sudarman, 2010). Reduce namely reduces all things that contribute to the waste, for example carry bags or baskets from home when shopping , reducing unnecessary packaging. Reuse namely the reuse of waste that still can be used either for the same function or other functions, eg waste bottles for waste cooking oil containers and recycle is process the waste into new products for example processing organic waste into compost. Green consumer is a consumer group that using the environment criteria in selecting the goods or the consumer who is aware and concerned about how important to act friendly to the environment. Green consumer can reduce the waste and finally reduce the methane gas emission (Sudarman, 2010).

Nitrous oxide is emitted from anthropogenic (manmade) and natural sources. Oceans and natural vegetation are the major natural sources of N2O. Anthropogenic sources of N2O are Agricultural soil management (e.g., fertilization, application of manure to soils, drainage and cultivation of organic soils), combustion by mobile sources (cars, trucks, etc.), nitric acid production, and manure management (Bracmort, K. 2010).

Reducing the use of vehicles such as using public transport, going on foot (if close) and ride a bike is option that can be done by individual to reduce nitrous oxide emission.

What Influence Behavior?

Behavior can be difined as the way in which an individual behaves or acts. It is the way an individual conduct herself/himself. Behavior, therefore, is the way an individual acts towards people, society or subject (Guez and Allen, 2000). An individual perform a given behavior because she/he has the individual's intention. The individual's intention to perform a given behavior is the central in the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991).

The theory of planned behavior postulates three conceptually independent determinants of intention. The first is the attitude toward the behavior and refers to the degree to which a person has a favorable or unfavorable evaluation or appraisal of the behavior in question. Tha second predictor is a social factor termed subjective norm, it refers to the percieved social pressure to perform or not to perform the behavior. The third antecedent of intention is the degree of perceived behavior control which, as we saw earlier, refers to the perceived ease or difficulty of performing the behavir and it is assumed to reflect past experience as well as anticipated impediments and obstacles. In some applications it may be found that only attitudes have a significant impact on intentions, in others that attitudes and perceived control are sufficient to account for intentions, and in still others that all three predictors make independent controbutions (Ajzen, 1991).

Potential Role of Mother

Every individual in this world is part of family and family is the basic unit of society. One of the function of family is socialization of children. The child learns language, customs, etiquette, norms and values, beliefs and social roles. The family lays down the foundation of human personality (http:// nos.org/ 331courseE/L-13%20FAMILY.pdf). Family education greatly influence the process of shaping one's personality and role of mothers as an educator of family has been long time (Hanum, 2010)

The mother as the central figure in family is very important in running life. Role of women in the family in general divided into the role of women as mothers, women as wives, and as a member of the community (Noor, 2002).

One of the role of women as mother is educating her children. Mother has potential as an intermediary to pass on the values of climate change mitigation to their children as the next generation because mother close to their children. In educating children, a mother should be able to be a role model for their children considering that child will imitate the behavior of parents, especially mothers (Noor, 2002). Mother should implement the behavior that can mitigate the climate change in daily life, so their children can see it. Children will take the values as well as the behavior of their mother.

As a wife of her husband, housewife has a role to take care of the household. Mother has potential to implement green behavior in housekeeping. Moreover, mother can also play a role as motivator for her husband (Noor, 2002; Hanum, F., 2010) and also serve as advisors (Noor, 2002). Mother has the potential to encourage her husbands to contribute in climate change mitigation.

As members of society, a mother is expected to participate in community building including in climate change mitigation. Mother can suggest to the community to contribute in climate change mitigation and shaping the family that have green behavior as role model in the community.

To optimize her role, mother need to learn the knowledge of climate change mitigation, so providing insight of climate change for mother is an important step. Promote and cooperate in education, training and public awareness related to climate change and encourage the widest participation in this process, including that of non-governmental organizations is one of commitment of UNFCCC (UN, 1992) and mother with a large enough role in the family has the potential to do it.

Mother has the potential role in climate change mitigation by providing an understanding about the benefit to perform climate change mitigation and as role model to the family and community. These are expected to influence the family and community attitudes towards climate change mitigation. Moreover, participating in climate change mitigation is expected to be a subjective norm in family and community. If the attitude of individuals in climate change mitigation is good and climate change mitigation to be a subjective norm, it can be expected that performing the climate change mitigation is the easy thing to be done by all individuals. So, an individual's intention to perform climate change mitigation will emerge strongly, and climate change mitigation will be a behavior.

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CLIMATE CHANGE PHENOMENON IS THE PART OF COASTAL COMMUNITY LIFE IN THE SEMARANG CITY

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Introduction

Climate change can be recognized through the phenomena occurring at the north pole in the past 10 years. Phenomena, among others, changes in the hydrologic cycle, water masses and ocean currents that affect the melting of ice, an increase in temperature around the north pole, so that the volume is enlarged and raise sea levels. In 2010, the Arctic ice melts due to global warming. The melting of the past 10 years reached 11.5%. In September 2010 the amount of ice in the Arctic has decreased significantly compared to other periods. If all the ice in Greenland and Antarctica melted, there will be the world's sea level rise on average 6-7 feet (Susanta, 2008). The average rise in global sea level net subsidence, are expected to rise between 8-13 cm by 2030, between 17-29 cm by 2050, and between 35-82 cm in 2100 (IOM, 2008).

The most vulnerable areas to the global warming impact is coastal areas due to directly adjacent to the sea. When sea levels rise above the height of the land, the sea water will inundate the entire. Vulnerability as a result of climate change is identified in the scope of the sectoral, spatial, urban infrastructure and community development (Otto and Zimmermann, 2011). Each vulnerability sensitivity is different to climate change impact. In response and assess the level of vulnerability many researchers have done numerous studies and their forms of mitigation options. The trend is happening, the form of

communication in this process occurs only in one direction. Often the study of climate change is only in the form of planning documents, while the shape is determined in a bottom-up mitigation and are one-way. A new paradigm for the role of society towards mainstreaming disaster management is necessary to change the physical system for disaster mitigation. Capacity building is at the root of the embodiment of community participation to climate change disaster. Capacity building scheme will be applied to the city of Semarang coastal communities who affected by climate change. The area identified as the coastal city of Semarang, the Gayamsari District, West Semarang District, Genuk District, Eastern Semarang District, North Semarang District, and Tugu District. These areas will form a different capacity building schemes based on the community character.

Research Problem

Development of capacity building in disaster-prone areas become sidelined. In fact, capacity building is very important to make the character a disaster resilient community. Establishment of capacity building have become important in Semarang for people to determine of disaster mitigation in accordance with the type of disaster and their abilities. Therefore, in this study will be discussed capacity building development and capacity building formulation of each feature vulnerability

Discussion
1   Vulnerability Level Analysis

Under existing conditions, the vulnerability that occurs in the coastal area of Semarang cumulatively have a score of 3. The score is based on the high level of vulnerability. Tidal flood as real catastrophe of climate change in the coastal city of Semarang. The impact of tidal flooding affecting environmental conditions. Mangrove cultivation as a barrier of tidal flood reach land, that can not be preserved, so that the embankment have higher salinity levels. Finally, the coastal communities left livelihood as fishermen. At the time of the switch livelihoods as informal sector workers, with coastal areas towards the outer coastal areas are also closed due to tidal flood. Tidal flood also crippled the

region's economy. Coastal areas as the lifeblood of Semarang economy, especially industry, trade and services. Coastal areas to transport the movement of goods and services in the Semarang City. The air transportation, sea transportation, and land transportation connect with the coastal area. Therefore, tidal flood is the bottleneck of economic sectors in the city of Semarang. When tidal flood as the impacts of climate change adversely affect the economic and environmental, instead of climate change have a positive impact for socio-cultural perspective. Social bonding that occurs in the community more closely. Even the form of social interaction to work together to reduce the impact of climate change. Strength of policies and regulations that have been guarding the programs of reduce climate change has not been completed up to the root of climate change problems. As a result, these programs are only able to cope with climate change impacts in the short term. The following are details of the vulnerability of coastal features Semarang.

Economic Vulnerability Features

Coastal communities only 10% were working as fishermen. They have left the job in the fisheries and marine sector since 1990. At the same time, construction of elite residential areas around the coastal areas and the increasing intensity of the floods. Communities began to change livelihood as traders, laborers, and vending services. With these livelihood, their income is not erratic. In one month the average income of Rp 500,000.00 to 800,000.00. Income is not enough to meet their daily needs. Expenditure in one month an average is ± Rp 700,000.00 to 900,000.00. By comparing between revenues and expenditures, it looks weak financial capability. The communities does not have a residual income for stored / saved. Moreover, increasing expenditure if they have to undertake mitigation to prevent the entry of tidal flooding to their houses. Forms of mitigation which is chosen communities is the house exaltation. Cost required to raise the minimum Rp. 2,000,000.00. Elevation of the house is done 2-5 years. Cumulative, score feature economic vulnerability, which is 3. Here is a description of the features of economic vulnerability.

Table 1: Economic Vulnerability Features

No	District	Score	Explanation
1	Gayamsari	2	• Average income Rp 750.000,00-1.000.000,00/ month • Average expenditure Rp 700.000,00-1.000.000,00/month • Residual income is saved an average of 50.000,00-100.000,00/month· Income that is used for disaster mitigation is small because the house exaltation is done 7-10 years
2	West Semarang	3	• Average income Rp 500.000-800.000,00/ month • Average expenditure Rp 700.000,00-900.000,00/month • No income is saved • Income that is used for disaster mitigation is big because the house exaltation is done 2-5 years
3	Genuk	3	• Average income Rp 750.000,00-1.000.000,00/ month • Average expenditure Rp 700.000,00-1.000.000,00/month • Residual income is saved an average of 50.000,00-100.000,00/bulan • Income that is used for disaster mitigation is big because the house exaltation is done 3-5 years
4	East Semarang	2	• Average income Rp 500.000-900.000,00/month • Average expenditure Rp 600.000,00-900.000,00/ month • Residual income is saved an average of 50.000,00-100.000,00/month • Income that is used for disaster mitigation is big because the house exaltation is done 3-5 years
5	North Semarang	3	• Average income Rp 500.000-800.000,00/ month • Average expenditure Rp 700.000,00-1.000.000,00/ month • No income is saved • Income that is used for disaster mitigation is big because the house exaltation is done 2-5 years
6	Tugu	3	• Average income Rp 500.000-800.000,00/ month • Average expenditure Rp 700.000,00-900.000,00/ month • No income is saved • Income that is used for disaster mitigation is big because the house exaltation is done 2-5 years

Socio-Culture Vulnerability Features

Socio-cultural life of the coastal community has a unique character. Cooperation and *gotong royong* are still frequent. Close social ties and social interaction that intensive are the coastal communities characterize. Even those reasons

that make them reluctant to leave the coastal areas, although the tidal flood inundate their settlement area. Non-formal institutions in society became evident closeness of community relations. In public life it is possible friction, but it does not lead to conflict. Cooperation is also visible in the effort community to reduce the climate change impact. Elevation of the road and drainage improvements as a form of mitigation done with cooperation. Characteristic features of the socio-cultural vulnerabilities throughout the coastal region (Gayamsari District, West Semarang District, Genuk District, Eastern Semarang District, North Semarang District, and Tugu District) is the same, ie close social ties, inter-intensive interaction, the cooperation in social systems, social organizations and institutions, namely the *Rukun Tetangga (RT)* up to district level. It's just to the West of Semarang District, still visible gap between people who live in elite residential areas and housing. Score feature vulnerability is 2, except west of Semarang District mmiliki vulnerability score 3.

Environment Vulnerability Features

Environment is directly related to the impacts of climate change. Then the impact of the vulnerability of the features will affect other aspects, such as economic and social. Tidal flood affect the ecological balance in the coastal zone. This condition is exacerbated by the development residential area towards the beach. Density buildings reduce softscapes in coastal areas such as green belt. Thus tidal flood may qualify for entry into the land without any vegetation as a barrier. Cumulative environmental vulnerability scores feature is 3. Here is a description of the features of vulnerability.

Table 2: Environment Vulnerability Features

No	District	Score	Explanation
1	Gayamsari	2	• Green open space for domestic scale that can absorb run off when flooding intensity incrace. Residential drainage works fine • In Gayamsari district, The river is able accommodate flood, so run off can be distributed to hhe sea
2	West Semarang	3	• The development of elite residential areas cause a reduction in catchment areas. The density population also reduce conservation area

No	District	Score	Explanation
			• Green belt and Green open space in the coastal area is decrease • Run off breaks into land • River systems in the region shallower due to sedimentation and community activities. Communities is not friendly to the environment
3	Genuk	3	• The development of elite residential areas cause a reduction in catchment areas. • The development of industrial sector resulted in pollution of the environmet, such as air ollution and waste • The lack of green open space ang dreen belt
4	East Semarang	3	• Green open space for domestic scale · Easter Semarang District also connect with Genuk Districtas industry area, trade and sevices area, and also distribution of goods. Air pollution and waste pollution caused by the activity • The density settlement reduces catchment area availability • Tidal flood inundated settlement areas· Slum impression created in settlements areas
5	North Semarang	3	• A very high density residential reduce land use as catchment area • Drainage infrastructure is not functioning properly, so it is not able to accommodate runoff in settlement areas • The lack of green open space make this area inundated tidal flood. Tidal flood does not just occur when sea level rise, but also high intensity rainfall • Slum impression created in settlements areas
6	Tugu	3	• A very high density residential reduce land use as catchment area • The lack of green open space make this area inundated tidal flood. Tidal flood does not just occur when sea level rise, but also high intensity rainfall • Slum impression created in settlements areas

Political Vulnerability Features

Capacity building for coastal communities also requires the stakeholders intervention. During the application of the program is one-way only. In the end, community do not respond to these programs. The programs that are determined by government is not necessarily in accordance withthe needs of the community. In 1990-2002 the decision about disaster mitigation is top down. Entering the

year 2003, community began to be involved in the decision making process of development program in the coastal area. Society has been able to make a proposal which is then submitted to the City of Semarang for further action. Top down paradigm has shifted to bottom up paradigm. But the decision-making that is bottom-up is still limited to certain areas. The decision taken is still too stiff, that can not touch the various levels of society, especially the middle and lower layers of society. Cumulatively, scores of politicalal vulnerability is the third feature. Here is explanation.

Table 3: Political Vulnerability Features

No	District	Score	Explanation
1	Gayamsari	2	• Community participation in determining the direction has begun • Government appreciates the role of community in the developmen process • People more focused on infrastructure improvements, such as road elevation and drainage quality
2	West Semarang	3	• No initiation form from communities to participate in the development process· Decision making is top down
3	Genuk	3	• Communities is not aware about the programs that has been launched by the government
4	East Semarang	2	• The initiation communities to participate in the development process
5	North Semarang	3	• Communities is not aware about the programs that has been launched by the governmenot because of undertanding low level of community • Decision making is top down

2 Capacity Building Development and Handling Sceme Analysis

Based on the analysis of the vulnerability, the development priority of capacity building by ranking, which features a major focus of environmental vulnerability, followed by features of economic vulnerability, the vulnerability features politicals, and the last features of socio-cultural vulnerability. Here is a scheme of the development of capacity building for each vulnerability.

Environment Vulnerability Features

Development of capacity building requires concrete actions as a form of cooperation between government, private, and public. Private in this case is a third party to mediate between the government and the communitiesdesire. The role of the private sector to do the Non-Government Organization (NGO). Attractive interaction in the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) can be done to map the environmental problems in coastal areas, the efforts that have been made communities, the obstacles encountered in these efforts, and hope in the future the environmental aspect. The mapping is done for each district is different. Here is a stage of development and capacity building schemes handling. The scheme below is a development stage of capacity building for environmental vulnerability features. Then the further elaboration of the formulation development of capacity building programs and forms of mitigation in each district.

First Stage	Second Stage	Third Stage	Fourth Stage
Discussion (Community-Government-NGO) • The phenomenon climate change in castal area • Climate change impact in environment sector • Anticipation of climate chang impact	**Discussion (Community-Government-NGO)** • Distribution of the communities government and NGO roles • Community behaviour to preserve ecosystems	**FGD** • Mapping the environment problems in coastal area • Effort that have been made communities • Obstacles encountered in these efforts • Hope in the future in environment aspect	**FGD** • Formulation development of capacity building • Mitigation programs based on environment aspect

Table 4: Capacity Building Development on Environmental Vulnerability Features

No	District	*Capacity building* **Formulation**	**Handling Scheme**
1	Gayamsari	• Discussion of climate change phenomen and effect: 1 meeting for 3 hours • Distribution of the role of the stakeholders: 1 meeting for 2 hours. The result is that people act as drafting and implementing mitigation programs, NGO to assist the community and act as a facilitator, the government as policy maker; implementing monitoring and evaluation, and participate with the community implement the program	• Replanting mangroves along the coastal areas by involving all stakeholders. The process of planting done in a span of 2 months. Monitoring the condition of mangrove plants every 3 months by the community • Communities design green open space residential scale. Government and NGO represent design made public and also apply. NGOs / NGOs as well as donors to subsidize the financial and plants. The process of applying design to 4 months • Dredging of settlements drainage to reduce household waste dumped in the drainage system. Dredging conducted independently, at least once a month
2	West Semarang	• Discussion of the climate change phenomen and effect are followed by all levels of society (no gap between the elite residential areas and settlements): 1 meeting for 3 hours • Distribution of the role of the stakeholders: 2 meetings, each meeting for 2 hours. The result is that communities act as implementers of disaster mitigation programs, NGO to assist the community and act as a facilitator, government as a maker of policies and programs; implementing monitoring and evaluation, and participate with the community implement the program	• Cooperation between all levels of society to create a green belt along the coastal. Replanting mangroves along the coastal areas by involving all stakeholders. The process of planting done in a span of 2 months. Monitoring the condition of mangrove plants every 3 months by the community • Planting vegetation that involves all stakeholders in an open space located in the elite residential area • Dredging the river to reduc sedimentation • Application silvofishery to preserve mangrove plants, but keep the fishpond production. • Dredging of settlements drainage to reduce household waste dumped in the drainage system. Dredging conducted independently, at least once a month • Appreciation is given to villages that managed to preserve its territory. A token of appreciation is to educate and raise awareness, such as giving a gift of cleaning equipment

No	District	Capacity building Formulation	Handling Scheme
3	Genuk	• Discussion and FGD was attended by the industry and the communities delegation • Discussion of the climate change phenomenon and impacts by industrial activity and settlement: 1 meeting for 3 hours • Distribution of the role of the stakeholders: 1 meeting for 2 hours. The result is that communities act as drafting and implementing mitigation programs, NGO to assist the community and act as a facilitator, the government as policy maker; implementing monitoring and evaluation, and participate with the community implement the program, the industry group as a donor for the program and is obligated to send delegation to participate in the program	• Cooperation between all levels of society to create a green belt along the coastal. Replanting mangroves along the coastal areas by involving all stakeholders. The process of planting done in a span of 2 months. Monitoring the condition of mangrove plants every 3 months by the communities • Application silvofishery to preserve mangrove plants, but keep the fishpond production. • Dredging of settlements drainage to reduce household waste dumped in the drainage system. Dredging conducted independently, at least once a month • Construction waste management in order not to pollute the environment • The industry must use environmentally friendly technology
4	East Semarang	• Cooperation inter region (East Semarang and Genuk District) • Discussion of the climate change phenomenon and effects as a whole group activity: 1 meeting, each meeting for 3 hours • Distribution of the role of the stakeholders: 1 meeting for 2 hours. The result is that the communities, industry sector, trade and services act as a disaster mitigation program implementers, NGO to assist the community and act as a facilitator, government as a maker of policies and programs; implementing monitoring and evaluation, and participate with the community implement the program	• Cooperation between all stakeholders including industrial activity, trade and services to make the scale of the conservation area • Industrial actors, trade and services are responsible for reducing air pollution, noise, and waste • Dredging of settlements drainage to reduce household waste dumped in the drainage system. Dredging conducted independently, at least once a month

No	District	*Capacity building Formulation*	Handling Scheme
5	North Semarang	• Discussion of the climate change phenomenon and impacts by industrial activity and settlement: 2 meeting for 3 hours • Distribution of the role of the stakeholders: 1 meeting for 2 hours. The result is that communities act as drafting and implementing mitigation programs, NGO to assist the community and act as a facilitator, the government as policy maker; implementing monitoring and evaluation, and participate with the community implement the program	• Cooperation between stakeholders to create a green belt along the coastal. Replanting mangroves along the coastal areas by involving all stakeholders. The process of planting done in a span of 2 months. Monitoring the condition of mangrove plants every 3 months by the communities • Application silvofishery to preserve mangrove plants, but keep the fishpond production. • Dredging of settlements drainage to reduce household waste dumped in the drainage system. Dredging conducted independently, at least once a month • Population growth Programs "zero growth" with the provisions of population from the birth process, not the result of imigration towards coastal areas • Improving the quality of neighborhoods through "upgrading"
6	Tugu	• Discussion of the climate change phenomenon and the effects as a whole group activity: 1 meeting for 3 hours • Discussion in anticipation of climate change impacts based on best practice 1 meeting for 2 hours • Distribution of the role of the stakeholders: 1 meeting for 2 hours. The result is that communities act as implementers of disaster mitigation programs, NGO to assist the community and act as a facilitator, government as a maker of policies and programs; implementing monitoring and evaluation, and participate with the community implement the program	• Cooperation between all levels of society to create a green belt along the coastal. Replanting mangroves along the coastal areas by involving all stakeholders. The process of planting done in a span of 2 months. Monitoring the condition of mangrove plants every 3 months by the communities • Application silvofishery to preserve mangrove plants, but keep the fishpond production. Facilitators give training sylvofishery system to the communities • Dredging of settlements drainage to reduce household waste dumped in the drainage system. Dredging conducted independently, at least once a month

Economic Vulnerability Features

Capacity building development programs to reduce economic vulnerability due to climate change through the power of the local economy. Communities need to be able to live independently and not just rely on the fisheries sector income. Changing of community livelihood]through improvement creativity of the community. Communities are trained to make handicrafts typical of coastal areas that could be made souvenirs. The discovery of talent and creativity through the stages of the training course conducted by the facilitator. The government in this case can provide start-up capital and equipment used by the public. In essence, the economy will be transformed into creative industries coastal communities.

First Stage	Second Stage	Third Stage	Fourth Stage
Discussion (Community-Government-NGO) • Climate change phenomenon in coastal areas • Climate chang impact in economic sector • Climate change effects on marine resources	**Discussion (Community-Government-NGO)** • Decisions should be taken in order to survive in the coastal areas • Alternative livelihood as a substitute for the fisheries sector	**TRAINING** • Training manufacturing handicrafts are used as souvenirs of the coastal area	**FGD** • Formulation of capacity building development to realize the local economic

Table 5: Capacity Building Development on Economic Vulnerability Features

No	District	*Capacity building* **Formulation**	**Handling Scheme**
1	Gayamsari	• People have to able survive independently • Comminities does not restructuring livelihoods • Strengthening the local economy to improving saving ability	• Enhancing the role *koperasi* and *BKM* • Establishment community organization that cpecializez physical defeloment for mitigation. Saving and managing from communities
2	West Semarang	• Structuring of changing livelohoods • Ttraining of creatives industries, held 1 month for 4 meetings, each meetings 2 hours • Facilitators mentoring when Communities has been doing production proces	• Handicrafts production as souvenir made in house of one communities. The production is carried out in groups • The establishment *koperasi simpan pinjam* and *koperasi distribusi produk*
3	Genuk	• Communities have turned livelihood as factory workers • The communities does not need restructuring livelihoods	• Enhancing the role *koperasi* and *BKM* • Establishment community organization that cpecializez physical defeloment for mitigation. Saving and managing from communities
4	East Semarang	• Classification of communities require for restructure of changing livelihood. Comparision between independent communities and non-independent communities is balanced • Training of creatives industries, held 1 month for 4 meetings, each meeting for 2 hours • Mentoring for communities who have been doing the production process • Election alternative of handicrafts accordance creativity communities	• Establishment of the business community to make coastal souvenirs • Pembentukan kelompok usaha • Handicrafts production as souvenir made in house of one communities. The production is carried out in groups • Establishment *koperasi simpan pinjam* to facilitate the community to get venture capital and save the profit • Scale target aimed at tourist. Therefore, souvenir distributed on tour destination, such as *Lawang Sewu* dan *Gereja Blenduk*

No	District	Capacity building Formulation	Handling Scheme
5	North Semarang	• Training of creatives industries, held 1 month for 4 meetings, each meeting for 2 hours • Mentoring for communities who have been doing the production process • Election alternative of handicrafts accordance creativity communities	• The production process is carried out on the communities home which lower risk of tidal flood • The selection of transportation lane to distribution souvenir products to prevent constraints tidal flood • Establishment *koperasi simpan pinjam* to facilitate the community to get venture capital and save the profit
6	Tugu	• Comparison between the communities that need restructuring livelihood and independently is balanced. Therefore we need the classification society • Training of creatives industries, held 1 month for 4 meetings, each meeting for 2 hours • Mentoring for communities who have been doing the production process • Election alternative of handicrafts accordance creativity communities	• The production process is carried out on the communities home which lower risk of tidal flood • Establishment *koperasi simpan pinjam* to facilitate the community to get venture capital and save the profit

Political Vulnerability Features

Features of the political vulnerability of coastal areas have the same characteristics. Therefore, the discussion will be carried out thoroughly to coastal areas. In politicalal vulnerability, the need for intensive coordination between stakeholders.Decision-making and determination of the program is done bottom up. Decision making through the stages of discussion and focus group discussions. An example is the selection of the alternative livelihoods that do not rely on fisheries and marine resources. Coordination between stakeholders can be done at least 1 month for 1 meetings.

Socio-Culture Vulnerability Features

Socio-cultural life of coastal communities have been good. It is characterized by the interaction between communities and cooperation in the face of climate change. Socio-cultural character of relatively similar in regions. Improvement needs to be done to civil society organizations. During this time, community organizations only as a association has no specific goals. The establishment of community-based organizations as the collecting aspirations is very important. Through these organizations, the communties can participate in the development of coastal areas. Members of organizations should come from a diverse group of communities with a diversity of livelihood.

Conclusion

Development of capacity building is more effective in dealing with climate change. Communities is prepared to survive in tidal flood. Changing livelihoods, improving environmental quality, and strengthening community organizations a solution that can be applied by the communities. The government initially always make decisions that are one-way. Now, beginning to hear people's aspirations. The community also has the right to determine which programs they can access.

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HYDROLOGICAL DROUGHT INDEX BASED ON TRADITIONAL PASTEN SYSTEM

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ABSTRACT

Drought is a natural disaster that threatens life and cause enormous damage. Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change states that the world is more vulnerable to drought in the next 25 years, and climate projections indicate that this will get worse in the future. An important component of a national drought strategy is a comprehensive drought monitoring system which can give warning at the beginning and end of the drought, determine the severity, and disseminating information on various sectors, especially agriculture, public water supply, energy, and health. Such a monitoring system needs a drought index, which is a variable for assessing the effect of a drought, and defining different drought parameters, to detect and evaluate occurrence of droughts.

Drought generally classified into meteorological drought, hydrological drought, agricultural drought, and socio-economic drought. Hydrological drought is related to a period with inadequate surface and subsurface water resources for established water uses of a given water resources management system. At present no hydrological index has been developed and applied in Indonesia.

This paper describes the development of a hydrological drought index for Indonesia, using indicator of traditional pasten, or its modern derivative Faktor-K indicating the ratio between water supplied available and the corresponding water demand in an irrigation system.

Since long time ago, early in the colonial Dutch era, farmers in Indonesia already cultivate rice in the same way as nowadays. The allocation of irrigation

water for sugarcane, rice and palawija is planned and monitored using the pasten system to achieve a fair distribution. At present the farmers still practice the pasten system, and the data on water demand and supply is available on most irrigation diversions. It is expected that a hydrological drought index using the easily available data at the farmer level that have been practiced for centuries in Indonesia, can be developed and applied for drought monitoring and water allocation. Preliminary results using this pasten system with the statistical theory of run, indicate that this index is highly correlated with the occurrence of drought in the northern parts of Central Java.

K E Y W O R D S : drought, drought index, water allocation, irrigation, indigenous, traditional, pasten

Introduction
1   Background

Drought is a natural disaster that threatens life and cause enormous damage. Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC, 2007) states that the world is more vulnerable to drought in the next 25 years, and climate projections indicate that this will get worse in the future. An important component of a national drought strategy is a comprehensive drought monitoring system which can give warning at the beginning and end of the drought, determine the severity, and disseminating information on various sectors, especially agriculture, public water supply, energy, and health. Such a monitoring system needs a drought index, which is a variable for assessing the effect of a drought, and defining different drought parameters, to detect and evaluate occurrence of droughts.

Drought generally classified into meteorological drought, hydrological drought, agricultural drought, and socio-economic drought. Hydrological drought is related to a period with inadequate surface and subsurface water resources for established water uses of a given water resources management system.

Hydrological drought index is an important tool in water allocation and drought management. At present no hydrological index has been developed and applied in Indonesia.

2 Objective

This paper describes the development of a hydrological drought index for Indonesia, using indicator of traditional pasten, or its modern derivative Faktor-K indicating the ratio between water supplied available and the corresponding water demand in an irrigation system.

Research Problems
1 Problem Formulation

Hydrological drought index might consist of several indicators, for examples: rainfall, river discharges, water level in lakes and reservoirs, groundwater level, and other data on water availability and water demands. As hydrological drought is more oriented toward the deficiency of water to supply the demands, a hydrological drought index containing status of demand fulfillment would be an advantage. In Indonesia the water in traditional irrigation system is allocated using factor-k, the ratio between water supply and water demand. It is a challenge to use the traditional factor-k into a hydrological drought index.

2 Hypothesis

The hypothesis of the research is that the hydrological drought based on traditional factor-k can represent hydrological drought condition.

3 Research Question

This paper discusses the possibility of developing a hydrological index based on traditional pasten system, or factor-k. The research question is: can the index to be used as tools to evaluate different kind of drought?

4 Methodology

The new drought index based on traditional pasten system is developed, and tested using k-factor data from the Pemali-Comal river basin territory in Northern part of Central Java. The result is compared with conventional hydrological drought index and the common well known fact on recent drought.
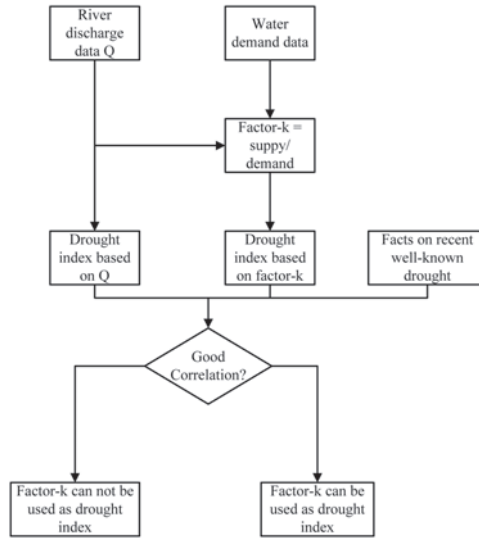
Figure 1 Flow chart of Research Methodology

Preliminary analysis using factor-k data from Notog Weir in Pemali River has been carried out. The location of Notog Weir and the other diversion structures in the study area of Pemali-Comal river basin territory is presented in the next figure.
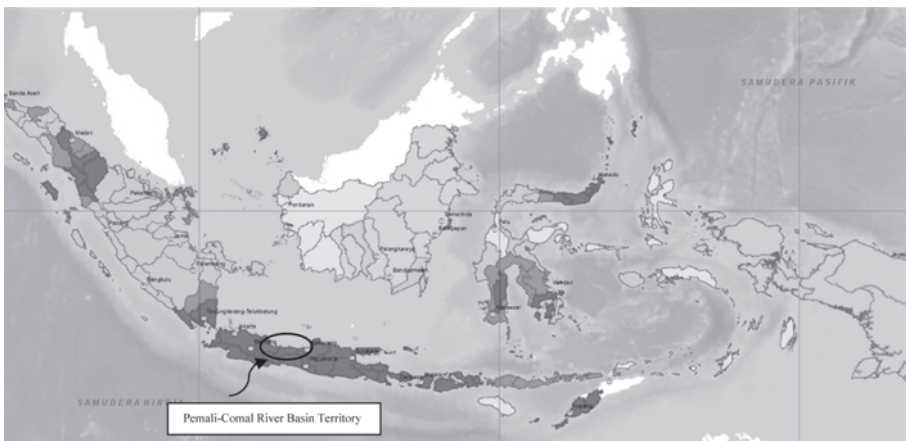
Figure 2. Location of Study Area

Figure 3. Location of Notog Weir in Pemali-Comal River Basin Territory

Discussion
1   Pasten System

As reported by Keeley et al. (1989), Dinar et al. (1997), and Pasandaran (2010), since long time ago, early in the colonial Dutch era, farmers in Indonesia already cultivate rice in the same way as nowadays. The allocation of irrigation water for sugarcane, rice and palawija is planned and monitored using the pasten system to achieve a fair distribution. At present the farmers still practice the pasten system, and the data on water demand and supply is available on most irrigation diversions. It is expected that a hydrological drought index using the easily available data at the farmer level that have been practiced for centuries in Indonesia, can be developed and applied for drought monitoring and water allocation.

There are at least three advantages of using Pasten system as an index of hydrological drought are: (1) It is already becoming tradition since long-time ago, makes the research can be traced back to the long previous drought disaster; (2) It is available in almost all weir in Java Island, in a weekly time-step; and (3) It is easily understood by the water manager as well as the farmer.

The disadvantage of using the pasten system directly is that it only can show current condition, it cannot bring the dimension of duration and intensity. To overcome this problem an approach developed by Yevjevich (1967) by applying the Theory of Run to the truncated series of the indicator is applied as shown in the following figure.

Figure 4 The Theory of Run applied to the truncated series of drought indicator

2   Data Analysis

Data on Notog Diversion Weir has been collected from the year of 1990 until 2010. The conventional drought index using river discharge in the weir with truncation level of dependable flow 80% is presented in Figure 5, showing the drought disaster in the year of 1994 as the most severe drought. This figure does not reveal other drought year, while the fact is that drought in Java is happened in the year of 1991, 1994, 1997, and 2003.

The series of index derived from factor-k with truncation level in 70% shown in Figure 6 shows so many drought disasters, while it also shows drought in 1991, 1994, 1997 and 2003 although not distinct to other years. Figure 7 plot the duration of drought in half-month time-step for each year. It distinctively shows that 1991, 1993, 1994, 1997 and 2003 are the drought year.

Finally Figure 8 presents the severity of drought, that defined as multiplication of duration and its intensity. It shows clearly the drought years from the most severe are: 1994, 1997, 2003, 2006, 1991, and 1993. Both results of duration and the severity of drought using traditional pasten system prove to be close to reality than the drought index composed of river discharge alone.

Conclusion

It is concluded that conceptually the traditional Pasten system of factor-k is a good indicator of hydrological drought. By applying the theory of run to the certain level of truncation of factor-k, then it become an effective hydrological drought index. Preliminary 20 years of half-monthly data from Notog Weir in the Pemali-
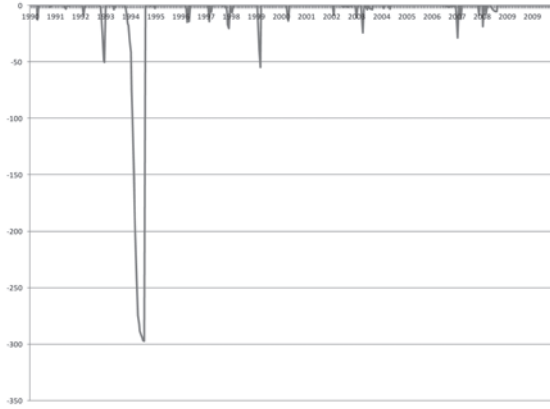
Figure 5 Drought index of river discharge in Notog Weir
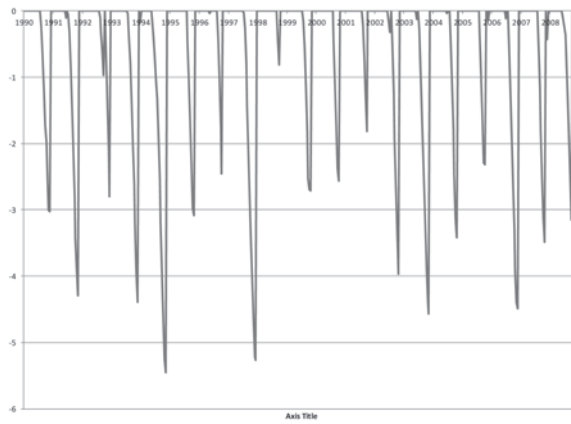
Figure 6. Drought Index of factor-k in Notog Weir
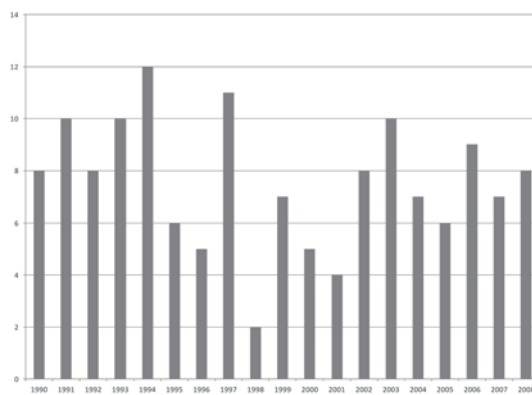
Figure 7. Duration of the drought (in half-month)
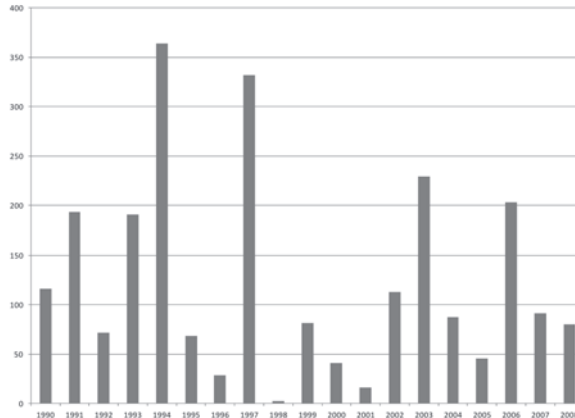
Figure 8. Severity of Drought

Comal River Basin Territory shows that factor-k index is much better than conventional river discharge index in revealing the severe drought year. More data collection will be carried out to generalized this preliminary finding.

Acknowledgement

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Panel 14

Representations of
the Indigenous
in the Global Media

ENVIROMENTAL AND CULTURAL BASED INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY RADIO:
Radio Ruyuk FM, West Java

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ABSTRACT

Ruyuk FM Radio is a radio community focusing on reforestation and local culture program. A comprehensive study of this radio is interesting because of the uniqueness in the process of its establishment, programs, involvement of women, and accomplishments. The study of Ruyuk FM Radio uses the concept of community radio, among others, by Fraser and Estrada (2001) and Jankowski and Prehn (2002). This study is a descriptive case study using qualitative research method and was implemented in January 2011-June 2012. Ruyuk FM Radio was established in 2007 in the Village of Mandalamekar, Tasikmalaya, West Java, by a group of non government organization's activists *Mitra Alam Munggaran* (MAM). The presence of Ruyuk FM Radio encouraged community groups, including women's groups, to produce and share a variety of information on nature conservation, local culture, and society. The main program of Ruyuk FM Radio of promoting forest conservation has restored unity of Mandalamekar villagers in handling and managing water resources in the forest. Efforts by villagers to conserve forest and manage water sources, has officially been recognized and awarded at District, Provincial and International levels. Effort to preserve local culture was implemented through arts, culture and language programs.

K E Y W O R D S : community radio, forest conservation, Sundanese culture, women participation

Introduction

Community radio is a medium for community groups to inform and communicate community issues, such as water pollution, conflict between residents, maternal and child health, public policy villages, and politics[1], as well as local arts and culture (Fraser and Estrada, 2001; Jankowski and Prehn, 2002; Nasir et al., 2007; Seneviratne, 2007). Birowo dkk.[2] stated that the community needed a community radio to express their opinions and interests. This is in line with the basic principles of community radio by the Declaration of the World Association of Community Broadcasters (AMARC[3] in 1988, that is: "Community radio responds to the needs of the community it serves, contributing to its development within progressive perspectives in favor of social change. Community radio strives to democratize communication through community participation in different forms in accordance with each specific social context" (Fraser and Estrada, 2001:3).

In Indonesia, some community radio stations are specializing in issues of nature conservation, water management, preservation of local culture, critics to the village government, and labor issues. One example of a community radio station based on the preservation of forest and cultural issues is Ruyuk FM Community Radio (*in short*: Ruyuk FM) in Tasikmalaya, West Java.

Selection of Ruyuk FM as an object of research was conducted through multistage purposive sampling, namely: (1) mapping of all community radio in West Java which is in the process of legalization, the number was 197 radio stations in 2010, and (2) confirming the legalization process and existence of

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1. Article by Dewi, A. S., A Public Space Named Community Radio (*Sebuah Ruang Publik Bernama Radio Komunitas*), depicted on the transparency of the election process of Head of Timbulhardjo Village in February to March 2003. Processes of nomination until announcement of the elected village head were broadcast live by Radio Angkringan. Communities involved in the process through communication technology at their disposal, such as telephone, short message service (SMS), and letters. They also used to come to the studio to express their opinions or complaints. The geographically and psychologically closeness felt by the community to the Radio Angkringan Timbulharjo made them make radio station to become post for the election of the headman.
2. Birowo, M. A., Prakoso, I., dan Nasir, A., 2007, *Mengapa Radio Komunitas?*, Yogyakarta: Combine Research Institute, hal. 13-14, dalam Haryanto, I. dan Ramdojo, J. J., 2009, *Dinamika Radio Komunitas*, Jakarta: LSPP, hal. 14.
3. AMARC (http://www.amarc.org*) is an international non-governmental organization serving the community radio movement, with almost 3.000 members and associates in 110 countries. Its goal is to support and contribute to the development of community and participatory radio along the principals of solidarity and international cooperation.

Ruyuk FM through interviews with members of the Regional Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (*Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia Daerah*, KPID) West Java, administrators of Indonesia Community Radio Network (*Jaringan Radio Komunitas Indonesia*, JRKI), caretaker of Farmer Voice Radio Network (*Jaringan Radio Suara Petani*, JRSP), management and listeners of Ruyuk FM, as well as conducting field trips.

The study was conducted in January 2011-June 2012 and implemented in the form of a case study (Denzin and Lincoln, 2009; Mulyana, 2001) at Ruyuk FM using the concept of community media (Howley, 2005; Jankowski and Prehn, 2002) and community radio (Fraser and Estrada, 2001; Jankowski and Prehn, 2002 ; Howley, 2005; Solervicens, 2008). The study used a qualitative descriptive method (Moleong, 1999; Mulyana, 2001) based on a very wide variety of data sources to systematically investigate individuals, groups, or events related to the object of research.

Ruyuk FM: Establishment Process, Challenges and Successes

Establishment Process. In 2000s, forest in the Mandalamekar Village was in poor condition due to illegal logging, causing environmental and social problems. The loss of large trees reduced the watershed function. Water discharge and water supplies were decreasing. It often sparked horizontal disputes, especially among farmers. Concerned about these problems, in 2002 some youth combined efforts to find solutions to the problems in their communities. Later, they formed a self-help groups named *Mitra Alam Munggaran* (MAM), a group of people who care about the environment. MAM members had a diverse background, consisting of farmers, traders, teachers, students, village officials and religious leaders. The first main activity of MAM was restoring the fountain in the Mandalamekar Village.

At that time, the activists in MAM and community leaders continued to look for effective ways to communicate with local residents, who are scattered in the hills with difficult access. The problem of distance and difficulty of access could impede the delivery of information, which was thought could be then solved by the establishment of a community media.

MAM activists and community leaders held several meetings to discuss the establishment of community radio as a medium of information. Community radio is important to expand the parties concerned on forest as water sources in the Mandalamekar Village. They invited the Chairman of JRKI, Bowo Usodo, to discuss the basic concepts and the process of the establishment of community radio. "Aware that we need help from the outside, I reinforced the network with JRKI," said Irma Meilandi[4] (37), founder and activist of Ruyuk FM. Finally, on October 5, 2007, Radio Community Mandala Ruyuk-with air name Ruyuk FM-was established in the Mandalamekar Village, District Jatiwaras, Tasikmalaya Regency, West Java. The word *Ruyuk* means wildwood/ wilderness. The choice of the name "Ruyuk" illustrates the importance of forest conservation information through community radio.

Utilization. Since Ruyuk FM was founded in 2007, Mandalamekar villagers living in remote areas had received some benefits. Due to its hilly geographical conditions, many people in Mandalamekar Village area could not enjoy television broadcasts, found community radio as alternative media for information, knowledge and entertainment. Yana Noviadi[5], Mandalamekar Village chief and founder of Ruyuk Radio FM, said, "Community radio could build awareness and knowledge of the villagers to conserve the forest. Villagers also been actively involved in managing the media community".

During its development, Ruyuk FM has become information center for Mandalamekar citizen. The information covered many issues, such as, child birth, someone death, fish harvesting in the river[6].

Challenges. At early time of establishment, Ruyuk FM only staffed by four people. They did infrastructure installation and test radio broadcast. Lack of information and knowledge regarding the establishment of community radio stations did not make the managers discouraged. They had encountered some funny experiences. Sharif Hidayat (41), announcer Ruyuk FM, said, in 2006, it began mounting radio antenna using bamboo. Then, a citizen donated a compact disc (CD) track. Test broadcasts started with a transmitter power of only a few meters away. To get a broader coverage area, radio antenna was raised to

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4. Daily newspaper Pikiran Rakyat, 10 November 2011.
5. Interview, 26 March 2011.
6. Daily newspaper Pikiran Rakyat, 10 November 2011.

the mangosteen tree. As a result, the coverage of the transmitter has increased considerably. Ruyuk FM began broadcasting an interactive program with audience, accepting song requests by mobile phone. "We're confused, at that time it's hard to find the song requested by listener. We play the song that was available. They would be proud just to listen that their request had been read on air" said Ayat[7], the on air alias for Sharif Hidayat.

A year later, a technician from Community Radio Network (*Jaringan Radio Komunitas*, JRK) West Java came to check the installation of radio antennas. Apparently, it was then noticed that the antenna was wrongly mounted. The technician was surprised and amazed that a radio with wrongly mounted antenna did not cause radio equipment broken and short-circuited. In fact, Ruyuk FM could continually broadcast for a year. After the radio antenna was properly installed, the radio coverage becomes much wider, reaching neighboring village. "We were from the beginning did everything by self-taught, no coach. Thus we just installed everything as thought were right. This because we did not have adequate information," said Yana[8]. Furthermore Yana said that the material for broadcasting was gradually improved. The initial target of Ruyuk FM was to be heard by residents.

Getting people who were willing to be broadcaster on Ruyuk FM was not easy. They need to be convinced. This was because not many people had enough courage to broadcast on the radio. If there were any people who dare to broadcast on the radio, usually were young person. The problem was, when these young people get jobs outside the Mandalamekar Village, they could not continue to broadcast on the radio. "Turn over was fast. Suddenly, I knew they were in Lampung, Jakarta, or somewhere else. The process was disturbing", complained Irman[9]

However, since the end of 2009, Ruyuk FM broadcasters were filled by groups of people who had regular jobs, such as farmers, village officials and religious leaders. Women's groups began participating in radio broadcasts although only participating in singing on the show "Live Karaoke", "*Cianjuran*", and Sundanese arts.

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7. Interview, 3 June 2012.
8. Interview, 1 July 2011.
9. Interview, 1 July 2011.

Funding. Operational costs of Ruyuk FM was obtained from donations of Mandalamekar villagers, both who living in the village and who were working elsewhere. During the establishment of radio studio, some residents voluntarily work or donate building materials.

Ayat said, originally Ruyuk FM studio was a rice and copra storage building. The meeting place was located in front of the broadcast room that could be visited by anyone, anytime, because the door was never locked. The wall was an array of bricks and the floor was still a bare ground. Announcer sits on the ground during the broadcast because there was no table. This often caused announcer body to be bitten by small insects causing itching. "If the insect got into the flesh, it took two to three months to recovery. The habitat of this insect was inside the red brick that was not cemented. Ayat added[10].

Then, the radio managers, led by Yana Noviadi (44), raising funds to cement the walls, installing tile and make the table for broadcasting. Help came from residents in the form of building materials and volunteer labor. They worked together to renovate the studio and make a table radio broadcasting. "There was someone brought timber, saws, carpentry tools. We made the broadcast table at night," recalls Ayat[11].

A computer for broadcasting was obtained from an activist. Besides being used for broadcasting, the computer was also used to study computer operation in the afternoon for children/teenagers in Mandalamekar Village.

Financial assistance has also come through the program JRK West Java on HIV and bird flu, as well as grants from The Body Shop Foundation through its plant herbal program[12]. Irman said, in Ruyuk FM there was an existing broadcast program "Health" that drives people back to herbal medicine. Community of Mandalamekar has been practicing herbal medicine for a long time, because of the difficulty of getting treatment from a doctor or hospital. The sick people usually go to the midwife or community health center (*Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat*, Puskesmas) in the neighboring village. In 2010 there were establishment of *Puskesmas Pembantu* (Pustu) in Mandalamekar Village. The existence of herbal treatment program in cooperation with The Body Shop

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10. Interview, 3 June 2012.
11. Interview, 3 June 2012.
12. Some examples of herbs that were collected by residents of Mandalamekar, namely leaves of Jatropha, lempuyang, natural ginger, turmeric and betel.

Foundation empowers the community to grow, collect, and produce medicinal plants.

Raising funds by Ruyuk FM was justifiable as long as the funding from other institutions was based on honest and transparent relationships. Acceptance of funds was also not binding and non-participants in accordance with the characteristics of community radio.

Success. In 2008, Ruyuk FM as media networks for Mandalamekar villagers was strengthened with the establishment of the Village blog Mandalamekar (http://mandalamekar.wordpress.com) that contains information about activities, events and agenda in Mandalamekar Village. Blog are equipped with photos, videos, and opinions of Mandalamekar. Other social media networks that were being built in 2011, were a portal (http://mandalamekar.or.id), Faceboook (Desa Mandalamekar and Ruyuk Mandalamekar) and twitter (@ mandalamekar and @ ruyuk_fm).

Due to the success of rural communities to conserve forests and managing water sources, Mandalamekar Village has been awarded at the District, Provincial and International levels. In consecutive years, in 2009 and 2010, the Mandalamekar Village became the First Champion in Tasikmalaya District Level as "*Desa Peduli Hutan dan Konservasi Alam*/The village of Forest and Nature Conservation Concern". In 2010, the Mandalamekar Village also received an award as the Second Champion "*Lomba Penghijauan dan Konservasi Alam Wana Lestari*/ Competition of Reforestation and Nature Conservation *Wana Lestari*" Category *Desa Peduli Kehutanan*, West Java Province.

In 2011, Irman Meilandi, one of the founder of Ruyuk FM, received an international award in the field of nature conservation from a non-profit organization "Seacology" headquartered in California, USA. "Seacology" with working programs are available in 46 countries provide international award each year to individuals on outstanding achievements in preserving the environment and culture in their living area. Certificate "Seacology Prize 2011" was delivered directly to Irma at headquarters "Seacology", California, on Wednesday, October 6, 2011. In addition to receiving the award, Irma was also a keynote speaker at the event "Seacology"[13].

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13. Daily newspaper Pikiran Rakyat, 12 October 2011.

Programs of Reforestation and Sundanese Culture at Ruyuk FM

Community radio as an alternative media aims to give voice to community members who do not speak up and away from the city center. Irman[14] said, "The voice of the common people is difficult to get a place in the mainstream media. Radio community should take on this role so that the aspirations of the people are also heard". Community radio as an alternative medium could promote programs that can help the community in the development and advancement of their social lives.

Reforestation program. The main broadcast material at Ruyuk FM is the management of forest and water resources. One of the flagship programs is "Conservation and Livelihoods", which contains about the importance of protecting natural resources and biodiversity in the Mandalamekar Village. In this program, the community is asked to perform seeding, planting and maintenance of trees in the forest. This is consistent with the mission and purpose of MAM, which in Sundanese it reads "*leuweung nganteng kaca nunggal*" (*hutan lestari cermin kehidupan*/sustain forest reflects living). Tata Sumitra[15], MAM activist, explains (he was informed) that global warming has caused climate change and it's detrimental to farmers, such as lack of water availability. To overcome this, MAM pioneered reforestation in the forest-edge near the village that has been damaged. Planting trees in the forest could rejuvenate water spring needed by the people for agriculture and water supply.

To support the knowledge and skills of farmers, Ruyuk FM broadcast program "Agricultural Extension". Broadcaster "Agricultural Extension" Ade Priatna[16] (43), who work as teacher of Mathematics in SMPN 2 Jatiwaras, said, "Initially, local farmers performed farming traditionally with conventional technologies, so they just get a sense of fatigue, no optimal yield for sale. By the existence of agricultural information from Ruyuk FM, farmers became more advanced in agricultural and farming technology so the production has selling values".

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14. Daily newspaper Pikiran Rakyat, 10 November 2011.
15. http://mandalamekar.wordpress.com, diakses 1 Juni 2011.
16. http://mandalamekar.wordpress.com, diakses 1 Juni 2011.

The reforestation program was supported by an off air program, visiting water spring in Karang Soak in protected forests. There they cleared the shrubs and weeds. This activity involves a junior high school students and Women Community on Environmental Movement *(Komunitas Perempuan Pegiat Lingkungan*, KPPL) formed by MAM in 2008. Ruyuk FM invites listeners to participate in reforestation activities in protected forests through radio broadcasts. At night, the event was broadcast in the form of news.

Results of Ruyuk FM broadcasts on forest conservation since 2007 began to appear in the dry season of 2011. At that time, residents have a supply of water from springs located in the reforested are in Mandalamekar Village. "This dry season, we are able to irrigate 80 percent of our rice fields," said Yana[17]. While in other villages, rice fields dried up due to drought.

Local cultural programs. Reforestation Program in Ruyuk FM was supported by the preservation of Sundanese language and Sundanese cultural program. This program contains advice, adherence to religion, and the importance of protecting nature. This was in line with the concept of community radio expressed by Fraser and Estrada (2001), that one of the main functions of community radio is to promote and reflect the culture, character and local identity.

Ambu Pohaci and Ayat were broadcasting "*Ngamumule Bahasa Sunda*"
(Documentation: Emilia Bassar, 1/7/2011).

17. Interview, 3 June 2012.

Ruyuk FM broadcast radio program in Sundanese "*Ngamumule Sundanese*" every Friday at 19:00 to 20:00. This program is nurtured by Ayat and Dedeh Nur Resmiati (59), or commonly called Ambu Pohaci. The purpose of this program is to familiarize residents Mandalamekar with high level Sundanese in everyday life. Using Sundanese must reflect Sundanese people that have great respect for parents, friendly, smiling, and gentle. In addition, Ruyuk FM broadcast Sundanese songs "*Cianjuran*" sung directly (live) by three to four women accompanied by harp and flute music plays.

Effort to preserve the language and culture of Sundanese not only broadcast on air but also off air through various activities in the Mandalamekar Village. Sundanese cultural programs are expected to motivate and encourage young people to love and care for the language and culture in the midst of the bombardment of television shows. That is why, it is necessary to have an alternative program that reflect Sundanese culture in accordance with the community identity.

Participation of Women in Ruyuk FM Radio

Management of community radio is voluntary according to the availability of time and effort of community member. Not all community members can be engaged at any time in radio management. Thus, one needs to set up a management body representing various community groups in the community.

Currently, the management Ruyuk FM is still dominated by men. There are five women activists and 17 male activists in Ruyuk FM. Two of the women are administrators of Community Broadcasting Council (*Dewan Penyiaran Komunitas*, DPK) and the other three are administrators of Implementing Community Broadcasting Board (*Badan Pelaksana Penyiaran Komunitas,* BPPK).

The beginning of women's involvement. The involvement of women activists in Ruyuk FM began since the establishment of KPPL. At first, KPPL had five-member and coordinated by Ida Rosida. KPPL task was to provide some food and drinking water when a group of men planting trees in protected forests in Karang Soak.

MAM and KPPL activities in the Karang Soak forest that were broadcasted by Ruyuk FM made Ida Rosida interested to come to the radio.

Initially she was singing karaoke on the radio using the microphone. After feeling comfortable singing on the radio, she occasionally broadcast on the radio. When the broadcast got a response from the listener, Ida was happy and increase its broadcast to became a routine program.

According to Irman, was not easy to attract women's groups to be active in community radio. Women activists in Ruyuk FM began their involvement with the studio with singing on the radio. Approaches to women's groups were conducted to follow the women's wishes. "Our fellow women initially were approached not to be broadcaster, what more important were to offer what they like, if they like singing then let them sing. Every Saturday night they play Karaoke. Every Friday night *Cianjuran*. They know only that," said Irman[18].

In line with the statement by Irah Sumirah (44), mother of two boys, she initially feared broadcasting in the radio. "I could not talk, afraid of making mistakes. What to talk about? How's that?" said Irah[19], recalling her beginning to participate in Ruyuk FM.

Momentum for women's activist involvement occurs when Ruyuk FM managers hold Jamboree for Radio Community Network in 2011 that lifted the spirit and confidence of women.

Capacity building of women activists. Generally, women's involvement in Ruyuk FM is still non-technical, such as receiving guests and preparing consumption. Managerial ability of women activists is still lacking. This is due to their limited knowledge, insight and expertise.

To enhance the capabilities and expertise of women activists, radio managers involved them in board meetings. Several times they were given the opportunity to participate in training or attend the meeting organized by the partners of Ruyuk FM, such as JRKI, JRK West Java and Combine Resource Institution (CRI).

Closing Remarks

Ruyuk FM was founded by virtually all components of Mandalamekar villagers. The radio was established to fulfill the community needs in Mandalamekar

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18. Interview, 1 July 2011.
19. Interview, 3 June 2012.

Village to disseminate information about the importance of protecting water resources. They were involved from radio establishment to radio management. This was an opportunity for the community to express their aspirations, ideas and thoughts through community radio; because Ruyuk FM was established by, for and about communities in Mandalamekar Village.

Programs in Ruyuk FM reflect the direction and purpose of Ruyuk FM, to provide information and education to the public on the importance of conserving forests and Sundanese culture.

The involvement of women in the management of Ruyuk FM gave its own color to the radio programs and activities. Capacity building of women activists improved their confidence and skills in managing and producing broadcasting material.

There were at least eight phases undergone by Ruyuk FM to become a medium for the community to raise awareness and knowledge about forest restoration and preserving Sundanese culture in Mandalamekar Village. The first phase was forming institutions concerned with the preservation of forests. The second phase was setting up community radio as a medium of communication and information for the community. The third stage was playing songs from the CD and read the song requests from listeners over the phone. The fourth stage was delivering concise information about the activities of the Mandalamekar Village. The fifth stage was inviting members of the community, including women, to become broadcasters on the radio. The sixth stage was creating benefits out of Ruyuk FM broadcasting. Community started coming into the radio studio and participating in the activities of Ruyuk FM. Seventh stage was making the Ruyuk FM as a center of information, knowledge and entertainment for Mandalamekar villagers. Eight phases was strengthening Ruyuk FM networking with other organizations and expanding the dissemination of information through social media (blogs, portals, facebook, and twitter).

The above stages shows that the establishment of community radio stations was supported by the community and the radio become the source of information for the community.

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MADURESE NON VOTERS:
A Study of Cross Cultural Communication

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The number of non-voters in Madura is still high. The regencies in Madura have the highest rates in East Java in terms of their participation in using voting rights. The participation rates of the four regencies are as follows: Sampang 65,231 votes (13.91%), Bangkalan 62,502 votes (13.56%), Sumenep 55,854 votes (8.05%), and Pamekasan 35,352 votes (7.88%). At present the government still uses the same strategy model for all public, which is contradictory to the fact that different public have different demographic, social, economic, and cultural characteristics. The high rate of *absentia* voters is caused by the cooccurrence of voting day with tobacco planting season which Madurese prioritize as an economic opportunity.

Various socialization efforts have been done such as campaigns about the implementation of national election. Other activities done to increase people's participation include holding seminars and election dialogues, advertising on television, radio, and mass media as well as spreading posters and election procedures in strategic places. However, these efforts have not been able to decrease the high number of non-voters. This paper aims to study the non-voting phenomenon in Madura from the cross cultural communication viewpoint.

Cross cultural communication is a field in Communication Studies which focuses on the comparison patterns of interindividual communication among communication participants with different cultural backgrounds. Originally, cross-cultural studies derives from social and cultural anthropology whose study is in the form of depth description, that is, an in-depth description about communication behaviors based on certain culture.

Madurese people are known to have a unique, stereotypical, and stigmatic culture. The use of the term *unique* refers to the definition that Madurese ethnic entity has cultural specificity which is different from the ethnography of other ethnic communities. This cultural specificity is obvious among others in their obedience and acceptance hierarchically to the four figures in their social and religious life. The figures are *Buppa'* (father), *Babbu* (mother), *Guru* (teacher), and *Rato* (government). To these four principal figures does Madurese people's hierarchical obedience appear in their social and cultural life (Wiyata, 2003: 1).

K E Y W O R D S : *madurese non voters, cross cultural communication*

Introduction

Non-voters are the result of past historical politic experiences in Indonesia, which makes people avoid political matter. Over and over again people become ignorant and indifferent. Those attitudes stick to the surface, due to the dissatisfaction of people with the nation situation which is even more uncomfortable and unfavorable. It is unquestionable that in the 2004 elections, non-voters appeared embellishing democracy party, just like mushrooms in the rainy season. These groups thrive well without having to be raised by the temp of official position. It happens because of the past treatment and the condition of the nation that do not want to learn from the history.

Non-voters occur as a form of resistance, or because of technical human error resulting from unknowing experience in voting. Sometimes they know how to vote, but their hearts do not find the right party to be chosen. Thus, being non-voter does not mean that the citizens are not good, not responsible, or lack of nationalism spirit quality. However, being non-voters not only for political reasons but also as a form of fundamental issues caused by various technical problems, including distrust of democracy.

Much socialization has been done by the government, including through election campaigns. Various activities were also done to promote public participation, such as holding seminars, election dialogues, public service advertisements on television, radio and mass media, and distributing posters

about election procedures at many strategic places. From a legal law perspective, the government also established the Election Law which contains not only the election rules and the election processes which are done, but it also contains the laws controlling various actions that will be imposed for a variety crimes during election process. However, the socialization has not been effective yet. It can be seen from the number of non-voters from the 1955 election until 2004, the number gets higher and higher.

Non-voters in the General Election in Indonesia

Elections	Registered	Votes	Absent	Number of AV	(%) Increasing percentage
1955	43.104.464	37,785,299	5,319,165	12:34	
1971	58.556.776	54,669,509	3,889,267	6.67	(-) 5.67
1977	69.871.092	63,998,344	5,872,748	8.40	(+) 1.73
1982	82.134.195	75,126,306	7,007,889	9.61	(+) 1.21
1987	93.737.633	85,869,816	7,867,817	8.39	(-) 0.22
1992	107.565.697	97,789,534	9,776,163	9.05	(+) 0.26
1997	124.740.987	112,991,150	1,749,837	10.07	(+) 1.02
1999	117.815.053	105,786,661	12,028,392	10.4	(+) 0, 34
2004	148.000.369	113,462,414	34,537,955	23.34	(+) 13.30

Source: Valina Singka Subekti, *Fenomena Golput dari Tahun ke Tahun* in DIALOG Kebijakan Publik journal, 4th edition, December/II/2008.

Districts in Madura Island have the highest record and high in East Java for the percentage of voters who do not use their voting rights, those are Sampang District 65,231 votes (13.91%), Bangkalan 62,502 votes (13.56%), Sumenep 55,854 votes (8,05%), and Pamekasan 35,352 votes (7.88%).

The high *absentee voters* are caused by some matters, as follows the Election Day is coincided with tobacco planting season, and so, economic opportunity was more prioritized. On the other hand it is also due to new growing awareness that voting is an individual right, so other parties cannot impose their will or force people to vote. Besides, the increasing number of AV is also caused by voters who do not want to come to the election place due to the lack of socialization and limited information. This is aggravated by the low educational level of the Madurese.

Based on those backgrounds above, this paper tries to examine further about the phenomenon of non-voters in Madura from the perspective of cross-cultural communication.

Research Problem

How is Madura non voter's character is viewed from cross cultural communication?

Discussion

Based on research conducted in Sampang (Suryandari, 2011) people choice to be non-voters was born as a form of resistance, or because of technical human error resulting from unknowing experience in voting. Sometimes they know how to vote, but their hearts do not find the right party to be chosen. Thus, being non-voter does not mean that the citizens are not good, not responsible, or lack of nationalism spirit quality. However, being non-voters is not only for political reasons but also as a form of fundamental issues caused by various technical problems, including distrust of democracy.

Much socialization has been done by the government, including through election campaigns. Various activities were also done to promote public participation, such as holding seminars, election dialogues, public service advertisements on television, radio and mass media, and distributing posters about election procedures at many strategic places. However, it does not decrease the numbers of non-voters. From the communication study point of view, especially cross-cultural communication, it is interesting to be examined deeply.

Cross-Cultural Communication

At first time, cross-cultural studies came from the perspective of socio-cultural anthropology with *depth description* characteristics, which is the deep description of communication attitude based on particular culture. Thus, at first, cross-cultural communication was defined as the process of communication learning between individuals or groups of tribes and races of different nations.

The reason is different countries always have different cultures. In contrast, cross-cultural communication is interpersonal communication that is done by persons in a same nation.

Cross-cultural communication is an area of communication studies emphasizing more on comparative communication patterns among participants from different cultural background. At first, cross-cultural studies came from the perspective of social and cultural anthropology so the studies are more *depth description* that is the description of a communication behavior based on certain cultures.

The Definition of Cross-cultural Communication

There are several definitions of cross-cultural communication, as follows:

1. The term cross-cultural communication is often used to refer to the meaning of intercultural communication, without being restricted by geographic context, race and ethnicity. Therefore, cross-cultural communication is defined as the comparative analysis that gives priority to cultural activities relativity. Cross-cultural communication is generally more focused on the relations between nations without having to establish a new culture, as happened in Intercultural Communication (Purwasito, 2003)

2. According Fiber Luce (1991) Cross-cultural study nature is a comparative study that aims to compare:
   a. Specific cultural variables,
   b. The consequences or results of the cultural impact, of two or more cultural contexts. Hopefully with this study, everyone will understand their culture and admit that there is a dominant culture issue of others in the intercultural relationships. This means that intercultural communication can be done if we know our culture and the cultures of others.

3. Cross-cultural communication is the communication process to compare two or more cultures through a cross-cultural survey.

4. Cross-cultural communication, according to Williams (1966) in Samovar

and Porter (1976) turns around the comparison of the intercultural communication behavior by showing similarities and differences:

a. The perception of the experience, the role of social and physical environments,
b. Cognition consists of specific elements of culture, the language and ways of thinking
c. Socialization and
d. Such personality cultural types that affect ethos, the typology of character or national character.

The analysis of cross-cultural (often called as comparative analysis) is the most common method used to compare and test for the differences between cultures (Alo Liliweri, 2005). This method is crucial to distinguish the universal aspects of human culture and social organization of some social groups or individuals from certain community.

Discussion
The Characteristics of Non-voters:

In the Journal of *Dialog Kebijakan Publik,* 4th edition, December 2008, it is stated that the composition of Indonesian population is pyramidal. This shows a symptom that younger age group population is more than the older age groups or children. In the context of elections, young people (15-45 years old) became the target of potential vote in the election. The composition is potential to be absentee voters group.

According to the *Lingkaran Survei Indonesia* September 5, 2007 edition, in theory, there are two theoretical explanations about why someone does not vote in the election. The first explanation comes from theories about voter behavior. This explanation focuses on the individual. The size of the voting turnout is tracked from the causes of individual voters.

In the monthly study of LSI September 2007 edition, it was said that there are three major theories that explain why someone does not choose, observed from the voters sides. First, sociological theory, someone who does not participate in the election described as a result of certain sociological

backgrounds, such as religion, education, occupation, race and so on. Occupations factor also could affect the decision of joining election or not. In a case in Sampang, from all those reason, education and occupation are factors that appeared as results of interview.

Second, psychological theory, the decision of someone to vote or not is determined by the proximity to the party or candidate of the election. The closer a person with a particular party or candidate, the more likely a person participates in the election. From the result of Sampang's non-voters interview, it is known that most voters are less familiar with the candidates.

Third, the theory of political economy, this theory states that the decision to vote or not is based on rational considerations, such as distrust that the election could bring a better change. Or distrust of the problem would be solved if the newly leader will be elected, and so on. The voters who do not believe the elections will create a better condition, tend not to choose. This factor also occurs to non-voters in Sampang who argue that the election did not change things to be better.

Still according to the *Lingkar Survei Indonesia* (2007) in addition to the theories that focus on the individual voter, voting turnout phenomenon can also be explained by the theory of the structure. Here the size of the turnout of voters does not explained from the voter side, but from a structure or system of a country. There are at least three common descriptors that are used by observers or experts. First is the system of voters' registration. To choose, generally voters must be registered as a voter first. Easy registration of voters can affect a person's interest to be involved in the selection. In contrast, a complex and rough system of registration can reduce the interest of people in elections. In the case of non-voters in Sampang, they are not interested in finding information about their names that are not listed as voters

Second is the party system and elections system of a country. Numerous studies show two-party system relatively could reduce voter numbers. Motivation of voters for voting may decrease when they do not like the party or the candidate. Conversely, country that adopts a multi-party system could relatively attract higher voter participation. This is because voters have a lot of options and alternatives (Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg, 1993). Based on this theory, some non-voters in Sampang just feel "confused in choosing" because of too many political parties participated in the election.

Third is the nature of the election that is whether the election is a right or obligation to citizens. There is a state which adopts that the general election is a right for citizens, so people can vote and may not vote. There is no penalty for citizens who did not vote. Indonesia is a country which does not give penalty for citizens who do not participate in the election, for voting is a right, not an obligation. Since there is no penalty for those who do not vote, so this is one of several factors in the appearance of non-voters in Sampang, Madura.

The Reason of Being Non-Voters

In the first year of study, the team asked the respondents, what is the reason they do not come to the polling station (TPS) whereas their name were registered as voters in the voters list (DPT). There are a number of reasons which were mentioned by the respondents. From all those reasons, we can divide the reasons of not voting for election (abstentions) in three major categories. First are the administrative reasons. Voters do not vote because they are crashed with the administrative procedures, such as they do not know whether their names registered in the electoral roll or not, or they have not received a voter card or invitation cards. Research found that there are some respondents who did not vote because they do not have voter card. It shows the unpreparedness of the administrative system in voter registration. Someone did not get a voter card whereas his name had entered in the voters list (DPT).

Second are the technical reasons. Based on the results of interview, information obtained shows that a person decides to be non-voters because they do not have a time to vote for several reasons, such as the need to work on the day of the election, they might be out of town on the day of the election, or they were lazy to go to the polling stations (TPS). Voters have known that their name had registered as voters, but they are reluctant to come to the polling stations (TPS) and so on.

Third are the political reasons. From the interview obtained information about the voters who decided not to use his right because consciously they decided not to vote. In their point of view, the national general election (PEMILU) or regional election (PEMILUKADA) are useless, they will not bring change, or there is not candidate preferred, no candidate known and so on. In this case,

someone decides not to choose as a form of protest or dissatisfaction to the implementation of the national elections / local elections or candidates forward in national general elections or regional election.

Non-voters in Madura: Cross-Cultural Communication Studies

According to Abdul Wahab (2009), the reason people do not vote in Sampang's Regional Head and Vice Head election is basically a form of saturation upon the promises of legislative candidates in the 2004 election, incompatibility between the society and the candidate of head region, the widespread of money politics, some of them were sick, working in the election day, or they had not gotten election invitation.

According to the results of research about non-voters in Madura, the characteristics of non-voters in this region are interesting to be examined further from the cross-cultural communication point of view. Out of many definitions of cross-cultural communication, cross-cultural communication that will be used to explain the phenomenon of non-voters in Madura is the definition according to Williams (1966). Cross-cultural communication by Williams (1966) in Samovar and Porter (1976) is around the comparison of the intercultural communication behavior among cultures by showing similarities and differences:

1. The perception of the experience, the role of social and physical environments,
2. Cognition consists of specific elements of culture, the language and ways of thinking
3. Socialization and
4. Such personality cultural types that affect ethos, the typology of character or national character.

From the first aspect, the behaviors of non-voters in Madura are happened because they have a perception of experience, the role of environment, and physical social support. Non-voters in Madura have perceptions based on their past experiences that national general election or regional election are identical with money, they will receive money or certain rewards from particular candidates or party. The

role of environment cannot be ignored in this case. Surrounding environment makes them apathetic non-voters who stay in this position because abstentions are considered as common phenomenon happened between them.

The cognition aspect was also influenced in the facts about the non-voters in Madura. The majority of non-voters in Madura have less understanding about the urgency of general election, as they have the past experiences that do not fit with their knowledge about the election acquired from competent parties. This relates to the third aspect, that is socialization. Socialization from the committee of the general election are more on the technical material, such as to vote by checking of the ticking or punching, the valid and invalid, election time and so on. It is not on the substance of the importance of the election in having the nation and state.

The last aspect is the kind of such personality cultural types that affect ethos, the typology of character or national character, the typology of character or national character. Non -voters in Madura are people with specific character of Madura culture, with their obedience to the four major figures in their lives. That cultural specificity appears in their obedience, submission, and surrenders hierarchically to the four major figures in their life, especially in religious practice. The fourth figure is Buppa, 'Babbu, Teacher, and Rato (father, mother, teacher, and leader of the government). To those main figures, the form of hierarchical obedience of Madurese is shown in their social and cultural life (Wiyata, 2003: 1).

Conclusion

Non-voters phenomenon is one form of societies' distrust expressions to the political system in a country, whether due to political reasons, or technical reasons. The political reasons of non-voters in a region have different characters. Character of non-voters in Madura can be seen from the study of cross-cultural communication by paying attention to the four aspects, as follows: (1) the perception of the experience, the role of social and physical environments, (2) cognition consists of specific elements of culture, the language and ways of thinking (3) socialization and (4) such personality cultural types that affect ethos, the typology of character or national character.

In an effort to prevent the increasing numbers of non-voters in the

national general elections and the regional election in Madura, several things can be done, including selecting appropriate strategy in doing socialization of the election, both in substance and technical matters, done by the authorities.

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INTERNET AS MEDIA LITERACY, INFORMATION AND SELF-IDENTITY OF THE "KAMPUNG CYBER" YOGYAKARTA

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ABSTRACT

"Kampung *Cyber*" is one of the pioneers of internet village in Indonesia. Almost 70% of household's citizens which institutions are connected by the Internet are an effective medium for information literacy "Kampung *Cyber*", particularly in tourism area, and for the economy and education.

"Kampung *Cyber*" (Cyber neighborhood) located right in the tourist area of Taman Sari Yogyakarta. The citizen used Internet to share information about potential tourism via social networking. In the economic sector, the villagers are to use the internet to market handicraft products, many domestic and foreign travelers who visited and doing research after seeing information about the existence of "Kampung *Cyber's*" through the Internet. They are student also use the Internet to search for and obtain information to increase their knowledge. Interestingly despite being connected by among advance the villagers technology but still maintain harmony and culture "guyub"

"Guyub" and harmonious owned by villagers in sharing information using the Internet is a major factor of success from this Cyber neighborhood, when applying the concept of Internet-based village. Harmony and culture "guyub" they are rarely owned by other regions in Indonesia were to applying the concept of regional air based on internet. Despite being failed to occur in the area they are began to apply the same concept. Success makes "Kampung *Cyber*" have identity as a unique internet-based tourism in Indonesia.

KEYWORDS: Cyber, Guyub, Internet, Information Literacy, Media, Yogyakarta

Introduction

"Kampung *Cyber* " (Cyber neighborhood) is an internet-based pioneer area in Indonesia. Located in the tourist area of Yogyakarta precisely in Taman Sari RT 36 RW 09 Patehan, District Kraton Yogyakarta. Named for "Kampung *Cyber*" because almost 70% of its citizens are connected by the internet. This village was founded in 2009, originated from Kokok idea as The Head of neighborhood (RW). He actively publicizes the activities organized by the villagers through personal social networks, and this idea emerged in 2008, then realized the following year by Mr. Hery, who served as the Head of neighborhood (RT)

Mr. Hery develop these ideas in order RT 36 able to compete and grow in the field of tourism with the surrounding neighborhood that have more previously known by the people as neighborhood tourism, such as the neighborhood of batik at Taman Sari. The realization that ideas gets supports from his community neighborhood and with the ability Pak Herry have in the field of information technology. In a simple training to the citizens RT 36, with the help of of University of Atma Jaya Yogyakarta providing free computer laboratory for used as training to using computers and then how to connect to internet.

Internet connection is centralized in one place, namely "Pos Kamling" were position in right the middle neighborhood, so that strategic and affordable connecting to all citizens of RT 36. "Pos Kamling" In this post there are some computers that are connected to the internet and can be used free of charge by the public. Initially, a resident of RT 36 collecting dues together to pay for an internet connection Rp. 80.000, - per monthly. At first time when Originally Posted "Pos Kamling" connections only reached 7 homes only, but when "Kampung Cyber" are known, many in the form of an auxiliary device connection and a computer, so now they are about 28 houses are already connected to the Internet.

At first time the villagers objected and be less concerned, let alone have to pay a fee every month internet package, but after feeling the positive benefits of the installation of the internet, they are very enthusiastic support of the program's success of "Kampung *Cyber*". Success made several other areas interested to apply the same concept in her area. According to the source of the RT namely Pak Harry, there are some areas that do research or case

study to see and know firsthand how everyday life Kampung *Cyber* , such as from Balikpapan, Semarang, Bandung and some other areas. And now with some areas only limited discourse to apply the same thing, but no action realisasion a; exist some are already implemented, but to sustainable.

In the other hand in applying about internet based area also realized at Makassar, with named "Desa C*yber",* but until now, Their official website (http://desacyber.wordpress.com/2011/05/) not continue with the good, proven yet there are updates report the success and sustainability of its programs. Persistence "Kampung *Cyber* " in utilizing the Internet as a medium of information literacy and identity as areas of proven internet-based on some of their websites always provide updated information and going to *continue* with *it,* almost all the activities they publish as on their official blog (http://rt36taman.multiply.com/?&show_interstitial=1&u =) and social networking *facebook (https://www.facebook.com/ertetigaenam).* Literacy information indirectly impact on the tourism sector, the economy and education of its citizens. Uniqueness characteristic of this neighborhood are not only by other regions, is a factor why they can survive.

Research Problems

The basically "Kampung *Cyber"*(Cyber neighborhood) is simple place where its citizens are still upholding cultural values inherited from their ancestors, though they already know the information about advance internet technology. Internet for them is as information media literacy and effective, very useful for the daily life, from the explanation arises the question "How can a resident of RT 36 by using the Internet as a medium of information literacy and identity "Kampung *Cyber"* Yogyakarta and factor what makes RT 36 succeeded in developing regions Internet-based, whereas in other regions encountered many failures to implement the concept of nature?"

Discussion

The Internet is one of effective information literacy media used by anyone. Internet provide a lot of convenience in the field of information and communication. Internet as the main characteristic "Kampung *Cyber"* proving

that the internet media literacy is information that can give a positive value in some areas.

Bustami in Hana (2011: 20) says that the Internet is a huge library with a lot of detailed information in it. Definition can interpret that all the required information about any can be obtained via the Internet. Internet Connectivity becomes a medium effective for learning the use of the information, whether the information nature of tourism, economy and education.

> Although physically interconnect the Internet is a computer, but in general the Internet should be seen as a resource of information. Internet content is information, which is a *database* or a huge multimedia library and complete. Internet was regarded as another form (Maya) because almost all aspects of life in the real world on the Internet such as business, entertainment, sports, politics and so forth. (Sidaharta in Hana, 2011:19)

Indirectly citizens have used the Internet as a medium of information literacy. *"Information literacy is knowing when and why you need information, where to find it, and how to evaluate, use and communicate it an ethical manner "(Chartered Institute an Information Professionals* in Hana, 2011:29). Definition can be concluded that information literacy is an ability or skill to use, evaluate and communicate information properly then it can be useful for others.

Utilizing the Internet as a medium of information literacy were also conducted by the villagers, namely by upload art activities and potential owned through social networks, such as *Facebook* and the official blog, with the aim that the information they can upload and published so beneficial to the public. This method is effective when published information responded well, a lot of tourists interested in visiting the "Kampung *Cyber*" seeing information from the internet. Addition to the field of tourism also proved effective in the field of economy and education. Following information literacy conducted by the villagers; namely;

1.   Information Literacy in the Field of Tourism

It is inevitable that online publications make the "Kampung *Cyber*" widespread in Indonesia or abroad. Various online media print and broadcast his preaching.

Certainly in terms of tourism this gives a positive impact. past before this concept is applied, RT 36 only ordinary neighborhood, together with the surrounding villages, there is no uniqueness can be used to make a special identity, but when application after studying computer and will connect to the internet, so that they have the basic skills to operate both of them, then skill used to take advantage of internet facilities, namely by actively providing information about the potential of the people and the activities are carried out through social network they make, and it is continuously updated. Appeal is to be one of the factors of the tourists or researchers to come visit and see the uniqueness of the "Kampung *Cyber*". Now "Kampung *cyber*" be one of the attractions that have a regional identity based on Yogyakarta.

2.   Information Literacy in the Economy

Before the concept of Internet-based neighborhood developed, some residents RT 36 has livelihood as artisans. Crafts produced in the form of batik, painting, weaving, sculpture and various other crafts, they subsisted there is the sale of handicrafts. Following concept of Internet-based area growing, the economy started to increase, they begin to recognize online shop then slowly learning how to market online craft products. Literacy is very effective, proven premises and publications through online media, public began to recognize and know the craft made   by a resident of RT 36 and the surrounding area without having to come directly. Generally to boasts a material way the economy in terms of people, some of them claim more money when get interesting result handicraft products online shop buyers. Media online use to seek and obtain creative ideas to be developed further into more attractive handicrafts. Uniquely visible absence of competition, they teach each other and share information the with other citizens, both resident of RT 36 and other citizens as a way to craft upload results published and sold in online shop.

3.   Information Literacy in Education

The students of "Kampung *Cyber*" diverse, consisting of elementary school, junior high, high school, each level of education have differences in the way how to be literate. junior and senior high school students prefer wear Internet

together, they admitted her cool over the internet are used with their peers, they can make joked while sharing information, they gathered in the house turns to the other one, too, they sometimes gather in "Post Kamling", because in the "Pos Kamling" there are multiple computers to be used together. Unfortunately, the search for information using search engines, they do not know how to find information properly to use as a source of scientific information.

They think that's all of his information obtained on the internet is a good source of information and relevant for use references as with the material they are learning. Positive but they are actively seeking new knowledge that their skills in internet for gaming has increased. Soekartawi in Hana (2011:21) that the benefits of the Internet in education that students can learn to review instructional materials at any time and any place and the changing role of students from passive to active. Uniqkley "Kampung *Cyber*" have a unique literacy in using computers, each computer that is placed on the public space so premises and easily monitored by anyone. According to Mr. Harry, it is in addition to the *filter* for students also meant that any time other family members can use a computer.

Internet connected computer to be one identity for "Kampung *Cyber* ". Identity punctuated with unique images in each corner of Yogyakarta neighborhood, there are some pictures be in the form of solicitation visited his *Cyber* neighborhood, there are also images associated with the internet, such as images website, social networking, *gadget* and colorful writing is very interesting. The greatest are they can survive to date (2009-2012) amid the failure of other areas that apply the same concept, one factor that can make failure is not people-oriented, community characteristics over a secondary factor, says Kurten in Edward (2006), that the development will be able to develop self-reliance community if development is oriented to the needs of the community (people centered development). Basically, the success of cyber neighborhood closely relates to citizens an active role in developing the concept of an Internet-based area. Concluded that society is a major factor in supporting the success of any program wishing developed. So any program that will be developed should be oriented to the local community, not just force but it will be the will.

Soekanto in Dyana (2012:39) states that local citizen is an area of social life that is characterized by a degree given relationships. Owned social relationships citizen "Kampung *Cyber* " is a relationship "guyub". "Guyub" is a culture original owned by Indonesia, which is the copy culture get along and work together to produce something cool destination. "Gotong Royong" is voluntarily working together among the neighbors (Legimin, 2011). "Gotong Royong" a native Indonesian term meaning working together to achieve a desirable outcome (Legimin, 2011).

Culture "guyub" the resident of RT 36 in utilizing the Internet as a medium of information literacy is a key factor of their income sustainability to building cyber neighborhood. They shared information without jealousy and suspicion on the neighbors, they help each other when there is a need. Proven to help each other when they publish craft products of all citizens and residents RT 36 other villages although not resulting from the work of his own hands, so they can share about any difficulties encountered together. Togetherness that makes them has each other, so wished for good condition among fellow citizens in developing internet-based village.

Conclusion

Internet as Media Literacy, Information and Self- Identity of the "Kampung Cyber" Yogyakarta and proven effective in helping citizens in the fields of tourism, economy and education. Literacy information on doing harmony and a sense of community, but of the two it has a huge impact for his daily life. Literacy information is the ability to search, obtain and evaluate, and utilize the information to be returned and the information can be used by others. One way the villagers in utilizing the Internet as a medium of information literacy is to publish their potential online media, so that the information can be enjoyable and beneficial to others. Primary factor in developing the concept of Internet-based area is owned by the unique characteristics of the local community. Proven culture "guyub" from a resident of RT 36 is one key to the success of "Kampung *Cyber"*

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INTEGRATING LOCAL AND FOREIGN CULTURES IN THE ENGLISH TEACHING LEARNING PROCESS:
One Way of Maintaning Local Cultures

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ABSTRACT

The need to participate in the global communication has put English as one of the most important international languages. Mastering English becomes one of the most important thing most people want. This has led to the increasing demand of English language teaching practices. Considering the importance of mastering English, the Indonesian government has considered English as one of the most important foreign languages to be taught in schools. It has been taught from elementary school as local content and even in some parts of this country it has been taught in kindergartens. On the other hand, it is commonly believed that the practice of English language teaching will not be well conducted without teaching the accompanied cultural beliefs and values. Meanwhile those foreign cultural beliefs and values may not be in line with our local and national cultural beliefs and values. Therefore, it will be a very great challenge for those who are actively involved in the practice of English language teaching to take this fact into their consideration. This particular study has a closer look on this particular problem and wherever possible proposes an alternative solution to overcome this problem for the sake of maintaining the nation identity and culture. Therefore, this study focuses on identifying the foreign cultural believes and values commonly found in some English textbooks for Junior High Schools used in the English teaching and learning process and

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describing one alternative way of teaching English with its accompanied cultural beliefs and values and at the same time maintaining the local and national cultural beliefs and values.

Introduction

Jandt (2010: 6) states that as we live in an interconnected global economy-global trade, migration, environtmental sustainability, the challenge facing the world at the beginning of the 21st century is to seek global solutions. To meet these challenges will require us to learn how to better communicate with one another regardless of where we live, of our economic status, and of our identity. One of the effective ways to get connected with other people in this world is by using one of the international languages. One of the international language having an important position in the global communication is English.

In line with the role of English as one of the mostly used international languages in the world, mastering English becomes an urgent need for most countries, not to mention this country, Indonesia. Considering the need to participate in global communication, English has been considered as one of the most important foreign language to be taught at schools starting from elementary up to the tertiary education in this country. English has even been considered is one of the important keys to get success not only in educational field but also in other fields. It has been used widely as an important language in businesses, advertisements, entertainments, sports, and many more. It seems that mastering English becomes every body's ticket to get success in any field of their lives in this country or even in every country in this world. Mckay (2002:128) mentions that one of the primary reasons for learning English today is to access and contribute to the large amount of information that is available in the language.

Therefore, it is commonly believed that the teaching and learning of English will not be successfully carried out without teaching its culture. Brown in Richards and Renandya (2002:12) even mentions that "*whenever you teach a language, you also teach a complex system of cultural customs, values, and ways of thinking, feeling, and acting*". Since language can be said to be one of the important factors determining the identity of a nation, it is

considered as one part of culture that makes a country different from others. Foley (2001:19) claims that language is the unseparable sub system of culture. He 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.

Language, however, can be treated as *a cultural activity and, at the same time, an instrument for organizing other cultural domains* (Sharifian & Palmer, 2007:1). Language needs to be seen as integral part of culture. It is through language, that culture can be expressed. Guirdham (2005:46) mentions the following.

> Culture is about 'shared meanings'. Meanings are produced and exchanged through language, which is the medium through which we 'make sense' of things. Meanings can only be shared through language. Thus, 'to say that two people belong to the same culture is to say that they interpret the world in roughly the same ways and can express themselves, their thoughts and feelings about the world, in ways which will be understood by each other'.

As language is one of the cultural representations, learning a language, not to mention, English, cannot be separated from learning its accompanied culture. By this statement, it is clearly seen that all English learners need to develop an awareness that cultural factors do play a role in rhetorical development and that those texts that conform to their own rhetorical paterns will be easier to process (Mckay, 2002:128). This concept of cultural awareness is proven to be very significant and need to be one of the essential part of English learning and teaching (Tanaka, 2006:37).

As learners may also bring their own culture while learning English, the approaches to the teaching of English as international language need above all to be culturally sensitive to the diversity of contexts in which English is taught and used and in terms of materials, the prevalent use of western cultural content in ELT texts needs to be examined. The use of source orlearners

culture content not only minimizes the potential of marginalizing the values and lived experiences of the learners but also encourage learners to gain a deeper understanding of their own culture so that they can share these insights when using English with individuals from other cultures (McKay, 2002).

In line with this, it seems necessary to conduct a study related the topic of using the local cultural content in the practice of English language teaching. This particular study focuses on identifying the foreign cultural believes and values commonly found in some English textbooks for Junior High Schools used in the English teaching and learning process in Indonesia and describing one alternative way of teaching English with its accompanied cultural beliefs and values and at the same time maintaining the local and national cultural beliefs and values for the sake of maintaining nation identity and culture.

Cultural Content in English Textbooks

This study, in particular, is a critical analysis of two junior high school English textbooks mostly used in Yogyakarta Special Region. Those books are *Real Time (Erlangga Publishing),* and *English on Sky (Erlangga Publishing).* The following are the general description and the cultural content found in those books.

1. Real Time: An Interactive English Course for Junior High School Sudents Year VII

The cultural contents are both explicitly and implicitly inserted within the book. The explicit insertion is done by giving a certain section in every unit called *Cultural Notes* aimed at introducing the Western culture. This section is found in every unit/chapter of the book with various topics, namely: *Foreign Culture, Tips for Studying Abroad, bedtime Stories, Sport Leagues, Barbeque, Transportation in America,* and *Dining Out.* Besides this section, there is also a section called *Did You Know*, which can be found in some of the units, consisting of additional explanation on certain Western culture being introduced in that unit/chapter.

On the other hand, the implicit insertion is done through the use of figures, either those used as ilustrations or those function as main figures or *input texts* for some of the tasks/ exercises. The illustration figures commonly

show the Western setting (like some places in Western countries), figures of Western peoples, and some other cultural behaviour commonly done in Western countries. The use of these canbe said as implicit insertion of Western culture since those items are not in particular discussing the Western culture. Their main function is to give illustration of some other parts of the book. Take for example, on page 8, there is a text talking about family members and there is an illustration of a family foto showing an example of a Western family.

Figure 1. My Family (taken from Nina Bates. 2007, 8**)**

Some figures also used as the main input texts of this book. Most of those figures show Western culture. By using those figures, it seems like readers (learners) are supposed to think that the Western culture is better than their own culture. The folowing are some examples of figures used as the input texts that show Western culture superiority.

Figure 2. Figure (Taken from Nina Bates. 2007, 59)
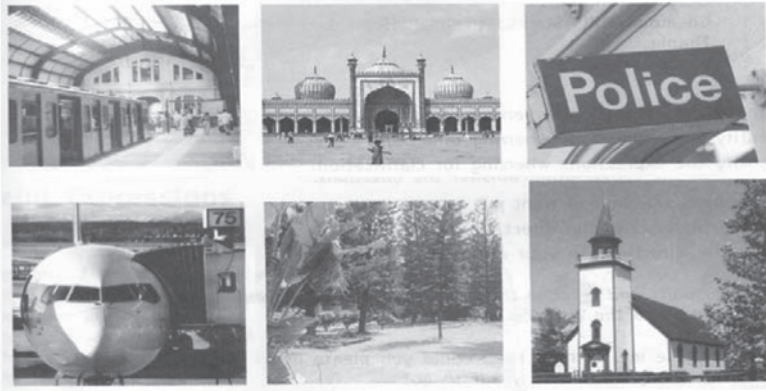
Figure 3. Public Places (Taken from Nina Bates. 2007, 100)
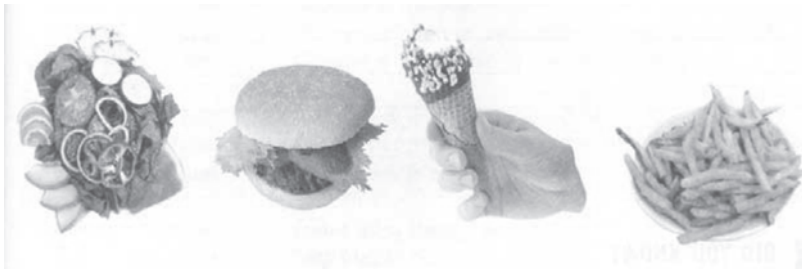
Figure 4: Food (Taken from Nina Bates. 2007, 109)

By looking at those two figures, the learners may think that Western food is better than their own food and that those public places are better palces than those found in their own country. Even that Western movies are better than the local movies. There are also some figures showing Western patern of behaviour that may not be in line our cultural values and norms. The examples can be found on page 34 and 115.

1. Do you think studying abroad is easier or more difficult than studying in your own country?
2. Which of the above tips can be applied in your own country?
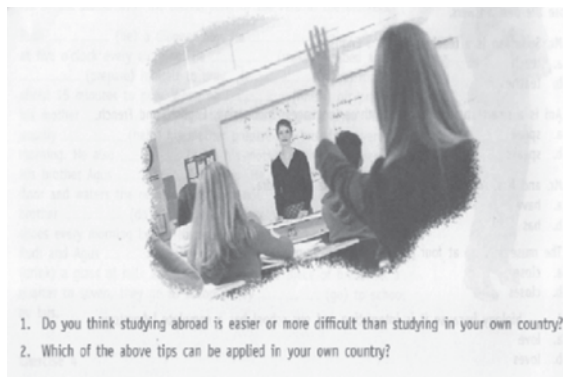
Figure 5. Classroom Activities **(**Taken from Nina Bates. 2007, 34)

This figure show a classroom setting when a teacher is explaining something and one of the students wants to ask a question by raising her left hand. This cultural behaviour may not be accepted in Indonesian culture since Indonesian students tend to use their right hand whenever they want to ask a question.
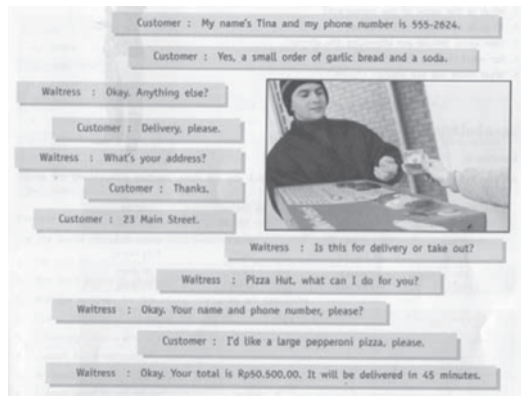
Figure 6. Ordering Take Out Food (taken from Nina Bates.2007, 115)

Similar figure 6 shows a boy who receives the return money by using his left hand. This cultural behavior also may not be in line with Indoensian cultural behavior. Looking at these figures, teachers need to be aware of this different cultural behaviours and wherever possible give explanation to their students.

2.   English on Sky 1 for Junior High School Year VII

Similar with the first book, this book also contains Western cultural values and behaviour. The main different of this book compared to the first one is on the way the cultural conten inserted in the content. Unlike the first book, most of the cultural content are implicitly inserted in this book through texts and figures (either those used as the main input or illustration). Some cultural behaviour found in this books are in terms of addressing system, time, schools activities, foods, and some other related cultural behaviours. This book not only contain Western cultural values and behaviour, it also covers some Indonesian cultural behaviours although there is a different proportion the use of these two cultures. The figures aw sell as texts used in this book show the Western superiority over Indonesian. Take for example, what can be found in an activity on page

86. This activity is called *Talking about Job*. The input text for this activity is a set of figures showing people' occupation. This figures give an illustration of some occupation. Most of the models in this set of figures are Western people except those showing the occupations of a farmer and a policeman.
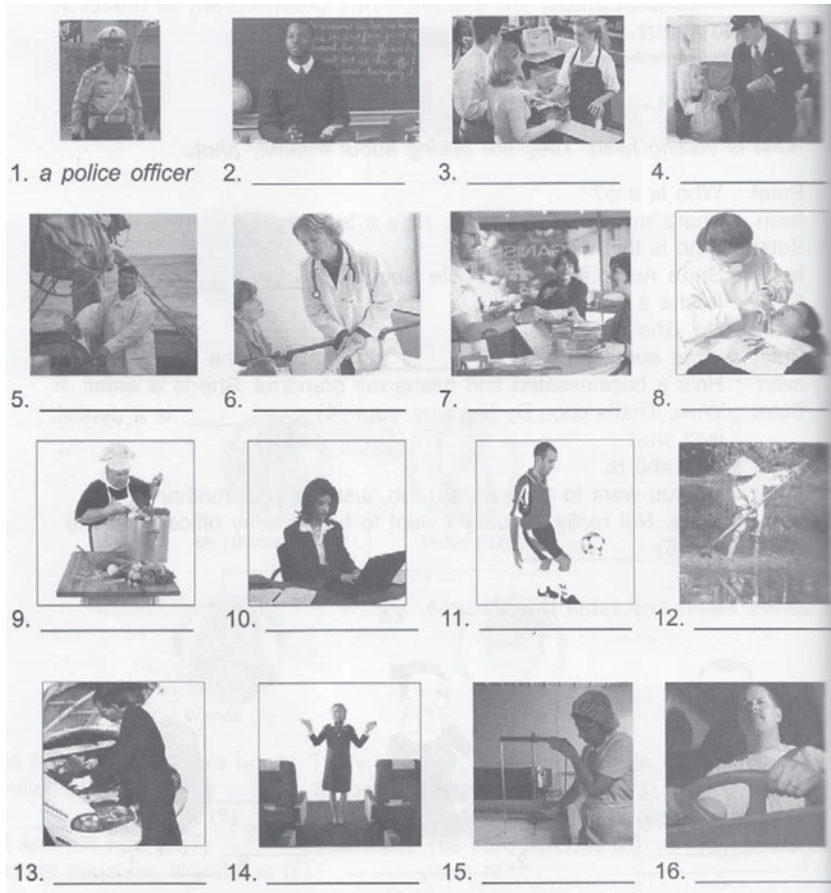
Figure7. Talking About Jobs (Taken from Mukarto, et al., 2007, 86).

Above all, these two books are merely some examples of those used in the practice of English teaching and learning in the classroom. Looking through these two books, the need to introduce Indonesian cultural values and norms in the English textbooks is unavoidable. English teachers need to have an additional as well as alternative source materials to conduct their teaching while keep maintaining their cultural awareness towards the insertion of Werstern cultural values and patterns of behaviours commonly found in the English textbooks.

Integrating Local and Foreign Culture in ELT Practices

The fact that the foreign cultural values and behaviours, that is, the Western cultural values and behaviours are commonly found in English textbooks, needs to be anticipated by those involved in the practice of teaching and learning the language. English needs to be seen as an international language, a means of communicating among people in the world. It doesn't belong to certain country, and it can cover cultural contents which are not specific to that country. Indeed, it will be much beneficial to integrate local as well as foreign culture, that is, the source culture as well as the learners culture in the practice of teaching and learning the language.

Consequently, textbook-writers need to consider this fact and wherever possible try to integrate both the Western aand the Indonesian culture in their textbooks. The government has provided opportunities for English scholars to develop English textboks either for Junior High Schools, Senior High Schools as well as for Vocational Schools, through conducting a program aimed at providing cheap textbooks called BSE (*Buku Sekolah Elektronik).* This is a very good step not only to provide cheap resources for students but also to give opportunities for scholars to develop resources that hopefully will fit the students need as well as maintaining the nation identity, by means of integrating both the foreign and Indonesian cultural values and patterns of behaviours as well as cultural representations. A brief look at some of the English BSE books for Junior High Schools, has shown that these books, in general, present not only foreign culture but also Indonesian cultural values, patterns of behaviour, as well as some cultural representation.

The following are some cultural contents found in one of the BSE books for Junior High School, entitles *English in Focus 1; for Grade VII Junior High School* written by Wardiman et.al. in 2008 .

Figure 8. Meeting Someone for the First Time (Taken from Wardiman, A., Jahur, M.B., dan Djusma, M.S, et al., 2008, 1).

By using the picture, the writers implicitly introduce of Indonesian patterns of behaviours, related to the activity that Indonesian students commonly do when they meet their new friend. It is clearly seen that the writers want to show the Indonesian setting through the use of Indonesian model and also the way they perform, that is, showing the two junior high schools wearing their school uniform.

Figure 9. My Family
(Taken from Wardiman, A., Jahur, M.B., dan Djusma, M.S, et al., 2008, 83).

Similarly, this picture also implicitly shows the Indonesian setting through the use of Indonesian models and dressing style as it is used to give an illustraton on topic my family.

These pictures present examples of integrating foreign and Indonesian culture in the practice of English Language teaching, tht is through inserting local/ national cultural values and patterns of behaviours in English textbooks. This could be a agood initial step in integrating foreign and local, that is, Indonesian cultures in the practice of English language teaching. In turn, this may be a good solution maintain the nation identity. Our students may learn foreign cultural values and pattern of behaviours but they need also to understand their own cultural values and patterns of behaviours

Unfortunately, not all of the schools and English teachers use the BSE books. Some of them consider these kinds of books not interesting since most of the BSE books are not presented as interesting as other books published by

private publishers. Some other teachers said that most of the BSE books are not written by native speakers of English that they consider them having lower quality compared to those published by private company. Therefore, this could an additional task for the government and those concern with providing resources for our students to improve the quality of BSE books. Besides, it will be also a big challenge to those interested in developing English learning resources and concerned with the idea of maintaining the nation identity in the ELT practices to develop English textbooks which could meet the learners' need that is to learn the language together with its related culture and at the same time, maintain the learners' understanding towards their own culture.

Therefore, it seems necessary to change the common view of English as the 'foreign language' but it must be considered as an 'International language' that no longer belongs only to a particular country. Thus, whenever someone learns English it doesn't mean that he needs to learn all aspects of that culture, internalize it and even forget his or her own culture.

Conclusion

In summary, learning language will be considered effective when it accompanied by learning its culture, not to mention English. It is therefore, will be a very great challenge for those involved in the practice of English languagge teaching in terms of cultural contents owing to the facts that Western cultural values and patterns of behaviours may not be in line with Indonesian. This particular study has found some examples of Western cultural values and patterns of behaviors which may not be applicable in Indonesian context. This also provides examples of the insertion of Indonesian cultural values and pattern of behaviours in English textbooks. It is clearly seen that this insertion does not reduce the content of the books.

Consequently, it will be a great challenge to undergo simlar steps as one of the initial steps in integrating foreign and Indonesian cultures in the practice of English language teaching. This will be an important step to maintain the nation identity. Therefore, I do agree with an idea saying that we need to think globally but act locally (McKay, 2002). This idea needs to be the one of the underlying principles in teaching English in our beloved country.

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Panel 15

Different Voices and Experiences of Indigenous Religions in Indonesia

THE CHALLENGE OF GENDER SEGREGATION IN ISLAMIC JAVANESE WEDDING AND THE EMERGENCE OF MALE WEDDING MAKE UP ARTISTS

Dewi cahya ambarwati

In Java, a wedding makeup artist or paes is both as a beautician and a ritual specialist. As regulated by the Kraton of Yogyakarta, weddings are gender segregated: brides are taken care by female paes and bridegrooms are by male paes. However, the Javanese segregation intertwines with Islamic tradition of gender segregation. Gender segregation in Islam may refer to the notion of muhrim (close relatives of opposite sex) and non-muhrim, lawful for marriage but forbidden for opposite sexual mixture in gathering before marriage. The current practices of Islamic Javanese wedding have, however, challenged the Javanese and Islamic traditions. The emergence of male paes, who, with their own ways, observe Javanese and Islamic symbolism, has transformed Javanese and Islamic tradition of gender segregation. The tradition of gender segregation is challenged, but other elements of both sources such as the wearing of jilbab and Javanese ritual of paes remain intact. To elaborate such Islamic Javanese practices, this chapter works on Reinhold Loeffler's observation that religions must be understood as modes of praxis through which individuals and communities interact with their social and natural environments as much as they are sets of doctrines, norms and precepts.

The emergence of male paes has, therefore, challenged both Islamic principle and adat in regard to men and women relation through the actual engagement of direct contacts particularly between the bride and the male paes Several weddings I observed employed male paes. This chapter analyzes the findings of the emergence of male paes: how Islam is understood and

practiced at the stage of men-women relationship, and how direct contacts effect the wedding practitioners's mind and action. Some findings for example show that in weddings male paes make up and dress up brides with particular techniques such as standing behind brides as ways of avoiding face-to-face interaction. On occasions, nevertheless, face-toface interaction is inevitable. This open-direct contact between male and female in public space is one of the examples showing that gender segregation set by Islam and Javanese adat (custom/tradition) is challenged. This chapter also presents annual festival of Muslim make-up artist whose some contestants have been males. Weddings in Yogyakarta are formed and observed through the use of elements drawn upon Islam and Javanese adat. Their exposures signify the wedding as Islamic as well as Javanese. In a special context in which beliefs are situated and the special way in which beliefs are held; various strategies have symbols being used to mediate the particular circumstances of a person's existence; preserving the wide range of religious knowledge, religious system, and forms of religiousity in a single community. Analyzing so, I argue that the emergence of male paes in Islamic Javanese weddings is another contemporary form of Islamic Javanese practice. The Muslims in Arabic Middle East lands are different from those residing in Indonesia, particularly in the context of Java. Of course, the Arabic texts and narratives are inherited from Arab, but the process at work in respect of local culture has developed into varied expressions and practices. The originality of Islam, portraying of Arabic Islam, moves to a dynamic characteristic that shapes Muslims in Java.

There were and are variant forms of belief that may be seen as a reinterpretation of Islam in local cultural forms.[1] Up to this, the understanding of Islam is not only made based on theological sense, but also how this Muslim society works on their actual practices. It is, therefore, contemporary ethnographic evidence176 gained from Islamic Javanese wedding demonstrates that there is no absolute explanation of what constitutes acceptable Islamic practices. Reinhold Loefller wrote on his book, saying,

1   Ibid., pg 11. I have conducted field research on contemporary Islamic Javanese wedding since 2010 – 2012 in Yogyakarta and a minor observation in Surakarta. 177 Reinhold Loeffler, Islam in Practice: Religious Beliefs in a Persian Village, New York: State University of New York Press, 1988, pg 3

I am concerned with the ways in which, under the constraints of social, cultural, existential, and psychological forces, individuals make sense of, come to terms with, and create religious concepts, thereby shaping their world views and concomitantly – because this world views in any of their expressive and thereby objectivated forms constitute part of culture – their culture. As well, I am concerned with the ways individuals use their world views to conceive, make sense of, and justify self and others, good and evil, fortune and misfortune, life and afterlife, status and power, interest and actions, and create a feeling of prevailing order and justice as well as a sense of personal authenticity, identity, and worth (Loeffler, 1988:3).

Wedding practices in Java sphere I raised in here, relate to men and women relationship. Such relation may be private or open. This stems from the core of family connections which are relatives and non-relatives by blood. The idea of privacy in sense of men-women relationship is reflected from the structure of family. A family may consist of husband, wife and children, and those who are not bounded in a marriage. For men, the later category includes mothers and sisters, and for women, fathers and brothers. Julaihi Wahid and Fatemeh Khozaei, at the 2nd International Conference on Built Environment in Developing Countries (2008) wrote about family privacy in Iranian traditional house with regards to the so-called mahram (muhrim):

Generally, Islamic law categorizes gender relationship within the two categories of lawful and unlawfull "mahram". The word "mahram" defines the legal relationship between the male and the female either by marriage or close blood ties. Any person outside this lawful area of "mahram" is stranger. Sex separation is part of the Islamic system and Islam disapproves of free mixing between unrelated members of opposite sexes. By this categorization also, Islam confines the privacy boundaries of individuals.

With respect to the concept of privacy in Islamic perspective it seems that individual freedom is circumscribed so as nobody is permitted to harm other members of the community, it means that community do protect and empowers the individual. As in Arabic Middle East, the separation springs very obvious while in Islamic Javanese weddings, such principle may be broken by the presence of male artists, purposely taking actions towards the opposite sex. Although in this manner, other Muslims either males or females involved

at the celebrations have also been aware of the discourse. Wedding itself plays a role in determining and beginning a new chain of mahram between the couple. Thus, the mahram discourse is re-articulated by the actors adjusted to an existing direction. The principle of privacy is contextualized within a new framework of how the agents involved (paes and clients) perceive the idea and how they reconcile with it. A mixed gender gathering gives no prohibition at larger extent. I allow the single individuals speak for themselves. This is because we could better understand their distinctiveness and self-sufficiency, and also it persists in maintaining their perceptions more efficiently clear of the unintended meanings, suggestions, implications, and cultural nuances of the ethnographic participation. Islam cannot be understood only in theological sense. The vitality of Islam – or religion in general – may be seen in the way in which it brings forward the past and reforms it – re-reads it – in ways appropriate to its contemporary situation.

The factor displayed in the sources which I have examined relates to social issues and the emergence of structures of authority in the community. Islam has been developing and shaping later configurations as an identity of an integrated culture. It is a mark of a mature religion, perhaps, that it becomes the motivator, supporter and basis for many aspects of the social-structure beyond those obviously involved in the religio-legal perspectives.180 One may indicate the development of artistic materials and arts sciences. In addition, such maturity becomes able to endure challenges to it and to find ways of integrating those challenges which it deems to be a product of its own culture.

The Emergence of Non Female Wedding Make Up Artists

In accord with Javanese tradition, paes is perceived to be female or feminine. Paes as a make-up artist, has, however, become a profession that attracts different sexes, women, men, waria (transgender), and ahay (effeminate men). It becomes a promising business. In Yogyakarta, a bridal make-up competition is annually held, and its participants include ahay and waria individuals. Several competitions ever held included Muslim makeup modification. Many of the participants who did the Muslim makeup for their models with jilbab (headscarf)

were ahay. Those gender kinds have become paes in the sense of wedding make-up artist. Five of male paes have varied in explaining their roles in weddings. These five are KRT Hartoyo Tandhabudaya (an official paes of Surakarta Palace), Robi Aji Santosa, Ibu Maryani (a waria/transgender), Mamuk Rahmadona, and KHP.

Puroyokoro (a Yogyakarta Sultanate official. Except Ibu Maryani, in general, these men are considered as ahay through their body gestures, and the way they speak. Each individual may have his/her own term to define this profession. When I interviewed Pak Hartoyo, Robi and Ibu Maryani, they singled out different term. Robi and Ibu Maryani choose perias (Ind/make up artist) instead of paes. Not performing as ritual specialist at wedding is Robi's reason not being called as paes. Whereas to Ibu Maryani, perias is a more universal term than paes. Paes only refers to wedding, but perias includes any kinds of makeups, such as graduation makeup, brithday party makeup, and other occasions that require makeups. Pak Hartoyo leaves this term to people. He is not bothered of what people call him, either paes, perias or dukun manten. What he cares the most is the works he must do and be responsible of. The emergence of male paes occurs due to several reasons, (1) formal education, (2) informal training, (3) performers, (4) hobby, and (5) bridal festivals. The school of arts such as the Arts Institute of Indonesia both in Yogyakarta and Surakarta contribute more in producing male paes.

Students learn a variety of makeup techniques and application not only for dance performances, but also for wedding. Pak Hartoyo and Mamuk Rahmadona were products of such school. In line with formal education, the informal trainings may be of another choice to obtain knowledge and practices. It is possible to take the trainings from outstanding paes like a private course within a certain period of time to do one style. Besides formal teaching, Pak Hartoyo also gave informal trainings to apprentices. Performers (dancers) either from school of arts or not may have interests in becoming paes. At this point, they have the makeup and costuming skills, like Robby. Furthermore, this basic ability can be advanced to a different job once they decide notto perform anymore, or these two activities can go side by side. A hobby plays an important foundation to perform bridal makeup. One may not be able to make up if s/he does not even like this activity as articulated by Ibu Maryani. Pak Hartoyo was

an official male paes from the Kraton of Mangkunegaran, Surakarta in 1985. Four years later, in 1989, the Kasunanan Surakarta appointed him to be positioned as paes, the very first male paes since long ago. The Kraton provided him caos dhahar (offerings of fruits, food and blue sticky rice) to obtain lilah or permits from the ancestors. This caos dhahar marked his new status as a palace official. Hartoyo has the ultimate responsibility over costumes and makeups of the king, princes and princesses, at all occasions including when they perform sacred dances. Pak Hartoyo started his career of wedding beautification when he was studying in a vocational school in Purworejo. He then married with a daughter of Surakarta classical dance maestro of Kasunanan Surakarta, the late Pak Maridi. This marital bond brought him to a higher degree of artistic make-up. During his stay in Mangkunegaran, he assisted his father in law making up the princes of Kasunanan Surakarta for dance performances. His satisfactory jobs led him to more events inside the Kasunanan. Pak Hartoyo's works took the attention of his majesty the late Sunan Paku Buwono XII. His majesty then ordered him to become makeup artist in Kasunanan. This means Pak Hartoyo no longer worked for Mangkunegaran Palace. Politically, Kasunanan has larger authority which whatever it takes from Mangkunegaran, the Mangkunegaran could never use any more. Although such rule is not written, but orally traditioned, it is fully obeyed by the Mangkunegaran. Robi, a student of Faculty of Agriculture at Universitas Gadjah Mada, joins the dance and gamelan group within the campus. He dances. This extracuricullar dance activity requires him to be able to make up his own face. Then he starts making up his girl friends for dance shows.

In 2010, his interest went farther when he acknowledged his boy friends under a community of male dancers, do wedding makeup. He decided not to take a private course of wedding makeup due to economic reason, but did independent learning by looking at others making up and costuming brides and grooms, reading books, searching the internet and practicing a lot by asking for his girl friends as models. To develop his skills, he ever goes to wedding competitions. Ibu Maryani became a wedding makeup artist since 1990s. She claims that the works of waria are actually better compared to women's works. She had a darkside of her experiences of being a waria and decided to take the path as a makeup artist by following one artist to other artist. She established

her own salon and accepted orders to do wedding as well as the rituals. When she made up, she turned herself into a Javanese look with the chignon and complete traditional dress, but from the past of ten years, she decided to change her look by putting on jilbab. Leslie Dwyer (2001), an anthropologist, as mentioned by Sonja van Wichelen, in her research on modern Muslim women in Yogyakarta, argues that for women, the desire to become modern and urban is now very much linked to the idea of Islam as a universal and forward-looking religion.[2] The appearance of veiled women refers more to ideas of modern asceticism attached to an alternative modernity of Islam. The example of Ibu Maryani, illustrates the phenomena. Rather than keeping on track of the so-called tradition, she dons herself into a state of jilbab and wearing Islamic dress. For practical reason, she found it troublesome after doing the bridal makeup and costuming, she had to prepare herself by putting on a chignon. As a wedding ritual specialist, she had to be in traditional outfits. Now, she just puts on the ready-veil and goes to the rites. By donning the veil, she feels her more respectable, more urban and more modern in sense of social mobility. Moreover, her establishment upon pondok pesantren (Islamic boarding school) waria has encouraged her to particular Muslim behaviour in the society. Although the common sense of waria varies in people's perspectives, Ibu Maryani's decision to wear the veil signifies an urban modernity that enforces respect, even more.

1.   A Variant Motifs

To these paes, economic reason is among the top reasons of becoming paes. At this stage, paes is a profession which one can earn much money from. Such a promising job demonstrates not only facial makeup but also the ceremony service. To Pak Hartoyo, in sense of his involvement as abdi dalem, being in such position of paes Kraton gives his ultimate expectations for blessings or ngalap berkah. Not only he serves the princes and princesses, but also divine blessing he hopes for. Such hopes may result to a prosperity in life or even a surprising fortune he never expected before. The key is that he must be sincere when serving the Kraton and put away unnecessary thoughts like negative ideas concerning attitude and behaviour. Inside the Kraton, there are several

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2   Bryan S Turner and Zheng Yangwen (eds), The Body in Asia, New York: Berghahn Books, 2009, pg 83.

other female paes, but they do not carry out the official assignments like Pak Hartoyo does. Outside the Kraton of Surakarta walls, financial aspect comes second. Pak Hartoyo is aware that the profession has pulled in a lot of money even from one wedding. When serving the clients, he brings along his male assistants, at least three, the number depending on how many people from the host that have to be beautified. He says that in general, families in Surakarta now are more convenient with male paes than female. This becomes a good signal that the presence of male paes is no longer a minor job, not exclusively women's job. He admits that the public convenience towards male paes, which means, public has accepted the inference of unknown men over women, develops a growing number of male paes. This is then called a never ending business, creating a job portion for men in women field. Earning money from such profession has also been the utmost goal of Robi's as he has to make his own living and to finance his study. He takes with him a big amount of money from the client and he still can save some for his own living. He benefits the money for wedding necessities like outfits and accesories and cosmetics. As a newcomer, he charges the Muslim modification style up to 2500000 rupiahs and nearly 5000000 rupiahs for the paes ageng. In principle, adat costumes pulls in a more expensive cost as these outfits contain more elaborated attributes and a paes has to generate more efforts to decorate the couple. Ibu Maryani's admission into this profession started from her awareness of waria's basic interest in make up. She does not elude that most waria open a salon for their living. But the public acceptance seemed not to have them around due to their being waria, neither man nor woman. Ibu Maryani has a salon too at her house, but she put down the board when she finally set up a pondok pesantren for waria. Hence, she still carries out her hobby of making up brides. The increasing fact of waria being wedding paes, not a mere salon hairdresser, is caused by the financial interest over the business. Ibu Maryani notes that she rarely does the hairdressing which only rewards her 5000 rupiahs for a head. She prefers doing wedding for million rupiahs. Last May 2012, she earned 8 million rupiahs total from a client. For this one, she extended her ability to provide sound system, entertainment/solo organ, wedding decor, bridal couple and both parents, and a number of relatives. Some other waria came to assist Ibu Maryani. She did not have the items, but she was able to find channels outside her exact job

as paes, to accomodate her as provider. She appoints herself as a dalang, puppeteer. She does things based on the lakon/story as requested by the host.

Ibu Maryani feels secure economically and socially. She earns money from the beauty profession, not from a permanent job she does not have. And she has to run her pondok pesantren and raise her only foster daughter. Thus, a higher voice of hers demonstrated her protest concerning waria prohibition in the community, when saying,

"I do the job for living. I wonder why all jobs are haram; people going out at night are haram, thieves are haram. So what if makeup job is then haram? In Kediri, a waria's salon was banned (labelled as haram) for the prohibition of touching women. Waria does not want to be waria. I believe God is fair. So what can waria do for living? In public office, they are not accepted though they have good education. Jogja is special, also the people. No such prohibition to establish a salon."[3]

In regard to her social engagement, she remarks,

"I veil myself and continue doing the profession. And I gain more respects from people living around me as well as the clients"

At this religious point, veil as a marker enforces Ibu Maryani's self-esteem. Psychologically, it also makes her more convenient as a Muslim. Furthermore, the respect she gains from the communities enables her to freely present her personal identity as a waria. She intrigues that Yogyakarta and its people can value her 'otherness' at her social job. However, she plans to move her wedding salon to another place she has to rent, making it more open to public, in the side of the street. The urgency to split the salon and the pondok pesantren seems to get stronger as she is personally aware that these two maintain distinctions over Islamic and cultural feelings.

2. Discourse and Practice

As with the common practice of male paes, it is significantly necessary to understand why these non females exist in traditionally women domain. It had been unwritten social order that a male paes was not common or prohibited to take care of women in wedding context. The unrelated ties between men an

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3   Maryani, interview, 13 May 2012.

women under the idea of same-sex gathering constructs the people's mind to separate rooms. Women's room is much more private, moreover bride's quarter. The wedding rituals as explained in the previous sections have given sufficient notes of such separation. However, at the contemporary development of wedding, Javanese Muslims move the different direction from the discoursively men-women relation. "I'm happy that a man can contribute in a domain which is predominantly women " is among the remarks spoken by male paes when asked about such an achievement. They break the conventional construct of woman domain. Hence, it sounds usual to view women are oppressed when they are limited to participate in public works. Oppression made upon women concerns the idea of an ideal woman. A woman needs to stay at home, takes care of the housing ncessities and nurtures the children. She lacks of time to actualize her potency though. Thus, some female paes, mainly in urban area, rejects such idea that they revive to improve herself at economic gain and social participation. They take trainings, and learn by doing when following other female paes. As a result, they make money to support the household. It takes years to be good at such paes skill, more importantly, it definitely needs practices. To those women who work at public facilities regard this job as an extra job for the weekeds. They work at office hours from monday to friday, and are off on saturday and sunday. In general, people celebrate weddings on saturday and sunday that enable these career women to get another side job. At this stage, a man is trying to enter a woman's area; getting the equality of beauty skills. In fact, the growing numbers of male paes may cause a competitiveness upon female paes. They would say, 'when I want to do the make up, I know I can do it, it's not only for women any more'.

The emergence of male wedding practitioner indicates a revival. In both Kratons of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, as mentioned earlier, only male abdi dalem takes care of the groom and other princes. Their presence remains stagnant, but not fully exposed. With the appearance of Pak Hartoyo as an official paes of the Kraton of Surakarta, outside the palace walls, there has been a breakthrough by the more male paes arisen. In contrast to that, the Kraton of Yogyakarta still maintains the idea of female paes under the canopy of historical aspect. As said by Condronegoro, this Kraton only recognizes men and women; there is no 'the other'. Hence, outside, a similar development of

men doing bridal makeup has increased although the revival is merely due to the business mindset. Learning the word haram aforementioned as articulated by Ibu Maryani may implicitly concern that waria, upon some people, is haram according to Islam. She understands that categories recognized by human beings are only men and women.

For Muslim men and women – for believing men and women, for devout men and women, for true men and women, for men and women who are patient and constant, for men and women who humble themselves, for men and women who give in charity, for men and women who fast (and deny themselves), for men and women who guard their chastity, and for men and women who engage much in Allah's praise – for them has Allah prepared forgiveness and great reward.

Those two verses contend only women and women, no transgender mentioned. However, it does say God makes no distinction between man and woman; they are to equally rewarded or punished for their deeds.183 Maulana Mohammad Ali contends that the later verse repeats ten times that women can attain every good quality to which men can have access and settles it conclusively that accoding to the Qur'an women stand on the same spiritual level as men.[4]

However, transgender does exist and needs to survive. This is what Ibu Maryani has been trying to strive for a public recognition. By doing makeup works, she demands of equality among men, women and waria. Her motif in taking her waria fellows to assist her at weddings also becomes an alternate way to approach the society to acknowledge waria. The economic linkages built by these non female paes are not limited to the makeup and costume provisions. They may charge more fees if the host family agrees to perform ceremonial adat. It is not inexpensive to launch wedding adat ceremonials as these require particular articles and more time. As Robi and Ibu Maryani say in similar articulation, "I do the paes profession for financial issue. This is a promising business. People always need paes for weddings".[5]

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[4] KS Nathan and Mohammad Hashim Kamali (eds), Islam in Southeast Asia: Political, Social and Strategic Challenges for the 21st Century, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005, pg Nathan, ibid., pg 195.
[5] Interview with Robi on 14 March 2012 and Ibu Maryani on 13 May 2012.

3. Male Paes and Ahay Category

Male paes is identical with effeminate behaviour or ahay. As mentioned before, profession as paes is mostly the domain of women as it concern with field of beauty and aesthethicism. Thus, feminine aspect is strongly impressed from the presence of paes and the focus on brides. However, the domain widens to males and even waria. A category for men who wish to perform in a particular state of beauty directs to the socalled metrosexual men or even gay. Robi often receives questions or comments from his clients of why most male paes are effeminate. He does not encounter as he understands that such idea is already planted in their minds. Robi himself, is a young man who has soft voice, fair skin and handsome, rather beautiful in women's perspective, making him look even more feminine. He argues that he does the best for the job, his job, why would people bother with such effeminacy issue, in fact he does not mean to harm others with his femininity. He still keeps his emotions. Effeminate male paes gets the blame and censured. Most of his male paes fellows possess similar feminine behaviour; known from how they talk, voice, gestures and their clothing models. Not to generalize the entire male makeup artists, such effeminate behavior, as the matter of fact, secures the phsychological aspect of women. Women are not in hesitation as this man will not be sexually harmful. In fact, to (future) husbands, this man is neither a threat nor a foe. Conversely, they feel rather comfortable that they believe this man has different orientation towards men and women. This is why waria can be easily accepted by clients when wearing make up though in trousers, as shared by Ibu Maryani.

Islam and Adat: A Gender Segregation

The touch of men's hands while making up brides and other women are inevitable at the contemporary Islamic Javanese weddings as observed. Such touch challenges the regulations of either Islam or tradition/adat. Women, not yet attached in a marriage are segregated by the socio-cultural constructs. The terms muhrim and nonmuhrim set the rules under Islamic teachings. However, these two jargons of institutions are interpreted differently by male paes in particular, and public clients in general. The acceptance of male paes within the society means the taking of the consequences, touched by men,

break the rules and bring in contemporary ideas of men and women relationship. Through the articulated subjects (practitioners) and articulated practices, the wedding discourses are dynamically 'played' not in negative sense, but positively interpreted by the subjects.

1. Men's Challenge Over Women: A Pak Hartoyo's Story

The experiences of three paes share different settlements with the clients when they deal with the host family's conviction over cross-gender relations. Pak Hartoyo must uphold his credibility as a palace paes. He truly understands his work will relate him to the most private area of women. Being a normal man granted with a sexual desire becomes a challenge when facing women's physic. Ideally, a paes is responsible for both facial makeup and body costumes. In here, Pak Hartoyo dedicates himself to the whole works of paes. The appoinment of Pak Hartoyo as a royal paes has shifted the perception of the Kraton of Surakarta in view of gender, the division of men and women. The existence of kesatrian and keputren is a portrait of gender segregation learned from adat perspective. Culturally, the segregation remains preserved and fundamental. However, Pak Hartoyo, with the permits of the Sunan (the King) and the ancestors, appeared to be the first commonary having rights and obligations to serve the princes and princesses, including entering the keputren, the most private area in the Kraton. The self-control being a man, not easily get stimulated, mainly goes prominently to Pak Hartoyo's mindset. Princesses inside the keputren act freely when dressing up. To stay controlled, he prayed as much as he could and he did laku, a spiritual meditation to achieve a certain degree of spirituality and control, including not to eat rice. It can also be said Pak Hartoyo was doing puasa or fasting. He has to eliminate the feeling as a man in order not to be aroused, a challenge upon male paes.

2. The Practice of Making Up and Costuming

Pak Hartoyo is known to have specific ways of how to costume a bride as he respects the lines between men and women as observed in a wedding in Surakarta on 6 and 9 June 2012. Pak Hartoyo used bare hands to touch women's faces to apply cosmetics products and to draw patterns and lines. Done with

face, he went to the head decorations. Last, he dressed up the women. For this, he employed spesific techniques. He stood behind the women while the women faces front. He held the kain extensively and began to cover the below part of body appropriately. He must be careful because he had to make sure that the fabric was enlaced orderly seen from frontside, backside and other sides. For the upper part of body, the breast area, the bride had to wear a long gird enlanced from the most upper part of the area, below the shoulder area, down to stomach. Pak Hartoyo, from behind, enlaced the gird, and with the help of the bride, covered breast area. After putting on the gird, women's particular body parts were tightly covered. He may then move facing the women to dress her with another long wide fabric known as dhodhot or kebaya, a traditional blouse. The bride, Ayu, articulates her thought of having Pak Hartoyo as her bridal paes eventhough she understands that she is veiled herself. She posit, "I keep the veil as I represent my being Muslim that a woman has to veil. And I do the wedding ceremonies for cultural preservation. Though I'm veiled myself, I want to do my tradition. It's secular, religion and culture. Pak Hartoyo can rationalize all wedding elements without harming my conviction. He does a very quick job, faster than a woman that we can save more time"[6]

On the other hand, she followed the traditions to do wedding rites starting from siraman to panggih. At this point, she understood by doing the adat, that did not change her identity as a Muslim. Specific linkages over political and cultural issues blend into a certain secularism upon religion and adat. Moreover, consciously, having such a man did all things, enabled her to understand that meanings and aims of adat rites were not against religion; elements are merely symbols to describe life cycles, like an egg to symbolize fertility. Her choice to invite Pak Hartoyo was because of economic reason which is not time-consuming to exercise all rites under his responsibility.

Robi has more or less different techniques as Pak Hartoyo does. In costuming, Robi stands in front of the woman to enlance the fabric and put the gird. He requests the woman to put on legging or tight shorts before dressing up. For upper part, he moves back and helps her putting on bustier/camisol, then he sets the zip. From the beginning, Robi already gives a careful notice to

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6   KRT Hartoyo Tandhabudaya, interview, 6 June 2012 in Surakarta.

the client that he as a man will do the work. Right before costuming, he delivers a question of whom the woman requests to dress her up, he himself or have another female. Most clients requested Robi to costume. As a male paes, Mamuk is not always allowed to costume by the bride herself. She needed another female to do it. A bride named, Nurul Dwi Utami, refused Mamuk to costume her for ijab and reception, although she let him make her up. She said,

> I like Mamuk's works, very incisive I think. I was aware of the possibility of direct contacts. He only did my face area. And for adat costuming, I had a woman do it. So it was not a problem at all. I also invited Robi a week after for a pengajian at my husband's home. He made me up and put the jilbab on me. I wore kebaya, so it was simple that I could wear it myself.[7]

As a waria, precisely dressing as a woman with jilbab, Ibu Maryani has no difficulties in dealing with clients. The hosts are in fact aware of whom they invite as their wedding make up artist. Challenges come from the presence of other waria who assist Bu Maryani. The female clients would refuse if the other waria appear without makeup, looking like men than waria. So, Bu Maryani always asks her fellows to at least put makeup when working with her, letting aside their trousers look. In this case, make up of waria has been a significant indicator of waria to be accepted by the community, a characteristic. Cosmetic becomes a media to reach the agency. However, Ibu Maryani has a principle regarding uniformity of costumes. She prefers to have all females in jilbab modification or in traditional chignons. She would not regard a combination, several in jilbab and several other in chignon, as a good picture of costuming. Uniformity means unity. If seen all in same style, she would more appreciate it as she claims herself as a good paes.

3. A Discoursive Piety

Piety is central to the family's religious life (style), but so is the so-called 'moral economy' of the home. As Ibu Maryani said earlier, that she was dissapointed to see a combination of both chignon and veils in a wedding that abandons the uniformity, they perhaps perceive that the superficial symbols of Muslimness, like veil, communicate a desire of Muslim families to differentiate themselves

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[7] Nurul Dwi Utami, interview, 6 August 2012.

from secular families.[8] In state of muhrim and non-muhrim, the three paes move to different perspective. They return it back to themselves and the clients, how they perceive it and how they use or not use it as the most basic understanding before attaching to other sex. They acknowledge the essence of the what it means to be muhrim and non-muhrim. Robi is a Muslim, he admits of doing five day-prayers and Ramadan fasting. When working, he spends a little time to pray when he is still in time praying. Ibu Maryani, with her symbolic jilbab and her pesantren, gives herself another point of being a Muslim-waria. In Islam, there are only man and woman recognized, but not waria. Pak Hartoyo is a Christian-observant, but he married a Muslim woman. His only child becomes Muslim. Pak Hartoyo does not go to the church, and as the matter of fact, he provides a small room in his house for doing sholat. He is much influenced by the adat, which in larger extent also segregates gender, like Islam. Their knownledge of men-women principle develops to a wider understanding. They are still Muslims. They have Islamic values in them through the symbols and the practices. Moreover, they devote their skills and ability to Muslim families where these families also acknowledge basic information about men-women relation. Ultimately, they keep being Muslims. Nevertheless, two male paes have dealt with clients on gender issues unders various circumstances. Pak Hartoyo ever had clients with jilbab. Deciding paes, who will transform the bridal couple and makeup the parents and the relatives, is one of big issues towards the host family espessibly the parents and the couple. Not only due to the skills, but also the background of paes which determines the option. When meeting with the jilbab clients, before wedding, Pak Hartoyo proposes questions about touching females. He proposes to wear gloves if this alternate way could satisfy the host, fulfilling the family to have him as a paes, and at the same time, fulfilling the Islamic regulation no to touch women. He also asks the woman to request a permit from her parents and her future husband, to have male paes. The roles of a father and a (future) husband are strong in deciding a woman's will, moreover, if concerning other man's participation over their sphere, this shows a portrait of patriarchy system. In addition, Pak Hartoyo believes that when the clients come to invite him, they already know that it is a

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[8]   Turner (2009), op.cit., pg 92.

man who will take care of them. Upcoming situation is that how they compromise the situations. Using gloves is uneasy for general paes to practice as they covered fingers and palms to apply the cosmetics. In here, gloves are used to bridge the gap between traditions and the ideas of Islam. It also attempts to bargain the position of elements (male paes) considered inappropriate to the Islamic framework, and to support this bridal popular practice that has been imbedded in society. Before sitting in front of Pak Hartoyo for the makeup, the bride already put a black cloth on covering her hair with ciput (a piece of cloth usually worn before the jilbab). In this sense, Pak Hartoyo as a man, neither touch her nor see her hair. Elaborating this, I should share of Sonja van Wichelen's argument that women chose to veil themselves against local traditions and the wishes of their family. The choice to veil oneself was an act of courage and often accompanied by processess of exclusion by others.[9] Robi does not go with the gloves if asked. However, there is a dilemma over Robi dealing with the bride. He ever shares his feeling, "There exists a dilemma about muhrim. I am confused, I am not her muhrim, but I touch her. But I believe this depends on both side's intentions, I intend to help her, not to act in bad manners"190 Such dilemma was also intrigued when he met a client from Jakarta: "In 2011, there was a client from Jakarta who liked my works but then she said, 'unfortunately you're a man'. She is a veiling woman, but wanted me to make her up. She insisted on this but without touching her. I said, 'applying foundation still required me to touch you'. Then, she cancelled it".

Pak Hartoyo and Robi are in same conviction that their activity is based on their true intention of giving the best for the clients, not having any unwanted ideas in sense of touching women. Trust from the clients is very meaningful that they have to keep in their mind as they say, "I'm confident when I gain trust from clients". And more importantly, the clients are satisfied with their works.

He was making up the bride and costuming her. The direct contacts between man and woman inevitably happened. The dressing room was not only concentrated for the bridal couple and their parents, but also other people wishing for facial transformations. The bride put off her jilbab for the adat style, so did the mothers of the couple, replacing it with loose veil or kerudung.

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[9]   Turner (2009), ibid., pg 77. Robi Aji Santosa, interview, 14 March 2012. 191 Robi Aji Santosa, interview, 14 March 2012.

However, there were women who remained veiled as seen in figure 45 below. The above discourses on the state of muhrim as well as non-muhrim suggest that the making of the new idea of men-women relations correspond to the idea of defining men and women at the same domain. Gender segregation seemingly goes back to the conventional Javanese adat and Islamic principles that are no longer followed by outside-of-walls people, no in the sense of reducing the level of religiousity, but to make actual the human to human relationship as God's will. As long as both sides are away from the idea of sexual harassment and having the permits from the couple and the entire host families, then trust is gained easily for the paes to genuinely work. The main self-principle not to harm others also becomes compatible with their practical Islamic teachings.

The direct contact between men and women constitutes a new reality in which both are subjected to compromise with their own convictions to have controls. Through male and waria paes, a different mode of bridal make-up in public discourse, new relational habits are created through how these paes define and situate themselves in the society. Eventually male and waria practices are consistent to the ways of consumerism upon people in a social environment filled with new options and models of aestheticism. The Kraton of Yogyakarta itself still preserves the seclusion of men and women. It does not have paes the Kraton. It invites female paes from outside the Kraton to take care of royal wedding. The last royal wedding I have recorded was last October 2011. It was an Islamic Javanese wedding for the youngest daughter, GKR

Bendara, and a non-Javanese, KPH Yudhonegoro. The celebration was lively aired by a local TV station and estimated a large number of viewers watching it. As mentioned before that inside the Kraton, quarters of keputren and kesatrian are strongly separated. The adat gender seclusion was challenged after the bathing ceremony. A male hairstylist in a casual clothing not in traditional one, was inside the princess's quarter in keputren, doing her hair. The female paes assigned by the Kraton was also there sitting and observing them. Two guests of wedding experts invited by the TV for the discussion, agreed that the incident was out of manners, unethical, something that was not supposed to happen. The Kraton as the main reference of wedding, has broken the rule it made before. Although outside the Kraton, men-women relations develop into inclusive relation, more open and leave the seclusive part.

4. Non Females as Ritual Specialists

The Kraton's appoinment towards Pak Hartoyo allows him to lead the wedding ceremonies. In Surakarta, he is the only man who carries out the wedding ritual duty. He articulates that based on Javanese belief, one can be a ritual specialist is someone who is already married. A paes is a symbol of fertility. This married woman is expected to give a good example of being a mother and a wife. The presence of Pak Hartoyo, being a palace paes has shifted the idea of the symbol of fertility. It is no longer a woman which was traditionally perceived and embodied. A man cannot get pregnant and give a birth. However, his presence identifies the segregation of man and woman not based on the natural characteristics of what women do, cannot be done by men, but genuinely work divisions. Traditional views of female paes have gradually faded away as he appears to be the main actor of wedding rituals, and has his wife as his co-partner assisting him.

Pak Hartoyo, admitting as a Christian-observant, he recognizes himself as a Javanese person who has to preserve the Javanese culture. He brings higher Javanese adat principles to understand life. In terms of wedding ritual, he interprets the ritual with the contemporary delivery to the clients either Muslims or non-Muslims. There were numbers of Muslim families who invited him, directed their thoughts over rituals to the state of syirik due to the presentation of sajen or offerings. An egg used for panggih ceremony, the meeting of bride and groom, is a symbol of fertility. During the ceremony, when the bride washing groom's feet, groom stepped on the egg. This means that in the future, the couple will be annointed with love and blessed with children. A kyai from a pondok pesantren in East Java, after Panggih led by Pak Hartoyo is Surakarta ritual whose egg is stepped on by the groom. The compositions of wedding rites of Surakarta and Yogyakarta almost similar, only how to exercise the rites are different.

listening to Pak Hartoyo, then asked for the egg and took it to a wiridan[10] and prayed the egg. Usually, Pak Hartoyo already says a prayer to the egg before putting it into a transparent plastic. Pak Hartoyo always requests his

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[10] Endraswara, op.cit., pg 124-7. Wiridan, from the word wirid, is to recite Qur'anic verses and mention prophets in the recitation. To Javanese Muslim, wiridan also consists of advices, messages and prohibitions for harmonious life. Sacred wirid may become mantra in which the mantra recitation, one may insert Qur'anic verses.

clients to do fasting for three days, a week before the wedding. This request goes not only to the bridal couple, but also to both parents. Sahur[11] is not necessary and the fast is broken at maghrib time. For a woman who is menstruating, she fulfills the conditions not to eat meals made from rice and salty meals, instead, she may have fruits, cassava, pohung and potatoes. I observed a wedding on 10 April 2011 in Cabean Bantul, south of Yogyakarta. The host invited a male paes named KHP Puroyokoro (title of abdi dalem named Agus Mudjimanto, conferred by Yogyakarta Sultanate). He led the rituals starting from panggih[12] until sungkeman. In Yogyakarta, it is not common to have a man leading wedding rituals. The ways Pak Agus presented the bridal couple and the rituals were mixed up between Surakarta and Yogyakarta styles espescially during dhahar klimah rite when the couple fed one another. Surakarta and Yogyakarta are, to an outside observer, similar, however, to Central Javanese people, they can mention significant differences between these two, including the details of court rituals Woodward (1989: 15).

In practice, Pak Agus creates his own patterns either the bridal makeup or the ceremonial exercises. He drew the black paes on bride's forehead, but he did not attach the golden powder manually. Instead, he used a ready stock of golden sticker that already has the patterns. This similar instant paes is also performed by Ibu Maryani which according to her, it is more practical. Pak Agus also modifies the head and body articles. The wedding I observed, the feet cleaning was also missing. Learning his works, he performs an idea that becoming a paes is also a way for actualizing self, ignoring a sense of what is right and what is wrong. How he values the wedding and its elements based on his own interpretations. I ever had an argument with him about the seat arrangements for both parents. The groom requested me to move his parents to seats next to his wife. However, Pak Agus encountered this idea with such a strong articulation, "Placing parents in laws (groom's parents) on bride's left dishonors them that it may cause an embarassment towards the host (bride's family). For your information, this is Yogyakarta adat." So, in this case, he firmly claims that his patterns refer to the so-called Yogyakarta adat which is

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[11] Sahur is meals time before dawn to start the fast during Ramadan, Islamic fasting month.
[12] Panggih of Yogyakarta styled ritual, the egg is touched by the paes to groom's and bride's forehead, then paes smashes it down to the floor.

the Kraton. This could be understood as when the Kraton hosts royal weddings, the Sultan and his wife and the bride are in right side due to their higher status. Whereas groom and parents stand on left side. However, outside, such a seat arrangement could be problematic because it is the bride's parents who reserve the right positions as the hosts. If the groom's family celebrates another festivity (ngundhuh mantu), it is his parents who sit on the right side. This is part of status display of Javanese wedding. After leading panggih, he led several others ceremony while he spoke using the microphone to give narrations about the ongoing rites.

Pak Agus is assigned in the kitchen area entitled bangsal Patehan to serve tea. He comes to the Kraton every Monday and Thursday. It is not a high level of abdi dalem status. Outside, he has a higher status in the society as a paes because the profession is a respectable one. In this case, Pak Agus mobilizes to a higher class based on work category. Inside the Kraton, paes also positions in a certain higher level, a position that is yet reacheable by Pak Agus. It is therefore, Pak Agus develops his skill with all modifications created outside the walls making him possible to become a paes. Ibu Maryani leads the rituals without any reservations. She departed from a simple wedding makeup then moved to learn more about the rituals. She realizes her being waria but has womanship inside her. She performed pre-requisite personal rites such as fasting and prayers, but for the last ten years, she began to leave the habits except the mantra to protect her and the couple. Before making up, she performs her personal rituals. She posit,

"Before working, I recite bismillah and Al Fatihah, no more long mantra like I did, too long. Take the practical one. Get the jilbab so I can easily run and save my time" She does not recommend her clients to fast before wedding, like she did before, but she allows them to fast if they wish. The personal ritual she articulated indicates that she is now a changed person, in correlation to her veiling as a notable female Muslim. Unlike the others, Robi asks his female fellow to lead the rituals as he does the bridal makeup and costume. He admits that he has no capability of the rites. He is concerned of making mistakes as he believes that a wedding ritual requires good knowledge of the rites as well as mature spirituality of a paes. Robi does not advice the clients to do any pre-requisitions, but like Ibu Maryani, he welcomes the clients for doing it.

Muslim Bridal Festivals: The Socialisation of Gender Mixture and Veiling Bride

Gender segregation in adat and Islam has been challenged deliberately into public space. Both adat and Islam have own foundation of setting up gender. However, in practice, gender interpretations are understood and done by ouside-of-walls people encourage a bafflement towards the gender division itself. Bridal festivals are of places to staging the challenges in public domain as well as marketing bridal styles with head covers. In November 2011, there was a Wedding Make-up Festival for Paes Ageng Style and Muslim-Modification Style in Jogja Expo Center. Robi participated at the section of Muslim-modification. For this section, there were only four participants; three females and Robi. Robi got number three, presenting modern Muslim bride, within a more contemporary jilbab style including the accessories. The rest of participants did the established Muslim style as released by a local wedding styles organization. At this competition, within the framework of Muslims, a man could be participating, regardless the principle of Islamic gender division, being inclusive. But, the other competition which was paes ageng, an adat style, the segregation went in an open discourse between male and female paes. A competition of traditional paes ageng never had male paes. It was the very first time to let men participate. There were more than twenty participants, of which five of them were men. It was a decision of the judges to accept male participants. During the make-up process, female paes were placed on a stage that the audience could see them work, whereas the men were working at the backstage, so that the audience would not see. The judges went around not only at female area but went behind the stage for male area. After time was over, the models and the paes had to do a stage parade. Unfortunately, male paes were not able to present themselves, only the models. The result came out as two male paes won fourth and fifth ranks, acknowledging public on male participants. Concerning the event of having male paes for adat style, Ibu Lies Adang Pratiknyo, a female senior paes, under the canopy of Harpi Melati, a wedding paes association, sent a protest to the organizer, questioning men's participation.

With respect to Java, the most densely populated island with the biggest Muslim community, traditional dress did not require a covering up of the body or the had. On the contrary, the traditional female outfit (kebaya and kain) is worn tightly around the body, showing the female's body contours. The Islamic outfits would regard bigger size outfits that will not show body contour and wear headcovering. In Figure 49 and 50, at two different festivals, a combination of traditional attire and Islamic symbolic attire happen to be more popular for weddings. Beside that, figure 49 illustrates a female and a male participant with their models for Islamic Javanese wedding attire. The festival, as it was for public consumption, becomes a strategic tool to market the ideas of contemporary Islamic clothing as well as the involvement of men doing bridal necessity.

I attempted to show a paradoxical illustration through the two figures supporting Wichelen's argument Islamic movement concerns the representation of both tradition and modernity. Tradition in terms of an 'invented tradition' of piety, morality, and communal responsibility embodied through Islamic attire, and modernity in terms of scientific progress, education, and individuality (Turner 2009:84). Young women with veils are more fashionable with their outfits, not only wearing conventional loose outfits, which is mostly combined with plain colors. Today, veils and Islamic attire have developed more with various designs and colors. This include their presentetation of wedding as these veiled women also the clients who wish for astonishing wedding attire, but Islamic. Nevertheless, Javanese tradition still has significant contribution of the attire though the body contours remain there. As far as it goes, veiled women do net feel ackward of this body contours matter, they are still able to maintain their jilbab state as a form of individual religiousity. Another illustration I would assess is that for Muslim bridal contest, men were allowed to participate, which means, there was a public permit that Muslims in general may 'use' men's hands to decorate Muslim females. It is a public acceptance. Whereas, it is debatable upon men's participation over adat bridal contest, meaning, somehow men are still rejected at women domain. Eventhough, practically, the informants I researched have received invitations of decorating bridal couples with either adat style or Islamic style. Further speaking, the involvement of men has

abandoned the social construct upon privacy in Islam and yet, maintained gender segregation upon adat framework at some extent.

It is apparent from the perspective of later history that all of these elements of change are significant within the development of Islamic wedding and its impact upon Muslim society in general. In moving to male paes, it has been suggested that a large number of common people are attracted to wedding performances, making the message of muhrim and non-muhrim notion blurry. This festival regards it role of being politics of presence that the participants and the Muslim-veil modification for wedding attire occupy public spaces and communicate with their marked bodies to the outside world their Islamic message as also articulated by Wichelen. The images show how Indonesian Muslims are adhering to such a consumerist discourse of veil prevailing and male paes, committing oneself to an Islamic way of life, but abandoning the gender segregation. This new way of life can be combined between adat performance and modern lifestyle, a form of living a contemporary life of Javanese Muslims.

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THE CONCEPT OF LIFE AFTER DEATH
FATU BIAN MA HAU BIAN:
A Study of the Efforts to Maintain the Identity of Indigenous Religion *Atoin Pah Meto* Among the Boti Tribe, East Nusa Tenggara

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Religious practices of indigenous peoples of Indonesia are perceived not as religion by the Indonesian state. They are claimed to be merely "cultural." Indigenous practices, which are theoretically understood as religious in this research, have also been claimed to be full of superstition, myths or childish. Those indigenous religious practices are even accused of irrational and infidels. To state it again, In Indonesia, indigenous religions are classified by the state not as religion but only as *adat* or *kepercayaan*. This is the case of a community in a rural island of Timor, which is quite difficult to reach. This community still holds tightly their ancestral beliefs (indigenous religion). This community settle in a village called Boti, in South Central Timor regency, East Nusa Tenggara province. It is often called as Boti *'dalam'* (inner) community. For their ancestral belief, the community has been identified as 'Halaika' or infidels or irreligious by the government as well as outsiders. Such identification is to mean that the community should alter their ancestral tradition. That is the government pressure. In addition, missionary efforts of world religions as well as modernization have also been part of issues this community has to face. Despite the spiteful pressures of those forces, this small group still survives with ancestral tradition or indigenous religion.

This thesis brings various components of peoples' traditional ideas practices to look at from a different point of view on Indigenous Religion, and not from the standpoint of world religions. From such an insight we will see how they make sense of identity which is given by outsiders for them and their

survival strategies. We will also discover how their belief system contains elements or characteristics of a religion.

Results from this study are expected to expand the understanding and theories about the local or indigenous religion, especially as seen from the perspective of their own religion. In particular, this thesis focuses on the concept of 'life after death' in the Indigenous Religion community of Boti tribe as a starting point in understanding the identity of the tribal people Boti and their survival strategies in the face of pressures from outside groups like government and followers of world religions. In religion there are so many concepts that will affect the mindset and lifestyle of followers. But one interesting concept and also important is the concept of death and life after death.

The method used in this study is the field research. The study began by conducting a preliminary study of information associated with the research literature as well as looking for people who know the information about the location of the study as well as those that can be a connector for writer and field research. In this preliminary study, researcher sought to find writings related to the object of research. Initially researcher only focuses on the literature on Boti tribe, but later expanded it again to the literature on Timorese ethnic. Writer gets some thesis relating to the tribe of East and Boti, as well as several articles on the internet which talking about the tribe of Boti. Not only through some writing sources, writer also began to see some peoples of which have experience and understanding of tribal of Boti. Through the writing sources and people are writers hoping to get the general picture of the location would be the object of the study authors.

Data obtained by researcher by means of in-depth interviews with some sources, both, at the research location and that are outside the research location, that have a good understanding of the research object. In addition while in the field, researcher made the observation about daily life of Boti 'dalam' but also Boti 'luar'.

In Chapter II, researcher attempts to give an overall general picture of the location from the various aspects of the research field. Geographically this object of research located in the sub-village of Boti Ki'e, South Central Timor (TTS) regency, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) Province. Boti Village is one of three villages in TTS, which the government designated as tribal areas isolated

and away from external communication, making what is called 'the roots of the past' is still preserved. With a total area of 16 500 ha / m², located between the mountains, as well as transportation routes in the pass is quite difficult, to make these people's lives seem isolated.

The terms Boti 'dalam' and Boti "luar' often used to describe the differences in location, and also differences between the Boti who still embraced Indigenous religions with Boti community that embraced Christianity, were both Protestant and Catholic. Indeed, there is a wooden fence as if a separation between those who are local religions and those who had become Christians. However, if explored further then it would seem that such restrictions do not then make the area belongs to the absolute of only one group. Some sources said that such a separation is not actually occur naturally or by the community itself, but the term Boti 'dalam' and Boti 'luar' made by the government in this case the Department of Tourism for the purpose of promotion of cultural tourism with the object of the tribal people who still embrace Indigenous religion.

In general, the education of the Boti community (especially the Boti 'dalam') is still quite low level where most of the population just completed their education at the elementary school or junior high school level. This is because the institution is in that place only elementary school and junior high school, whereas if they want to continue to a higher level of school, the children of this tribe should go or Niki-Niki or Oenlasi which have distance of just far enough. Especially for people of Boti 'dalam', still have some constraints in terms of education. School and education for the local tribal religions Boti are identical with modernity and Christianity. The reason why it quite difficult for the Boti 'Dalam' peoples because the legal requirements are very difficult to meet due, they do not have almost all of identity papers such as birth certificates, and so forth. Although in the school, children should change their religious identity became one of the religions recognized by the government, and the study of religion is not convinced by them.

In terms of public health in general, this community still using traditional ways and medicines to treat a variety of illnesses suffered by them, or through a supernatural force in overcoming some diseases ascribed to the supernatural. For the case of childbirth, for the tribe of Boti 'dalam' peoples, they usually do at home assisted by a village shaman because it is associated with local religious

rituals to them, but since there is policy of government to have birth in a health clinic if not will be fined with a sum of money has its own dilemma for this community.

As a community that is not recognized by the government in terms of its existence and beliefs often get discriminated against, but they are very obedient to various rules and regulations given by the government for them. Actively involved in various activities such as elections and continues to support government policies.

The Boti village has a population of 2.207 peoples or 562 households and scattered in four hamlets, which have Timorese ethnic background. Of these as many as 1.801 peoples (81.60%) of the population embraced the Protestant religion, 93 peoples (4.21%) of the population embraced the Catholic religion, and the remaining 313 peoples (14.18%) of the population embraced to local or indigenous religions. Years of living side by side with Christianity greatly influenced the peoples who still embraced indigenous religion perspectives on themselves and their own religion. If we ask what the name of their religion or belief then start from kids to adults said that they are infidels or *Halaika*. They received this term from Christians or missionaries, and use term such as their identity to explain what the name of their religion.

With the polite cultural background that promotes others, this community developed with values   that preserve religious harmony with the divine, human and also in nature. This is evident in the unique calendar system life and the wise ways in solving problems of this society. The simple system of marriage but advanced aspects of the responsibilities is the characteristics of marriage system in this place. As communities are predominantly farmers, they have important rituals around agriculture, very respectful and well positioned divine nature as giver of life.

As a community who known as a symbol of authenticity of *Atoin Pah Meto*, this community truly put their trust to the Divine in the form of *Uis Neno* (the god of the sky) are believed to be *amo'et-apakaet* (maker-forming); *Uis Pah* (the god of Earth) are believed to be *amnaifat-afafat* (shore up-sustaining), and *Nai-bei* or also called *Nitu* (ancestral spirits) are believed *alikin-ape'en* (incubator-riser). The three strengths are greatly affected people's lives. Cooperation between *Uis Neno* and *Uis Pah* led to the merging of all life and

living. While *Nai-Bei* (which usually also called *Nitu*) believed to cause the release of a live radiated, as well as maintain, monitor, control and enforce norms in order to live a regular basis.

In Chapter III, researcher discusses about a very unique religious concept of community, namely the concept of *Fatu ma Hau Bian Bian* (the world behind the stone and behind the tree), a concept of life after death from this community who have considerable influence in shape their behavior.

There are three levels of the cosmos in Timorese cosmology. The first world, on top of the sky called *Neno tunan* (the peak of the sky). The master on *Neno Tunan* is the highest god called *Uis Neno* (Lord of the heavens). The second world is located under the earth or called *Pah Pinan* (natur /the underworld). The master of this place is *Uis Pah* (lord of the earth). While the third is, on the surface of the earth where living all human life, but also those who already died, they are sharing this place (*Pah Nitu*).

Death to this community is a process of moving the existence of the "visible" to "the invisible". To the Timorese, the human person consists of *auk* (body) and *snasaf* (sigh) and incorporated by *smanaf* (spirit) which is located on the *kliuka* (pulse) and *na* (blood). *Smanaf* (spirit) and *na* (blood) is closely related to one another. Death will occur when *smanaf* left auk. S*manaf* without *auk* is *nitu* (corpse). *Smanaf* then be transformed into a spirit that went into the 'other world' or the spirit world inhabited by the ancestors (*Pah Nitu*) called *Fatu Bian ma Hau Bian Bian* meaning behind the stone and behind the tree. The phrase *Fatu Bian ma Hau Bian* is a metaphor to explain that just like something was behind rocks and trees can not be visible but invisible. Similarly, the spirit world was not visible by naked eye.

World of the spirits for the Boti is not a place that is geographically separated from those who are still alive. Only the world for those who have died of follow longer visible by naked eye. One informant said that 'they are like the wind that can not be seen but can be felt. Movement from the visible existence to the invisible is also not something that happens in a flash but the immediate need of the process that we will see in the stages of death ceremonies of Boti people.

The unique concept of *Fatu Bian ma Hau Bian* in *Atoni* local religious communities especially the Boti tribe, only can be understood when we found

the association with other concepts. In a conversation with Pastor Eben Nuban Timo, he explained that life and death for the East are always closely related to *Fatu Hau Kanaf*. Each clan believes that the antiquity *Uis Neno* showed his will in the form of culture and values   to their ancestors on a rock. The place then become a sacred place or the clan and was called *Fatu Hau Kanaf*. There they are born and, from that place they get their identity. Because it every Timorese have their own lovely name which refer to *Fatu Hau Kanaf*.

When *kuan* or village located on *Fatu kanaf* is already full then some of the members of the clan move to find a new place. In the new place whenever they are marriage, and spawned a new breed, then for 4 days (in some information formerly 40 days) the child and his mother must stay in the house or *ume kbubu* round, this period is called the transition to ensure that if a new child born were from *Uis Neno* or from the devil. Fire takes on the understanding that the baby comes out of the dark therefore need light. After passing through the transition period the baby will be introduced to the public in the event called *Tapoitan li Ana*. The important questions in this event is where they came from and what is they brought. Originally, the question: where they came indicate their *Fatu Kanaf* and what is they are brought will show the child work during the life forms that have been set by the ancestors as the provision of Uis Neno in their *Fatu Kanaf* at first time. That is why the weave pattern or motif every *kanaf* or clan be different one to another.

When they died, and wrapped with blankets to show that it is the result of their work during their lifetime, so if they are asked by their ancestors and to make sure the ancestral spirits in the spirit world, that they have come to the right place because they bring a blanket motif as determined by *Uis Neno* for thier *Kanaf*. The place that they will go when they die is where their ancestors came is that their *Fatu Kanaf*. That is why the grave of someone always direct to his/her *Fatu Kanaf*.

To understand the attitude of the Boti people who live in harmony relate to the concept of *Fatu Bian ma Hau Bian* very closely linked to responsibility as a Timorese or Atoin. In an interview with pastor Eben Nuban Timo, he explained that the Timorese is generally called as the Atoin, the word is derived from the letter 'a' which is the definite article and 'toni' meaning answer / respond. That must be answered or the response is *Uis Neno*. Thus, for the

Timorese, life was a response to a mandate or command given by *Uis Neno* to their ancestors at *Fatu Kanaf*, and it must be responsibility when death arrives and when they go back to their *Fatu Kanaf*.

Researcher also found a deeper meaning in the concept *Fatu Bian ma Hau Bian* by comparing the rituals of death and birth rituals, at the rituals we can see a number of similarities both in the calculation of the day of the ritual, the elements used in these rituals, the meaning behind the ritual, and the person most instrumental in the implementation of these rituals who called *Atoin Amaf*. Why in some rituals of death and rebirth in the Boti community is experiencing similarity or even refer to one with each other? What is actually connection or relationship between birth and death in the eyes of Boti society? How can we understand world and life after death for these people who are known in the figurative *Fatu Bian ma Hau Bian*, by seeing these rituals?

As researcher have said before that the place where the dead heading, for the local religious of Boti tribe, not a place geographically separated by the living. The place is not a far different from this world and different from where we live now. The place is also not something that is utopian, as well as the concept of heaven or hell is in monotheistic religions. Both the living and the dead occupy the same world or place. As expressed by the chief, Mr Namah Benu, "here that place, together with us, it's just that they are no longer visible". Thus the concept of death in the Boti tribe local religious, not the displacement of this world to the world, but the existence of a visible shift to the invisible. From the tangible to the intangible.

By looking at the relationship between the rituals of birth, the ritual of given name and the rituals of death, researcher analyze the existence of the concept of "reincarnation" or rebirth when talking about the concept of life after death in the this Boti local religious community. Birth is the entrance to the existence or forms that appear while the death is the door to the existence or manifestation of the invisible. Naming ritual is evidence that the movement is. It is obvious to us why there are similarities in some of the rituals of life and death, as well as the people who play in it.

The concept reincarnation or rebirth it is inseparable from the concept of *karma*, which in generally can be said to contain the idea that every action has consequences. The consequences of an action can be directly obtained or

felt at that moment, but there are also actions that result or the consequences felt in the life to come, and the consequences of those actions as well that will also be experienced in the experience of life after death (Allen, 2004: 92).

In the concept of 'reincarnation' in the local religious community like Boti, *karma* or consequences of actions performed by a person in his life also has an influence, but slightly different from the concept in Hinduism or Buddhism described above. Consequences of one's actions and not affect the shape or what will be after the reincarnation, but the effect on the waiting time in the realm of life after death to get back into visible existence. In other words, faster or late in a person who has died or is in invisible existence to get back in this life or reincarnation is also determined by the actions as long as he seems to be in visible existence.

Thus we can see that the attitude behind such Boti society which friendly to nature and each other, a seemingly obvious in the calendar of their lives and also the forms of their problem solving (see Chapter II), was strongly influenced by their religious concepts, one of which is the concept of life after death or the known as *Fatu Bian ma Hau Bian*. Neither living nor dead, either in the form of visible and invisible, the place for them are one, here in this world, not in the different and distant nature or other world or utopian. Zacharias Neno (2003: 103-104) reveals that by stating that "for the Timorese concepts like heaven, hell, sin, justice, truth and salvation are concepts that relate to the reality of life on earth. Expectations of a utopian life, for those not imagine concrete beyond reality life. Thus the things that cause of havoc does not have connection with a life that lies beyond the present reality. Justice and truth understood as a straight line with the norms in force for the safety of life and the safety of life understood as *aomina-aoleko* or physical condition (healthy, fresh and good) ". Therefore keep the harmony with nature and each other is very important for a good life. Eternal life is the life being lived today, because it's best to get yourself a good life today but also for future when you died, so it was in anticipation you did not take too long to get back in this life.

To understand that death and life afterwards in Boti tribal communities had a very close relationship with the origin of a clan or *kanaf*. The place of origin clan is the place where someone will going to come back when she/he dies or when someone in invisible existence, and also the place which then will

be back when he returned again in life or the existence of the visible through the process of reincarnation. Therefore, the concept of death and life after death is the basis for understanding the meaning of the identity of a person or group called *Atoin Pah Meto*.

Like I said before the concept *Fatu Bian ma Hau Bian* strongly related to *Fatu Hau Kanaf* means clan's wood or stone is a sacred mountain, the place where '*Uis Neno*' (the divine) is worshiped by each clan's dwelling, the place of every clan ancestors came from, that's where all the rules in the form of customs and beliefs of the *Uis Neno* given to the *kanaf* as identity, and it was there where everyone from *kanaf* will be back when they died later. As a *Atoin* life is a mandate to work or respond to all the commandments and ordinances of *Uis Neno* has been given to their ancestors or in other words, life is about living their identity correctly and precisely, because later it was a sign or symbol that must be accounted for when they died in *Fatu Bian ma Hau Bian*.

In a meeting with the government and the world's religions, the identity of which is so important to the Boti tribe, was then amended and interpreted differently as *Halaika* or infidels or non-religious. This term later became an identity for those provided by the world's religions, communities, governments and other scholars. However these communities retain their identity, because identity is a gift from *Uis Neno* (the divine), which has a role not only in the long life but also after death.

Faced with a variety of forces beyond them, the strategy used can be described as a mix between an accommodative and resistance attitude. They received various terms and the identity given to them and let as if they are on the lower side, but never internalize it in the lives of their beliefs. They retain what they believe and believe in, but do not try to fight or confrontation with another group. The longer they are more aware of the uniqueness and their privileges, and change or put a negative term *Halaika* become their strength.

In Chapter IV the author describes how the belief systems and the concept of life after death in the Boti tribe local religious community that had governments and communities categorized as Halaika, pagan or custom, by scholars who pay attention to the study of religions, is had characteristics of a religion whose position is the same or equal to the world's religions or other religions State. In this chapter will also be discussed about *Halaika* as an

arena of struggle identity and the strategy from this Boti community to survive in the various dynamics outside their group.

Talking about religion, then we will find so many definitions of it. To describe something as a religion is very problematic and often highly political. This also happens in Indonesia when government will formulate a definition of religion contains political interests. Religion recognized by the Government of Indonesia should be a requirement to meet the requirements as follows: (1) shall be the reference for the believer lives with clear rules, (2) believe in only one God, (3) have a holy book, and (4) led by a prophet. Excluding these provisions the community is not recognized as a religion and should only be seen and recognized as a belief or custom. Since then until now recognized as a religion in Indonesia are Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Kongfucu, the postscript are all imported religion.

From the first to the present local religious or indigenous religion never got a place in the life of Indonesian people, it seems like not enough if they are referred to as atheist or not religious, they are also an easy target for governments and state religions. For the government they are cultural assets that are exploited for the sake of mere tourism. Because it's if you'll see it seems like they often get preferential treatment and get the attention of the government, but behind it is just for the sake of revenue or tourism promotion. While their basic rights ignored altogether.

Local or indigenous religion is always considered not as a religion in Indonesia. This can be seen clearly because their existence is not under the Ministry of Religious Affairs Department but under culture and Tourism Departement. Responding to the postion of Indogenous religion in Indonesia, Beny Susetyo representing the Bishops' Conference of Indonesia (KWI) clearly states that "Indonesia is a country of Pancasila to ensure diversity. He gives an example about Bung Hatta, in the constituent assembly contributed greatly to separate state and religion so that the Jakarta Charter replaced with Indonesia based on Pancasila and the Belief in God Almighty. Therefore, the State should not intervene and should not become the one and only interpreters of religion. States also can not determine based on majority and minority, or legal and illegal a religion. Constitutionally which protected religious rights can not be reduced. The state also must not intervene in what should be a religion or not."

From the definitions made by the government, it is clear to us that the position of local religions in Indonesia is very risky to receive discriminatory treatment. For the Boti local religious community, the term *Halaika* is a term which is attached as the identity of the trust group. *Halaika* often referred to as the name of religion (belief) is embraced by Boti community. The term is actually to describe a person or a group that is still not religious or other terms are infidels. Of course, this term is a negative connotation, as the condescending tone and impression of a person or group that will arise is the speakers are in a superior position while the person or group known by the term itself is in an inferior position.

This community did receive a variety of terms and the identity given to them and leave as if they are on the lower side, but they are never internalize it in their religious life. They still maintain what they believe in, but do not try to fight or confrontation with other groups. As citizens they participate fully in the activities of government, obeying various rules applicable, and accept any decision against them. They co-exist with other religions and also with other groups, remains open graciously accepted any outside person or group, but remained with their beliefs and make restrictions that outsider able to appreciate their group. One thing is for sure, for writer, they more aware of their existence as a group of interesting and unique. They continue to strengthen their identity and wear that negative definition of *Halaika which* given from outsiders to those groups as a strength for them.

Beyond the definition of religion made by the government of Indonesia, actually it also have some definition of religion made   by scholars who studied in the field of religion. J.G. Platvoet (1992, 12-16) states that all religions have evolved traits based on the type of society where religion is practiced. He further religious divide into two types: "community" religion and "transnational" religion. Religions of community are usually found in a particular community and practiced only by members of the community. Often referred to as an ethnic religion or national religion. Meanwhile, transnational religions are widely disseminated through certain territorial limits, often referred to as the 'world religions' which have characteristics that conflict with community religions. Platvoet then divide religious communities into "literate community religion" and "religion of community oral society".

By looking at the distribution of religion by Platvoet, in other words it can be said that the 'world religion' with various characteristics is just one part of a group of so-called religion. Because there are other groups that also has its own characteristics which are also included in the section called religion. Thus, we should separate the meaning or definition of religion from world religions or global religions paradigm.

Besides Platvoet, Graham Harvey (2005) and J.L. Cox (2007) make the categories which show that the local religion is also a religion that does have the characteristics of a religion. Harvey and Cox states that general local religion characteristics are by only exist in a certain area and they usually do not have the desire to pass beyond the limits of their environment. They are emphasis on ancestors worship, and use of oral tradition. While the world's religions, does not have specific boundaries that are distributed to various places and have scripture that shows the tradition of writing.

Although this community for so long time viewed as custom and not as a religion communities by using the limits of the definition of 'religion' created by the government of Indonesia in this case the Ministry of Religious Affairs, but of the various definitions of religion are written by scholars based on in-depth research, we can say that all existing characteristics confirms that Boti is a religious community. As a community religion or indigenous religion whose position is equivalent to a world religion or religions other State. Their religious concepts and issues answered questions about their daily lives related to the relationship with the divine, how they build relationships with each other and their relationship with nature that sustain life.

Boti tribe community actually has a unique concept about life after death is called *Fatu Bian ma Hau Bian* meaning behind the stone and wood. Death is seen as a visible shift to the existence of the invisible. Death is also closely related with a clan's origins place, as to where it was also the one who has to die from going back.

The concept of life after death is not only to answer questions surrounding the death and the life after, but it has an important meaning for the tribe's identity. Identity for a Timorese or commonly called *Atoin* formed in his/her *Fatu Hau kanaf*. Identity is given by *Uis Neno* very important not only for one's life, but also when he died. Therefore it is important to continue to maintain

and strengthen the identity despite the external parties are not interpreted negatively as no-religion, or infidel which often called *Halaika*.

Although this community is often referred to as Halaika and identified with no religion or pagan custom, but if explored more deeply, by not using the definition of the Indonesian government and the paradigm of the world's religions, then this community actually contains the characteristics of a religion which in scholars term called Indigenous religious or religion of community, a position parallel to other religions.

If so, then it is time for Indonesian Government to rethink the definition of religion and also a variety of policies in the field of religion. Is not the State guarantees every member of society to be devotion according to religion and belief of each? When defining the meaning of religion and no longer uses the paradigm of world religions, then we will see the meaning of religion is much more extensive. We also provide space for all the people of Indonesia for expression their religious by not using certain limitations that come only from a certain perspective. So that all the religions that have been synonymous with 'adat' or not a religion will be able to actualize what is their faith and trust without fear and candid. By redefining the meaning of religion in Indonesia, the potential discrimination against adherents of indigenous religions will be reduced.

It is also time for the Indigenous religion as conceived by the community like Boti tribe must be investigated or researched no longer uses the study of world religions but as local religious studies or indigenous religions. Therefore the study of religion is not just the study of world religions but also a study of indigenous religions.

Boti local religious community so long have been discriminated against and are seen as not a religious and only seen as customs, which became the object of the government and society. In fact, they have characteristics that can be classified as a religion, a indigenous religious. State religions (world religion) and the local religion are two different models of religion and has the characteristics of each. Any followers decided to embrace religion as a very personal decision and certainly religious concepts have influence and significance for the adherents. So, both are them eligible for the same award. In Christianity or other world religions and also in indigenous religions, each has the real truth. Differences can not be denied but should be accepted and appreciated.

Boti is a religious community, and therefore should be treated as a religious community and respected their religious rights equal to other community members who embrace to the state religion. In order to do this it is time to rethink our definition of religion and examines Boti by category or classification of their own separate from the world or global religions and was awarded the same study other religions. Due to respect local religious community with which we adopted helped keep the authenticity of the identity of a community called *Atoin Pah Meto*, which has a unique religious concepts like *Fatu Bian ma Hau Bian*, which is the identity which have influence the behavior of its followers as guards harmony with the Divine, others and nature.

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NAMING AS IDENTITY OF BEING A MUSLIM STUDY OF SALMAN ITB COMMUNITY BANDUNG, WEST JAVA

Siti maemunah*

This paper is based on a field research conducted in West Java. It discusses about contemporary issues about Islamic identity. After 9/11 bombing, Muslim identity became an important concern. Islam after the bombing is often claimed to as related to terrorism[1]. The concern belongs to all Muslims around the world. Expressions on such a concern are diverse by both Muslims and non-Muslims. One movie of Bollywood (India) was even inspired by the issue. As told, the main character of that movie himself was caught as terrorist at USA airport regarding his Islamic name[2]. This situation, to a large extent, has caught Muslims' attention in giving names of their children. Naming in Islam has been part of Islamic practice, but again the situation has offered some both challenge and meaningful practice. This is the main issue being discussed in this paper.

Name is one of cultural aspects. It is about social, economic, political and also religious issues. Name is also often used as tool to identify individuals, people from which area they are associated. Name is then about identity. Identity is an issue that relates to human life. Showing our identity can be personal, but and also sosial. As Jenkins said, that "*Most of us take our identity for granted, we seem to know who we are*" (Jenkins, 2008:1). Identity becomes very important in every human activity. We, for examples, can see as stated in ID card (KTP). If we as citizen do not have KTP we will count as illegal

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1 Interview with an Indonesia Muslim student at USA,21st of December 2011
2 www.bollywood.com

citizen. Sanction will of course apply to those without KTP, as we all know. Other cases of id card may even result in deportation. On the other hand, identity as member of particular group could also be a big problem. The case of Ahmadiyah, as minority group who are claimed to be *sesat* (misled) or deviating Islam by many Indonesian Muslims (Detik.Com:2010), shows us that identity could be a source of discrimination. Cases of minorities often show that they have to hide their identity to continue living.

Identity also plays out in the religious area, for example in the KTP there is space that we have to show our religious affiliation. When the issues of terrorism appeared, identity as particular religious affiliation plays really important role. Related with identity issues, names are important in identifying who we are. Parents intended to choose the right name for their children, because names can demonstrate our identity. In many places, names can show what region we are from, show our social status, race and also some names will identify us from religion we are.

For every society name has different functions, for example in Sumba, naming system counted as a cultural symbol codes which operates independently of the function of name as labels for individuals (Brewer,203). As Zheng Yangwen (Macdonalds, 2010: 3) points out, that for Northern Asian names is inherently characters, expressing a meaning much more than sound. In addition, Marc de Grave addressed that naming in Javanese is kind of socio dynamic process, this process are relatively close with Javanese ritual and Javanese way of life (Journal, 2011:4). Rymes (1996: 258) addressed that in the Little Creeper case (gang at Diamond Street) naming crucially tied members of gang and the social origin of name provides a base for transformation.

In this writing, I explored naming practice in Sunda community (West Java). Compared with other societies, such as Central Java and East Java studies about Sundanese are limited. Rosidi (Ekadjati, 1984: 131) says that "*Sundanese societies are democratic people, in the tradition, old scripture or even story they show that assumption*". In Sunda, people also using cosmological aspect in their life, for example they use astronomy at harvest time, *repok* [3]and even giving name for children.

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[3]   Repok is tradition of finding couple

Naming practices at Sunda create a unique pattern; we can find repetition of word for example Yayat Sutaryat, Dada Rosada, Mimin Mintarsih. Sundanese belief that name relate with victory time or weak time. However, in some religious rituals we can find that name relate with religious ritual, for example we count how many times we are doing "*Wirid*" or *Dzikir* are depend on our name[4]. Sundanese have *neneh*[5]that taken from proper name, for example Mumun from Mundir. Ritual for naming practice at Sunda began from the baby still in the num. After the baby born, some parents (especially father) doing contemplation, walk around house for getting the right name for their children.

Raising industrial area in Sunda slowly change composition of Sundanese society become heterogent (Rosidi, 1995: 157). However, Sundanese become heterogenic society because many people from other ethnic, other place come and life there. In the religious aspect, many Pesantrens was built in Sunda. Pesantren was center of religious teaching,but on the other hand pesantren was able to increaseand cover cultural aspect of society. So, that is the reason why Islam and Sundanese culture can be practice together. We can see the acculturation between Sunda cultures with Islam. When Islam came to Sunda, some people combine Islamic (Arabic) name with Sundanese name for example Hamid Sastrawidjaya (Macdonalds, 2010: 10).

In late of 1990s, when the escalation of social and political supported religious expression, somephenomena have occurred, for example Islamic identity became more appear publicly.That situation were adressed in some religious practices , such as: people get the right to pray freely, wear jilbab or headscarf in the public sphere. Or other example is issue about name, especially Islamic names raise rapidly at society as part of Islamic practice. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of naming changes in society occur when the case of terrorism raise. Many terrorist use name as one of the way to hide their identity, they have many alias name. In some cases, they succeed for hiding their identity as terrorist.

Name, gradually, becomes a new identity of Muslim people. Many ways people use to get an idea for giving name. In Muslim families these phenomena also raise, they refer to religious text, some Islamic books or even

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4   Interview traditional healer, 23rd of January 2012

asking to religious leader as references. However, research about naming practice in Sunda becomes important because even though Sunda has a close relationship with Javanese but they have different uniqueness. The issues about identity become an important case, and through study about naming practice at Sunda we can seeSundanese understanding and constructing their identity.

Sundanese never categorized Muslim as like Islam Santri, Priyayi or Abangan, but it does not mean that Islam did not increase in Sunda. Combining Sundanese name with Arabic name as like Abdullah Satrawidjaya could be an example that Islam came and accepted in Sunda. On the other hand, Sundanese passed social change rapidly not only on politic or economic but also in culture. Of course this situation brings identity as urgent issue for Sundanese. Talking about Sundanese culture and Islam, we could not separate the close relationship between Islam and campus.Relation between Islam and Sunda addressed at Campus area ITB (Bandung Institute of Technology) was known as pioneer of Islamic campus activism including efforts to meld pious Islam (Pringle,2010: 97). As Damanik (2002:75) said that main core of this community is their point of view about Islam *kaffah*. This concept consist an idea that Islam is totality. Every aspect of Islam must be implemented in their daily life and become *nizham*[5].Revivalism and Islamic resurgence at Middle East became a momentum of creatingnew Muslimcircumstances and recover Muslim condition (Rahmat, 2005:2). However, beside issues about politics, revivalism describesnew spirit of Islamism at society. That phenomenon addressed by community who tied by spirit of brotherhood, they tried to become more pious in every ritual include the way they dress, they speak or even in every single activity. Salman community itself was counted as part Islamic Revivalist; it is because many Middle East alumni were came and taught Islamic teaching there.Meanwhile, Sundanese considered as pious Muslim because Islam not only as their religion but also their way of life. After acculturation between Sundanese cultures with Islamic culture, identity as Muslim long by long become Sundanese identity. But identity is kind of dynamic process, many factors can change the way people understand and construct their identity. Salman which build and developed at Sunda, has a great influence for people to understand

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[6]   Nizham is way of life

about Islam. Research about naming at Salman community could be openanew space to understand how contemporary Islamic teaching influence naming practice at Sundanese ethnic. And from naming practice we can identify how Sundanese construct their identity being a Muslim.

From that background, my research questions are:

1. How are the patterns of naming practice at Salman community?
2. What is the relationship between naming practice and Islamic identity at Salman community?

Collecting data that I use are through participant observation and interview. Observation, I used for getting general point of view about Salman activity. I started from December 2011 to March 2012. Interview I used for getting a depth information from parents who are active at Salman about their naming practice, the meaning of that naming practice, background of that and also what is the goal of that naming practice.

Historical Background of Sundanese
A. Geographical Sketch

Most of Sundanese live in West Java, called Tatar Sunda or Pasundan. Historically Tatar Sunda cover two sub districts in the present regency of Brebes, namely Salem and Bantarkawung, West of the Pamali river, a village in the Purwokerto regency, Central Java (Pusat Studi Sunda, 2011: 12). On the other hand parts or the Serang, Indramayu, and Cirebon regencies are inhabited by people who speak an archaic Javanese dialect of the seventeenth century, which is strongly mixed with Sundanese and therefore strongly called *Jawareh*[7].

Geographically, the province can be divided into three areas. The first is the north coastal lowland plain stretches from Serang, west of Jakarta, to Cirebon, near the border of central java. The main agro-ecosystem of the northern plain is irrigated rice-growing. Parts of the area have also been used for plantation cultivation, producing coffee, tea, rubber and quinine. There is, secondly, a high mountain region, rising from south of Jakarta and running from west to east throughout the rest Java. Here the irrigated rice land of the coast gives way to

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[7]   Jawareh is a title for people who life at Sunda are but they speak Javanese and vice versa

terraced rice-land, which are sometimes not, plantations and forest reserves. The third area consists of the large highland plateaus centered on the cities of Bogor, Sukabumi, Cianjur, Bandung, Garut and Tasikmalaya (K.H, 2003: 36).

B. Culture of Sundanese
Habitat

As Adiwilaga said (Iskandar, 2011: 33) that Sundanese always give impression that they are nomadic. This culture relates with their profession as cultivator (*ngahuma*)or cultivates an irrigated field. Sundanese were living far from city, because they prefer to life near forest. At village, usually they have big yard and beside it there were *lesung*[8].

  Lesung has a social function as media of communication for women at past. If sundanese would build a house they will see the cosmological side of that area, for example: they make a distance between house with street, house with rice field and even house with river. And for Sundanese water are important because relate with fertility of land.

C. Cosmology

Sundanese at past had a close relationship with their environment. They have philosophy that they life not in the free world but they have to keep harmonizing with nature and cosmos. Hidding (Iskandar, 2011: 44) said that *"man is not an independent agent in the cosmos but functioning part of larger whole into which he is socialized. This includes people as well as supernatural entities such as spirit living in the vicinity and the souls departed ancestors. As with men; supernatural entities have varying degrees of influence and power and play different roles in the lives of the sundanese"*.

  Sundanese belief, reservation of their cosmology should be in compliance with their ancestor. This culture consists of rituals, usages, obligations and prohibitions. It is the reason why Sundanese believe in spirit of dead body, place spirit or *jurig*[9] and God and Goddesses. But, gradually relation system between Sundanese with their nature or environment was change. There are

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[8]   Lesung is tool for pounding paddy
[9]   Jurig is evil spirit

some factors, such as: education and religion. For example, Islam prohibits Muslim belief in superstitious. Function as *khalifah* or leader in this world has to be seen as something positive and far from mystical area. Education also influences Sundanese view about their environment.

Beside those factors; socio-economical factor also influence Sundanese in reserving their environment. Those factors also relate to Sundanese reinterpretation about themselves, their aspiration and their authority. Rosidi (2011: 20) addresses that Sundanese community has changed from solid group become individualistic, from open economic to capitalist and from feudal to democratic society.This transmission also undertake at Sundanese naming practice, as Rosidi said that Sundanese in the past, combined day, month and cosmological aspect in giving name for their children (Ekadjati, 1984: 302) for example: baby was born on Sunday = 9, at Jumadil Awal= 6 and pasaran manis = 5, the total of those divided 5 and the result is 4. The final result will show suitable name for baby, if the value (4) also fit with year of Dae for instance, name for that baby has to begin with D, baby's name could be Dariah (for girl) and Dalimin (for boy). But after Islam coming, naming practice change. Some people leave cosmological aspect and used Islamic aspect for naming their children.This phenomenon shows us that identity for Sundanese also change, after Islam coming they choose Islamic identity as their identity.

D.   Characteristic of Sundanese

There is no record about Sundanese philosophy, because writing tradition at Sunda is not really popular. Sundanese prefer to maintain oral tradition, but modernization and assimilation between Sundanese and outsider influence this tradition.Rosidi addresses some characteristics of Sundanese, such as: Sundanese have to live peacefully, togetherness (*karageman*) is important, fair, positive thinking, ready for every challenges, easy to adopt new circumstances, consistent between speaking and acting, and patient (2010: 50). These characteristics more and less describe identity as Sundanese. However, identity is dynamic process and change from time to time. Naming practice at Sundanese could address dynamic process at society which influences their identity.

E. Religion

There is no historical record about religious development at Sunda, but from history of kingdoms at Sunda Island we can see that religion in Sunda has so many variations. As Rodisi said that there have been coming so many kingdoms that represent their own culture and religion (2009: 6). Hinduism was coming to Sunda land since 5th century; it's supported by Fa Hien travel report about Tarumanagara kingdom. Nevertheless, until now there is no convincing record whether in Sunda at that moment people admit one certain religion as like Hinduism or Buddhism as Central and East Java or not. After Sunda kingdom which colorized by Hinduism culture was falling down at 16th century (1579), step by step identity as Sundanese was disappeared as ideology. Sundanese ideology which record in language, ethic, culture, law, institution, faith etc was influenced by new culture from outside.

Assimilation with other culture also influences Sundanese philosophy. Earlytime, even though not as strong as Javanese, syncretism was part of Sundanese philosophy. Sundanese believed in superstitious and they believe that *saman* has supernatural power. For example, Sundanese, who are Muslim, still believe that Prabu Siliwangi who was transform become tiger as Sundanese guardian. Some Sundanese also believe cosmological aspect, some groups still keep moving from one place to another place based on *uga*[10].

The end of 15th century Islam from north coast of Java (Cirebon, Banten), these two kingdoms conquered Pajajaran kingdom. Likewise, Javanese culture also penetrated to Sunda land at that moment; there was an interesting acculturation among them. When Islam came to Sunda land, people accepted Islam openly. For example, if family of kingdom wanted to marriage with Muslim, this Muslim can life around kingdom even they have different religion.

Islam in Sunda

Politically, Sunda land was considered as one of Islamist bases. S.M Kartosuwiryo who was Javanese selected Sunda as his basis ofmovement; Darul Islam incident was destroying not only Sunda Land but also Sundanese. Many people were killing because of Darul Islam incident. Kartosuwiryo selected Garut as his basis movement not only because of geographical but

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[10] Uga is destiny based on cosmological term usually use symbol as interpretation of it

also because that place was known as centre of Syarikat Islam. Kartosuwiryo itself believe that Islam becomes one of Sundanese identity.

Even though there are Sundanese who admit religion beside Islam, but their just minority. Proselytizing Christian or Catholic more than one century ago did not success. Christian, Catholic or other religious follower, most of them are new comer as like Chinese, Batak, Manado and so forth. At 1967, H.Endang Saifuddin Anshari claims that"Sunda is Islam and Islam is Sunda". To proof Anshari's statement, Ajip Rosidi doing research on proverbs which have Islamic teaching, he only found 16 proverbs that use Islamic word especially Arabic and it did not enough yet to support Anshari claims. But Rosidi also found some Sundanese proverbs which fit with Islamic teaching. This research adressed that Sundanese philosophies and characteristic were matched with Islamic teaching; from this stand point Anshari claims it is also right.

Sundanese began an effort in Islamic reformations; many Islamic reformations were began and developed at West Java. Especially in Bandung, students are involved in political side. Old regime of Soekarno was fallingat 1966 because of student's street protest or demonstrations. And Islamic reformation also influence student at that time for opening new political condition of Indonesia.

Islam and education in Sunda has a close relationship. Campus at that time not only place for study formal knowledge but also as media for spreading of Islamic teaching and political action. Salman which located around ITB (Institute Technology Bandung) was identified as first Islamic media for Islamic reformation at campus and supporting an effort to make Indonesia better not only in economical, social or political aspects but also in religious aspect. Through Islamic teaching for student, Salman proofs that Islam not always talk about God, heaven or hell; Islam concern about every human activities include economical, social and political discourse.It is the meaning of what they call as Islam *kaffah;* a set of norm that representing religious meaning in every single activity.

Religious Teaching at Salman

Salman community was began with Santri figure and changed after Bang Imad built LDK (Campus Preaching Institution) which influenced by Masyumi parties.

Nevertheless, at further development there was discontinuity Masyumi movement and replaced by alumni from Middle East who influenced by Ikhwanul Muslimin and changed Salman became Tarbiyah movement (Rahmat, 2005: 87).

Nurhayati Djamas (Damanik, 2002: 73) said that Salman movements consist of three mainstreams, such as: reformative,Islamic purification, second; self consciousness to escape from power outside Islam, and third; self confidence for showing their power as alternative solution for every problems. Damanik (2002: 75) addressed that main core of religious teaching at Salman is about their point of view that Islam is totality.

Rahmat (2008: 31) said that alumni's from Middle East has a strong contribution to formulate a cadre system at *Tarbiyah* context. Ikhwanul Muslimin movement in Egypt is a root of *Tarbiyah* movement, to make preaching pattern more organized. *Tarbiyah* movement has a lot of variations in their teaching methods.Tarbiyah movement has a strong characteristic, we can see on the way they dress for example, woman of this group wear burka or long jilbab to cover their whole body except their hand(Damanik, 2002: 81). Another cultural characteristic of this group is interaction pattern which build among members, they create a relationship based on strong family ties. A family's circumstance is reflection from *usroh[11]*. Damanik (2002:81) said that with this character this movement tend to be "in-ward looking" and consider people outside their community as "Other" and because of this attitude this group was count as exclusive group.

Revivalism or resurgence of Islam at Middle East in 20th century become a momentum to bring about new Muslim society and improvement of societies condition (Rahmat, 2005:2). Beside political phenomenon, Islamic Revivalism described the highest consciousness about Islam among Muslim which implements on their behavior, such as: societies which concern in spreading spirit of Islam and brotherhood, enthusiasm of Arabic societies become more pious in their activity.

The developments of Islam at Middle East give a big influence for movement in Indonesia. Revivalism movement in Indonesia actually has established since 1980s. Rahmat (2005: 74) addressed this phenomenon was

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[11] Usroh can be translate as family, in mentoring system usroh is a small group of people who gather for religious teaching usually consist of three or four members with theirMurabbi or Mentor

appearing in many religious expressions. Revivalism expression was articulating in enthusiasm of Islamic activity at society.Religious enthusiasm was indicated by raise a number of Islamic activities on daily life including the way people act, talk and their dressing. As a movement, Islamic revivalismin Indonesia was signed by raise and development of campus preaching activity at beginning of 1980s. This movement was motivated by student at campus which not affiliates at one religious institution. This movement used *usroh* method which as a pioneer of three mainstreamsof Islamic revivalist in Indonesia. There religious movements which has strong characteristic such as Tarbiyah movement, Hizbut Tahrir and Salafi Preaching (Rahmat, 2005: 75)

Salman as a movement passed a contact with IM which colorized their preaching method; we can find a strong phenomenon of revivalism at Salman. However, Damanik (2002: 87) said that even tough IM figure was influence this group and create a movement pattern but this is onlyidea and inspiration. Salman has developed program which more concern on educational aspect which has a goal to produce and construct Muslim with strong faith, ethic, and good in Islamic morality at their daily life.

Naming Practice at Salman Community

Meaning and Function of Naming Practice for Salman Community Members

There were three patterns of naming practices at Salman, that relate to concept of Islam *Kaffah* and *Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar*such as: first group prefer to give full Arabic name for their children. For example, Muhammad Juldan Jundullah, Muhammad Fairuz Azhar El-Rajab. This idea comes from their understanding that becomes Muslim have to be compatible with Sunnah Rasulullah (prophet tradition). Second group try to combine their children name between Arabic name and Japanese or Western name.For example, Surya Daffa Pratama, Tassha Raudhatul Fikri. The reason parents choose this pattern is because they feel worried about negative issue about Islam. Some parent also bored with Islamic name which full of Arabic words. But in the other hand, they still believe that Arabic name has a strong power for addressing Islamic identity. The last group issome parents who giving local name for their

children. For example, Mugia Tresna Feira. The reason they choose local name isbecause they think that Islam is not Arab. As long as meaning of their children fit with Islamic teaching, their practice Islamic teaching and become Muslim *kaffah*.

From those naming patterns, we can see that in Salman community, as revivalist group who strict in concept *kaffah* and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* they did not have monolithic understanding. The way people understanding and practicing concept of Islam *kaffah* and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* has different articulations. This phenomenon shows us that revivalism in Indonesia especially at Sunda has different character with other revivalist group. Sundanese identity also change and become strong tied in Islamic identity. The uniqueness of naming practice at Salman community is the way parent leave every ritual outside Islamic teaching. For Salman community members, every single activity including naming practice supposed to be in accordance with prophet sunnah. This idea illustrates in the changing ritual practice as *bubur merah, bubur putih,sawer orok*to aqiqah. Aqiqah itself has changed from time to time. First time aqiqah consist of reading shalawat or barjanji but now their change that ritual only consist of Al Quran recitation.

For knowing how Salman community members' ideas about naming practice that they practice, I interviewed ten families. Those ten families I choose as representative of Salman members who already has children. From ten families I found many variations of understanding about naming practice at Salman community. Some parents believe that naming practice has some meanings for keeping a relation as Muslim community[12]. They did not practice traditional rituals when they choose and gave name for their children. The reason they leave a tradition is because thetradition outside Islamic religious teaching. Prophet Muhammad figure also tied their understanding that in every single activity as good Muslim that they have to follow prophet attitude[13]. At naming practice, some parent put their pray for their children future, their own life and the main point is they hope Islamic victory. Concept of naming for

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[12] Interview at 25th of February-14th of March 2012
[13] Interview at 14th of March 2012

Salman community is *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, that is why they practice must follow Islamic rules[14].

Beside that understanding of Islam which emphasizes to follow Prophet Muhammad attitude as obligation, there were another phenomenona that I found during field work. I found some families still believe that they have to follow prophet Muhammad attitude but the implementation little bit different. Naming practice for some families has a meaning of showing a simple Islam[15]. Naming practice is a bound of family ties, a way to campaign people back to their own culture and also show that Islam can combine with other culture especially West culture which seen as enemy[16].

Naming function for Salman community members has a strong tied with Muslim brotherhood. As Muslim,it iskind of obligation to preserve Islamic tradition[17]. Other function of naming practice also increase at this community for their goal to build *sakinah mawaddah warrahmah* family through name of their children. Accordingly, naming practice not only tool of self identification of their children but also a religious teaching[18].Naming practice is a way to introduce relation between Islam and local culture.

Background of Naming Practice at Salman Community

Background of naming practice is very important as part of analysis the naming practice tradition atthis community. There were some backgrounds of naming practice at Salman community, such as: Religious background of parent; this background has a deep impact in choosing name and which naming pattern that parents usefor their children.Through concept of Islam *kaffah* and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar,* Salman as their community influence parent naming practice tradition that show Islamic tradition; Secondly condition of family where parent born, rise and got an education also influence naming practice at Salman community; Third the consciousness for preserving local tradition and also showing that Islam is simple and can combine with other tradition also a strong background for naming practice at Salman.

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[14] Interview at 25th of February 2012
[15] Interview at 04th March 2012
[16] Interview at 26th of February 2012
[17] Interview at 28th of February 2012
[18] Interview at 09th of March 2012

Pattern of Naming Practice at Salman

After we found a background of Salman community and factors that influence naming practice at Salman community, we can understand the pattern of naming at this community. The concept of Islam *kaffah* and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* is a basic and strong root of naming practice at Salman.However, this understanding of Islam causes parent choose name for their children as much as they can to follow Islamic way.And some parents at this community believe Arabic word is the right name for their children because Arabic culture is a truly Islam. Some Arabic based names are: *Muhammad Juldan Jundullah, Irfan Fauzi Adhim, Naufal Syifa Firdaus,Hizwa Januar Muhammadi, Aghnia Nafilah Nur Annisa, Muhammad Rijal Al Fath,Muhammad Mumtaz Faturrahman,* and *Muhammad Fairuz Azhar El-Rajab.*

William, R.Roff used onomastic element for analyzing Islamic names. Islamic names, ordinarily have up to five distinction of onomastic elements. Though the order in which they occur can vary, these may be set out as follows. (1) The*ism* is personal name; (2) the *nasab*, which often follows the *ism*, linked to it by *ibn/bin* or *bint*, the signifier for "son or daughter of"; (3) the *kunya,* an alternative personal name; (4) the *laqab,* a characterizing epithet or nickname and (5) the *nisba,* a relational name used to signify any or all.

Through this theory we can analyze phenomenon at Salman community. For example *Muhammad Juldin Jundullah; Muhammad* and *Juldin* we can categorize as *ism*; *Jundullah* we can categorize as *laqab* which characterizing *Muhammad Juldin*. This family believethroughname Muslim identity was addressed very strong so wherever and whenever their child asks about his identity, as parent they will be proud to say that you are a Muslim[19].

As I said before that concept of Islam *kaffah* and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* are the main roots of Islamic understanding at Salman community. But there is no single variation (that represent by Arabic name), I found other variations of naming practice. Some parent use mixing naming between Arabic name and local and Western name. These names, such as: *Surya Daffa Pratama, Tassha Raudhatul Fikri, Mugia Tresna Feira, Gema Cikal*

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[19]   Interview at 25th of February 2012

Ramadhan, Talitha Aulia Rahmi, Bahana Kalamurrahman, Agniya Yasmin Agami, Muhammad Caessar Rafi. Even though these names did not use pure Arabic name but they still fulfill onomastic elements, for example: *Mugia Tresna Feira; Mugia* and *Tresna* we can categorize as *ism* and Feira is *laqab* which characterizing *Mugia Tresna.*

Construction Identity Through Naming Practice at Salman Community

From interviewed, I found the facts that parent of this community tried to construct their Muslim identity through naming practice. Identity as Muslim is important as part of their Islamic practice. Concept of Muslim *kaffah* has to be addressedin every single activity including naming practice.*Amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*isalsobasic understanding why parent of this community consider naming practice as part of introducing and teaching society outside them about truly Islamic religious teaching according Al Quran and Sunnah.Their Muslim identity was built from many elements such as: their religious personal background, social circumstances, politic and also economic factors and also as Salman community member-religious institution that they addressed as which influence their understanding about Islam.

Based on research about naming practice at Salman, I come to the conclusion that Salman community has a unique pattern of naming practice in constructing their identity as Muslim.Concepts of Islam *kaffah* and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* are the roots of their Islamic understanding. Every members of this community believe and practice this concept in their daily activity. However, in this tied religious institution who has a strict role I found other variant of religious expression.

Through naming practice I found that some parent has different ways in their implementation of Islamic religious teaching. For parent who chooses Arabic name for their children, being a Muslim has to follow Arabic tradition because it fit with Prophet Muhammad practice. In the other hand, for parent who choose mixing name for their children's name they believe that as long as the meaning and their goal of that naming are suitable with Islamic teaching that naming practice also practice of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar.* And from

this stand point Salman community has a strong characteristic in their naming practice which constructs their identity being a Muslim.

This phenomenon shows us that Islamic revivalism in Indonesia has influenced by many factors, one of them is culture. Sundanese culture which has a strong value for Sundanese also influence the way people understand and act as a religious person. Even though Salman as religious institution has a strong pattern and value of Islam, but people seems have different understanding about what is Islam and how become a pious Muslim. This phenomenon also describe that people think identity as Muslim its does not really relate with Arabic culture.Identities as part of family and also as part of one local tradition also appear in the naming practice at Salman community.

This phenomenon articulates that even though people have a same religious institution, passed a same religious experience but their understanding about Islam is different. Concept of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* has shape between one another. Concept of Arab is not Islam also become an important issue, this appear when some families prefer not to use Arabic word as their Islamic identity even in the small and simple action like in naming practice.

Identity itself is adynamic process and through naming practice at Salman we can see how identities as Muslim were constructed. Sundanese itself has leaved their identity as Sundanese ethnic and become Muslim identity. And they choose become Muslim *kaffah* which has consequences that identity as Muslim has a strong power rather than other identity.In the term become Muslim *kaffah*, they leave every traditional ritual at naming practice. They believe that aspious Muslim should only follow tradition from Rasulullah. They constitute traditional ritual as waste activity and outside Islamic teaching. Aqiqah is the right Islamic tradition, through naming practice that they are doing they try to change people mind about Islamic teaching. In the other hand, they way people understand and practice Islam *kaffah* is different from one to another. This phenomenon was addressed in naming practice at Salman which has many variations. Even though they have different patterns in naming practice but the main goal of naming practice at Salman is constructing Islamic identity.

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THE RITUAL OF BISSU SEGERI THE FUNCTION OF *MAPPALILI* AS SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

S Y A H R U L
CRCS UGM

Background

History of local communities or indigenous religion in Indonesia has a grim time particularly the local community in South Sulawesi. Since Indonesian independence day, especially after the 1950s, they always get pressures from the state and others. The independence of Indonesia, which ought to be a turning point of freedom of expression and speech, instead became a disaster of their existence in this country. As minority, most of their rights, espesially in a political and economic, are pressured and controlled by the state. In fact, when the Dutch and Japan colonialized Indonesian, they everlastingly promoted the discourse of *adat* (culture) revitalization, although it is not easy to separate those revitalization from the absence of political issues. *Adat* is regarded as cultural heritage which is very effective in the developing Indonesian civilization. Then, the Dutch and Japan government formed *adat* co-operations to strengthen their colonization. The Japan government also regarded that the golden age ancestors of Indonesia cannot be separated from the role of *adat* law and civilization inherited from generation to generation. Hence, Japan tried to encourage the intellectual, politicians and cultural observer of Indonesia to look back on their *adat* (tradition) as a source of inspiration (Bourchier, 2010: 129).

Actually, in the early years of the independence of Indonesia (1945-1950), the issues of the local or indigenous communities are still important in our political debates and government discussion. The role of the local

communities and *adat* were considered as effective way to develop the new country. The government seeks to provide equal access to all the inhabitants of Indonesian without looking of their ideology background and their tribe. But, after the 1950s, the government and politicians were not care any more about local and the *adat* communities. In fact, most of Indonesian laws relating to the important role of *adat* in society was removed by the government. Those removal as respons after the state release the emergency situation of this country no. 1/1951 (Bourchier, 2010: 130).

Furthermore, the conditions and the role of local communities or *adat* in indonesia is erratic. In new order era, their condition are getting worse. The local communities existing in Indonesia, particularly in South Sulawesi, are banned by the state and forbidden in society. They are accused of as an adherent of communism and atheism. Those ideologies are reputed threatening unity of Indonesian. Pressures from the state caused the local community disappear in society. However, some of them are still survive, such as: *ammatoa* in Bulukumba, *aluk to dolo* in Toraja, *cikoang* in Selayar, *to lotang* in Sidrap, *to balo* in Barru, Bissu in Pangkep and others.

Through "the development program", new order government launched a movement of modernization that is tried to scrape and remove the influences of the local community in Indonesia. The idea of modernization could be seen from the agendas "Pembinaan Sosial masyarakat Terasing dan Pembinaan Sosial Komunitas Adat Terpencil" (building the alienated societies and the *adat* communities) (Maarif, 2012). Those statements are very political terms in that time. Its meant that alienated societies and the *adat* communities need to be coached and omitted their teachings and influences in society. So, the ideology in societys being unity, namely Pancasila.

One of local communities in South Sulawesi which is the victim of discrimination and still survive until now is the Bissu community in Pangkep. Bissu is one of the local community or indigenous religion everlastingly facing discrimination from the state and Islam. Pressures, sacrilege, and scolding are coming alternates. In old order era, the kingdom system is removed and replaced with the republic system. Then, the role and the power of the king was being insignificant in society. It affected also on the existence of Bissu. The state did not care anymore about the presence of Bissu in society. At the earlier time of

new order era, the repent operation (operasi taubat) intensified by the state to remove the influences of Bissu in society. Bissu considered as atheist adherent and communism advocates. Communism is the enemy of state and the government on early new order era. Communism and atheism regarded as an ideology that threatens the existence of the republic of Indonesia. Bissu also was accused by religious leaders practice *syirik* (shirk to the God). Character of Bissu (*calabai*) is considered breaking the nature creature of God. Then, Bissu and their rituals also are regarded as unmannerly shirk, which is should been banned in Islam.

In 1998, the new order was fallen down. Reformation all aspects of life is inevitable in this country. Reformation unlock freedom of thinking and action in society. Most of ideologies which have been banned in the new order era are free to spread their influence in society then. One of them is about revitalization the role of local community or adat role in society. In 1999, resurrection of local community or adat role got serious attention from the government. The process of decentralization become a trigger the emergence of movement resurgence of local community and adat role. Decentralization provide opportunities for local government to manage and develop their territorials. Then, the local governments concern and pay attention seriously about the issues of local community and adat role to strengthen their political power in society. In addition, the idea of revitalization of local community and adat role fully supported by the central government through Kepres (president decision) number III year 1999 on the coaching the social welfare of alienated societies or adat communities. Reformation brought a expectation for the existence of Bissu in Segeri. The discourse of local culture and adat raised and glowed in Indonesian society. Bissu is regarded as cultural heritage and a forebear assets that is very valuable, especially for tourism. Then, Bissu was politisized. Their ritual becomes commodity as entertainment and chance to mobilize a mass in election.

Now, the presence of Bissu in South Sulawesi, especially in Pangkep, was both accepted and refused by the society. Most of society in Segeri support them and others condemn their presence. Ones advocating Bissu assumed that the presence of Bissu is very important to perform a ritual *mappalili*. Ritual *mappalili* is believed to increase the food production. While people who

refuse it, mostly from religious leaders. They looked at negative character Bissu that *calabai* and assume that ritual Bissu is behavior of shirk. The state also missed out to protect Bissu rights. Hence, it is normal if they choose to live driven away in South Sulawesi and Indonesia to avoid conflict with the state and Islamic leaders. Now, only one Bissu living in Segeri. However, Bissu everlastingly do ritual *mappalili* as response to show their identity and their existence in society.

Indeed, religious leaders do not support the existence of Bissu and its rituals in society. The dispute between Bissu and Islamic leader always happen. Religious leaders always try to ban the influence of Bissu and its rituals. However, Bissu also everlastingly perform their ritual as a resistance or respons. That ritual also is an expression of their presence in the society. Moreover, Bissu try to negotiate with the people surround him. Such as: involving people in commite of *mappalili*, praying at the mosque, performing the haji and others. Thus, their ritual is accepted by society. In fact, the people believed the effectiveness of their rituals for agriculture.

Bissu and Tomanurung

The story of Bissu in the Bugis society intimately connected with the concept of *tomanurung* (the first person, Batara Guru, handed down by the God to the Earth) in South Sulawesi. The concept of *tomanurung* is very popular in South Sulawesi. Almost all ethnic groups in South Sulawesi have concept of *tomanurung*. The presence of *tomanurung* on the Earth is made up of two episodes. The first period occurred in the land of Luwu for seven periods of government. In the second period, almost all areas in South Sulawesi have a different version, such as *tomanurung* in Bone called *matasilompo'e* (people who can see at the glance) or *mattasi' lompoE* (people having extensive sea), *Simpuruksiang* in Luwu, *Petta Sekkanyili* in Soppeng and Princess of *Tamalate* in Gowa (Mattulada, 1998: 27-47).

The first period of *tomanurung* is a couple of the royal family of Dewata, who became the origin of the human beings on the earth. The concept of *tomanurung* is the oral tradition that has been booked and widespread in almost all areas in South Sulawesi. People believe that *tomanurung* was the first

person who live upon the earth and be the origin of human life in it. According to Latief, cultural observer, the concept of *tomanurung* also made kind of tradition in Bugis, Makassar and other tribes in South Sulawesi (Latief, 2004: 19).

Batara Guru handed down from the sky together with Bissu, called *matteru ri ale lino* and was unknown of his/her sex. The Bissu taught Batara Guru and served as his adviser on the earth. Mujahiduddin, cultural observer, estimates that Bissu has already existed and have settled in *boting langiq* (the upper world) before handed down into the earth. The Bissu was a connector between Dewata in there (Mujahiduddin, 2004: 54).

The duty of the first Bissu is putting *tanrang* (norms of live) and rules of *adat* for human life. After explaining *tanrang* and *adat* rules, then Bissu back to the upper world. In the Bugis terminology, it is called *mallajang* (vanished). The Period of Bissu Dewata on the earth was replaced by an ordinary man who is regarded as his/her successor. That is why, one of the requirements to be a Bissu is the presence of spirit Bissu Dewata who dwelt in upper world. So, the Bissu inauguration will be implemented if the spirit of Bissu Dewata already presents inside body a *calabai* (Mujahiduddin, 2004: 54).

Who is the Bissu?

Bissu is ancient Bugis priest, before world religion (Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, and Hinduism) spread widely in South Sulawesi. Bissu terminology derived from Bugis language "bessi", which means holy people. They are called holy because they do not suffer menstruation, do not have the breast, and do not bleed (Adham, 2009: 403). The main duty of Bissu is to give lesson and guidance to *tomanurung* and his sons in regulating human life and other creatures existing on the earth. Bissu also taught procedures for worship and rituals that should be done by human being when they wanted to worship to Dewata (Mujahiduddin, 2004: 54).

Before indonesian independence, Bissu was the highly respected figure within the Bugis society. The Bugis believed that Bissu can communicate directly with Dewata. So, they are connector between human world with the world of Dewata. Bissu are also able to communicate with the of human ancestors who

had died. Mujahiduddin (2004, 75) cited hamonic that Bissu can recognized the condition of human being, who are still living and was dead. They have knowledge about the past and can foretell the present and the future. The knowledge of Bissu is outside dimensions of time and also bounded with its origin place in the upper world (the world of Dewata). That specialization made Bissu believed by the king as caretaker ritual in the palace, for example: *memmana lolo* (birth ritual), *mappabbotting* (marriage), *amatengeng* (death) and other life cicle ritual (Latief 2004: 66; Yauri, 2008: 332). Bissu also performed ritual relating to the public interest such as ritual *mappalili*, *mappanoq/massorong* (an offering to Dewata living below the earth), and ritual *mappaenreq* or an offering to Dewata who lives above the earth (Mujahiduddin, 2004: 91).

Biologically, Bissu are men. However, their behavior and character similar to women in daily life. They are categorized as *calabai*. *Calabai* is a Bugis terminology that means those men who behave as women. According to Halilintar latief (2004: 38) *calabai* terminology is derived from two syllables; *cala/sala* and *bai/baine*. *Sala* means wrong or not, *bai/baine* means women. So *calabai* is not female. Zainal, researcher of *calabai*, explained that the word of *calabai* is familiar in the ear of society after the independence of indonesia. Precisely, when the Bugis people know and use indonesian language. According to him, *calabai* is derived from the word *cala/sala* means wrong. The *bai* means making love. So, *calabai* is wrong in conduct coitus or making sex, because they (*calabai*) having sex through oral sex and anal sex (Zainal, 2008: 33).

Becoming Bissu

There is no provisions and an agreement written on the book on how become a Bissu, but it is inherited from generation to generation. The requirement was kept and preserved by the leader of Bissu *puang matowa* and *puang lolo* (Syamsuddin, 2010: 24). At the first time, all Bissu from *calabai*, because Bissu Dewata -the first Bissu handed down to earth- is *calabai* having not clearly sex orientation. Former *puang matowa* Bissu Segeri, Puang Saidi, stated that all Bissu is *calabai*, because just *calabai* is regarded as a perfect of

human being and can communicate with Dewata. Bissu is considered to be perfect person because they can combine elements and character of men and women in her body (Syamsuddin, 2010: 75).

Although Bissu are categorized as *calabai*, but, not all *calabai* could be a Bissu. Only those who have been inaugurated and ready to obey the rules of Bissu and Bugis *adat*, are regarded as Bissu. Some people categorizes or even characterizes *calabai* in Bissu similar to *waria* or transvestites in Indonesian language. Indeed, sometimes people identifies *calabai* with *waria*. However, a writer think that it is not true at all if *calabai* in Bissu are also categorized as *waria* in Indonesian language. Characters of *calabai* who have been inaugurated are different with *waria* or transvestites in general. Hence, Bissu categorized at least three types of *calabai* in Bugis culture, to distinguish between common *calabai* with the Bissu namey *calabai tungke'na lino*, *paccalabai* and *calabai kedo-kedonami*. Bissu categorized as *calabai tungke'na lino* always maintain their behavior and appearance in society. They are not a flirt, do not like to wander off or gadded in the night, do not like having sex with the opposite sex or of same-sex and always behave politely in society. *Calabai tungke'na lino* is most highest and honorably *calabai* (Latief, 2004: 39).

The second kind of *calabai* is *paccalabai*. *Paccalabai* is kind of *calabai* coquettish, like to wander off in the night and like teasing men and women. We can see them in the streets and in many places. mostly they like to peddle their body to wreak their eve flesh. *Paccalabai* can not control their flesh. So, they can have sex with man and woman. The third *calabai* is *kedo-kedonami*. Basically they are man behave as *calabai* to hoodwink and beat women (Latief, 2005). By making categorization of *calabai*, the Bissu want to show that not all *calabai* must be categorized as negative and must be pulled in religion (Ad 'ham, 2009: 409).

All *calabai* can become a Bissu if they can adhere the rules of Bissu and get blessing from Dewata. Because Dewata blessing is the first step to become Bissu. If a *calabai* has received a call or blessing from dewata, they reported to *puang matowa* that they want to be Bissu. Actually *puang matowa* also knows if someone is recalled by Dewata to be a Bissu. The knowledge is acquired by dreams. After reporting to *puang matowa*, *calabai* starts to learn about Bissu rules and Bugis culture at the *bola arajang* (house of heirloom).

In this period, a candidate of Bissu is required to live and apprentice in *bola arajang*, while learn to *puang matowa* and other Bissu. The length of an apprentice depends on the ability and skill of *calabai* to understand the lessons and the rules (Latief, 2004: 45; Syamsuddin, 2010: 72).

After passing declaration, a Bissu candidate was ordered to fast during a few days. Usually a week to 40 days. At that moment, a lot of abstinence and prohibition that should be avoided by the Bissu candidate. They are forbidden to wander off, should control their eve flesh and always perform good behavior. After fasting time, *puang matowa* lead the annual or process of *irebba* to become a Bissu. The candidates should be purified before *irebba* process. They should washed and then was packed with the white cotton, like a dead body. After that, a Bissu candidate was laid in *timpaqlaja* (in the attic top front of a house) and also laid a barrel-shaped containing water over his/her head. *Timpaqlaja* was kept opened, so Bissu candidate can see the sky. In this condition, a Bissu candidate *mattinja'* (intend or pray) during a few days, usually three days while the other Bissu chanted and hit kettledrum and dance until the last day of irebba procession. On the last day, barrel-shaped above the head of Bissu candidate is pierced with a spear by *puang matowa* until the water moisten the body of Bissu candidate. That is the end procession of *irebba*. The *irebba* process is the final stage to be a Bissu (Mujahiduddin, 2004: 64; Makkulau, 2008: 32).

Bissu of Segeri

At the first time, the amount of Bissu Segeri for about 40 people. They all come from Bone, but after many years their number is getting decreased. There are many Bissu died and also resigned for some reason such as mindset changing, fear of *irebba* procession or being fired. Saharuddin, one of the descendants of Karaeng Segeri, estimates that only about 16 Bissu now. Whereas, in the first time they are 40 Bissu. Now, they live driven away in Pangkep and other regions in South Sulawesi.

The number of Bissu Segeri is getting decreased because of the absence of regeneration and the recruitment system is not clear. Many old Bissu do not have successors when they die. Many *calabais* are eager to become Bissu,

but they do not have the the capacity to be a Bissu showed by their negative behavior. Moreover, Saharuddin, Bissu Segeri observer, explains that there are many *calabais* come when ritual *mappalili* is performed. But, not all *calabai* could be a Bissu. Only those who are *malebbi* (charisma) and ready to obey the rules Bissu can become a Bissu.

The other factor is the provisions and regulations that are very tight. Bissu should not be married and not allowed to have sex with men and women because they are the choice from Dewata. In addition, there is no subsidy from the government particularly in performing their ritual. According to Puang Upek, Bissu Segeri leader, that Bissu had not acquired life assurance from the government just like in past (when Karaeng Segeri was the authority). The dignity and position Bissu also began to be less respected within the society today. People more respected the *ulama* (Islamic priest) than Bissu.

Economy of Bissu

Bissu is one of the kingdom official and their positioan similar with the king, even exceeding him because Bissu inaugurated the king (Latief, 2005: 469). Their daily needs are guaranteed by the kingdom, including in ritual needs. The Bissu were not married, so they are not burdened economically for their families. The Bissu believe that their group consisting 40 people) as a big family though they are not from one ancestor. Emotionally, tittle and position of Bissu bind them as one family. The similar character, duties and responsibilities as a guard of *arajang* and ritual responsible made them feel like being in the family itself.

Bissu should preserved and fulfilled their daily needs. One way to fulfill all their daily needs comes from *galung arajang* (heirloom ricefield) and a *bola arajang* (heirloom house) as dwelling house. *Galung arajang* is one of revenue source and income for Bissu. *Galung arajang* is cultivated by the people and the outcome is divided with Bissu. The income from *galung arajang* not only funds the Bissu, but it also funds the ritual needs. The distribution system of this funding is based on the Bissu stratification. *Puang matowa* get more and then followed by *puang lolo* and other Bissu (Latief, 2004: 83).

Bola arajang is built on *tana arajang* (heirloom land) and becomes Bissu's property. *Galung arajang* in Segeri named "La Mallaongi" and wided

about 5 hectares. Location of *galung arajang* near to the *bola arajang*. However, since *puang matowa* Sanro Berlian died in 1979, *galung arajang* was taken over by the state and some people who claimed it. So, after Sanro Berlian died, there is no longer a source of funding for the ritual cost and for daily needs of Bissu living in *bola arajang*. Furthermore, they must stand alone for their daily needs to survive and for the ritual continuity (Latief, 2005: 482).

Sad Stories of Bissu

Bissu ever had hard experience and darkness time, especially after the independence of Indonesia. The Bissu was very suffering when the troops DI/TII hold the purification operation in South Sulawesi and the surrounding area. This operation started from around the 1950s to 1960s. The activity of Bissu was considered contradictive to Islamic teachings. In some areas, many Bissu and *calabai* were burned or forced to repent and become a normal human (Latief 2004: 79-80). The equipment of ritual was burned and threw into the sea or the river. This condition forced Bissu hiding in the forest for several years and also hiding in the society houses. In Segeri, Islamic purification movement was done by Ansor consisting of student and the youth of *nahdatul ulama* (NU). In the 1950s and 1960s, Ansor performed the Islamic purification operation or repent operation. Bola arajang and Bissu rituals are one of their targets.

When old order was replaced by the new order, the politic situation was still unstable and chaotic. The war of ideology intensively occurred in the government area and society. New government also intensively performs *operasi taubat* (the repent operation) against all system of beliefs disturbing the peaceful life and sovereignty of the republic of Indonesia, such as: atheism and communism. The operation also impacts on the existence of Bissu's ritual which is regarded as deviate behavior and supporting atheism and communism. The Bissu and their rituals are also considered as kind of *bid'ah* (heresy) by the religious leaders. The Bissu character and psychology broke the nature of God that only creates men and women. Many Bissu are forced to become a male genuine and behave as a man. They also forced to repent and follow one

of formal religions in Indonesia. The teachings of Bissu are regarded as heresy and wrong. This is a darkness story of Bissu in new order era where many Bissu are afraid to show their identity in public including in Segeri.

Today, the existence of Bissu in Bugis society seems to be unknown by the young generation. In fact, many of old generation also do not know about Bissu and do not know more about Bugis culture. The Bugis society do not care more about Bissu especially after they followed Islam. Bugis society tends to eliminate Bissu from the society because the characters of Bissu considered as deviate. Bissu is identical with *calabai* which is regarded as deviate behavior in society. The Bissu behavior is regarded as a negative reflection for the young generation. Nevertheless, the people of Segeri and governments try to revive an institution of culture and Bissu community as heritage of their ancestor. Bissu get honorable place in the the public because Bissu played an important role in social life such as leaders in the ritual of *mappalili*.

Mappalili *Ritual*

Mappalili is a annual ritual which is still performed by Bissu. *Mappalili* perform once a year and become a sign the paddy season in Segeri. Usually, *mappalili* perform in October or November, when the rainy season is began. The purpose of *mappalili* is making harvest succeesfully. So, the people of Segeri still believe that the success and the failure of their harvest depend on the successfully of *mappalili* performed by Bissu (Rahman, 2003: 518; Makkulau, 2007: 57). *Mappalili* is considered as one of the rituals to worship Dewata, as well as a kind of respecting and thankfulness people to *arajang* that is sent by Dewata on the earth. The existence of *arajang* in Segeri becomes a symbol of prosperity and welfare for the society. Hence, people must kept them to avoid the drought and famine in their village. The government and people offer a lot of the offering (sesajian) like a food and fruits as expression of thankfulness to Dewata, in *mappalili* ritual. The offering to Dewata sometimes known in Bugis language with the term *mappaenre*' (raise something), it means offering *sesajian* to Dewata who dwelt in the sky. Sometimes called *mappano'/massorong* (dropped something/pushing something), it means to offer *sesajian* to Dewata under water or under land (Syahrir, 1996: 42).

Mappalili is also regarded as manifestation of religious emotion having the character of witchcraft and sacred known only by of sacred persons namely Bissu. When *mappalili* is performed, Bissu always makes contact and direct interaction with Dewata, so they know all desire and Dewata needs. To interact with Dewata, Bissu should make sure that all kinds of ritual needs, fixtures and a ritual tools in *mappalili* is fulfilled. In addition, all the rules and procedures of *mappalili* should be running well. *Puang matowa*, Puang Upek, explain that when conducting *mappalili*, Bissu everlastingly associated with Dewata. Hence, before interacting with Dewata, the requirement should be fulfilled, such as the offering of fruits, sirih leaf, dupa (burning incense), leaves and flowers of coconut, and other equipment that should be provided. *Songkolo'* (rice) four colors is one of important ritual equipment.

The Time of Mappalili

Mappalili is usually performed at the beginning of rainy season in Segeri, in October or November every year. Saharuddin, an informant, explains that sometimes mappalili is performed in three of time considered as good time in Bugis culture, namely: *asera ompo* (date 9 according to Bugis calendrical) or *asera temmate* (date 21) and *parawalinna* or *paccapureng keteng*, between *maompo* and *de' namaompo* (the last day in month). This calender is based on the Bugis calendar system that is calculated in accordance with the condition or the shape of the moon. To determine that calendar, Bugis people usually see the shape of the moon in the sky. This calendrical system is still used by many Bugis people, especially those who lives in the village to determine the days considered as good day to start a job or everything.

In the past times, the time of *mappalili* was decided by Bissu, without intervention from other people, even from the royal family. Before deciding the time of *mappalili*, *puang matowa* Bissu made interaction with Dewata to get blessing. So, the ritual time was based on the will of Dewata. However, today the time of *mappalili* ritual adapted to the rainy season and the schedule is set up by the state. So, when the rainy season is coming, the government officers arranged the committee who is responsible in the implementation of *mappalili*. The committee consisting of the elements of society and government apparatus.

They tried to arrange the time of *mappalili* based on vacant time of the government.

The Bissu Today

Today, Bissu lives driven away in South Sulawesi, even there is Bissu lives in Balikpapan, Kalimantan. Only one Bissu lives in Segeri, near from *bola arajang*, his/her name is Puang Upek. Puang Upek is leader of Bissu Segeri. He/she was born in Segeri and his family also live in Segeri. He/she has been lived in *bola arajang* to get knowledge about Bissu rules and Bugis culture, since he/she was a child. Puang Matowa Bissu Segeri, Puang Upek, stated that:

> There are many Bissu still joining him to perform *mappalili* ritual in Segeri. They are: Uwa Nure', Juleha, Uwa Matang, Puang Saidi, Ummase and Uwa Sompo. Puang Saidi and Ummase were died. That Uwa Nure photo on the wall. He/she is at Balikpapan, Kalimantan now. Uwa Nure' often come here, if we have event. Moreover, if I call him to come, surely he have time to come here. But, I should be responsible for his/her plane charge and other charge. Uwa Matang live in Kanaungan, Jambu Mente street. Uwa Sompo and Juleha live in Pangkajene.

It is very difficult to meet Bissu who is living driven away. Only one times in a year they meet each other when there is mappalili ritual or request from the government and the public to perform a Bissu dance in front of public. When *puang matowa* Sanro Berlian was still alive, the Bissu lived together in *bola arajang*. Their daily needs was guaranteed by the government. However, since *puang matowa* Sanro Berlian died in 1979, Bissu community seems to have lost their leader. They live separately far from *bola arajang* and Segeri.

People's Responses Against Bissu Tradition

Since Islam is followed by the majority of Segeri society, exactly after Indonesian independence in 1945, The *dai* (Islamic preacher) and religious leaders always try to prevent people from deviates behavior (syirik) or all the activity considered breaking the Islamic teachings, including the activity of shirk done by Bissu. After the independence of indonesia, at least two shirk operation or purification

movements had been established by Ansor from NU in the 1950s and 1960s and in old order era.

In addition, when DI/TII revolted again the government in South Sulawesi, the issues of syirik activity done by Bissu also widespread in Segeri society. Thus, when the opposed movement again the Bissu appeared in society, there were many people who related it with the purification movement of DII/TII. In fact, according to Saharuddin, 81 years old, (informan from Segeri) and H. Dali, 66 years old, (informan from Bontomate'ne), during that period, the presence of DI/TII troops operation was not seen in Segeri. The involvement of DI/TII in Segeri in the fifties and sixties was less powerful because the purification movement are widely known to be conducted by Ansor (youths student of NU).

The purification movement was pioneered by Ansor at that time categotized all the activity considered as deviating from Islam or shirk behavior that appeared and developed in society including the shirk activity done by Bissu at *bola arajang*. Ansor confiscated all the objects which are reputed as sacred object in society. They burned and dumped it in the river and the sea. Ansor also tried to destroy *bola arajang* which is regarded as a source of shirk activity in Segeri. However, this movement is not able to destroy *bola arajang* because it has divine power. Even, they cannot chase away the Bissu there. The real results of this operation are many sacred objects belonging to society are taken, burned and dumped in the river and the sea including some *arajang* and precious objects around *bola arajang*.

The second shirk activity operation in Segeri, occurring in the 1980s. A number of Islamic institutions made an operation againts deviating activity according to Islamic teachings in society. However, *bola arajang* and Bissu was not the main target of this operation. The concentration of this movement is public houses. Many objects considered as sacred and magic in society are burned and dumped in the river and the sea. This movement appeared as response of Ansor and religious leader who saw the rise of shirk activity in society at that time.

Today, the local government has determined Bissu as a cultural heritage which should be maintained and revitalized. Nevertheless, the hatred againts Bissu always appeared in society as well. The religious leader and the citizens

who feel their religious understanding more true than others, still refused their presence in society. The refusal can be seen from their attitudes and response against Bissu. The religious leaders stated that they receive the presence of Bissu as human beings but the character of Bissu is still considered as deviating from islamic beliefs and *bola arajang* is regarded as a center of shirk activity.

The Respons of Socieety who Accept the Existence of Bissu

Nowdays, Segeri society, that is predominantly *sunni* and affiliated to *nahdatul ulama* (the big muslim organization in Indonesia) had received the presence of Bissu and its rituals in their village. The mindset changing in society made them tolerant to Bissu especially the member of Ansor. First, Ansor tends to purify which is supported by religious leaders, who is affiliated to DII/TII. But, after reformation era, Ansor and Segeri society start accommodating Bissu values and culture. The mindset changing is caused by the level of understanding and knowledge of a community which starts to open with the issues of differences and tolerance. Many of those are educated men in the big city. When they returned to their hometown in Segeri, they are accustomed to the difference an tolerance issues such the existence of Bissu.

Furthermore, Segeri Society believes in sacred power possessed by Bissu. The immune power or sacred power possessed by Bissu can be witnessed by the people especially those watching *mappalili*. We can also see it from the enthusiasm and public confidence to be involved in the *mappalili* ritual done by Bissu. They won't start planted rice if the Bissu has not performed a *mappalili* ritual yet. H. Mami, informant from Bontomate'ne, explains that the people don't want to plant rice before *arajang* go down to rice field. Bissu is commander when the people will plant the rice. They (Bissu) was responsible to perform a *mappalili* ritual. Since the ancients time, *mappalili* is always performed continually every years. Rosmini, an informant who always involves in a *mappalili* ritual, also said that the people are not brave go down to the rice field before *mappalili* ritual is conducted.

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Panel 16

Ambivalences of
the Indigenous Communities

THE CHANGE OF INDIGENOUS LIFE STYLE IN SUPPORTING THE PROJECT OF MODERNIZATION
The concept of Communication Project to the Madurese Society

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ABSTRACT

The change of social system in the society is one of the indicators of the success of development. Features of modernization such as the pluralization of life world, social mobilization, and political participation become the perimeters to what extents society has progressed. This is because modernization has transformed the life world, in which the social relationship are no longer as before, where personal intimacy was featuring the social life.

Madura is famous as one of the societies which keeps religious customs strongly. However, they are not sterile from the waves of modernization. Moreover there is construction of SURAMADU bridge which become the symbol of East Java and Indonesia. These have significantly affected the lifestyle of the local society. This change in lifestyle can be seen from many aspects: economy, politics, education, and cultural life. This paper suggests that these changes have indeed supported the rate of modernization development, but it can also damage the natural characteristic of Madurese society.

KEYWORDS: The change of Indigenous life style, modernization of development, Madura Society

Background of the Study

Indonesia is a the United Nation which based on Pancasila and the rules of the Republic of Indosesia 1945 has a large amount of 720 ethnic. The wealthy of Islands and ethnics can be make a good potential but also they can make the calamity for Indonesia. This reality make Indonesia face social crisis, cultural, economic, political, and ideological. It can be influenced by the unideal and the development it cause the changes in the order of life.

In the development of communication, the change of social system in the society has become one of the standart in the succes of development. This symptoms of modernization can be seen the residence of society. The life world pluralization (created by coordination and observation), social mobilization and political participation. That everything is completely *bussines like* no longer like previous time where relationships between people are so familiar.

Modernization is a process of society changes and its culture of the things that are traditional to modern. Globalization truthfully is a condition to spread the culture who infirmity to all society in the world who process globalization to appear is result unbelievable current information and communication which often every moment and can reach to the cost expensive. Result people in the world become a united circles which is close and become one of the social intercause and one system same culture.

Modernization and globalization as a new development have enclosed of advantage and disadvantage effects. That is why its process of modernization and globalization should be selected carefully and wisely so as not to cause underrated human ability, and local cultural structures. Through modernization and globalization will be a flow of science, technology, and cultures especially from developed countries toward developing and poor countries. In the other hand, the flow of science and cultural technology will inevitably displace and marginalize local cultures.

Madura is known as one of the religious community and owned Madurese strong local culture. They eventually eroded by the influence of existing development modernization. Moreover, after the construction of Suramadu as the iconic of East Java and Indonesia, resulting in changes in the indigenous lifestyle. Their lifestyle changes can be seen from various aspects

such as economic, political, educational, social and cultural rights. The change of the life style society can support the rate of modernization development but it can lose of the natural characteristic of Madura society.

Condition of Society

Madura is well known as one of the poorest area within the province of East Java. Unlike Java, the soil in Madura is less fertile enough to be used as a farm. Other limited economic opportunities has caused a jobless and poverty. These factors have resulted in long-term emigration from this island. That is why many Madurese people do not live in their own originally island. Madura society is included most transmigration program participants.

Madura society based on in the people that like outside country because the condition area is not suitable to farming. Madurese also love to trade, especially scrap metal and other used items. In addition, many of them who work as fishermen and laborers, as well as some one sucessfully manages to be a technocrat, biereucrat, cabinet minister or a even high position in the military social.

Literature Review
Definition of Modernization

Wilbert E Moore in Wikipedia mention Modernization is a total transformation of traditional mutual life or pre-modern in terms of technology and social organization towards patterns of economic and political that characterize the West which are stable. Meanwhile, according to JW School, modernization is a transformation, a change of society in all its aspects. Modernization in the social science refers to a form of transformation of the state that are less developed or less development into a better direction in expecting to reach a more advanced society, grow, and prosper.

In addition, it is also disclosed that modernization is a result of the of the progress of science and technology that continues evolving today. The level of technology in building modernization strongly felt and enjoyed by all walks of life, from metropolitan cities to remote villages.

Modernization Requirement

Soerjono Soekanto Mention a modernization has requirements especially, such as:

✤ How scientific and systematic thinking in the ruling class or the public
✤ A good system of administration of the country, which truly embodies the bureaucracy
✤ A good data collection system and regularly centered on a particular institution or agency
✤ Creation of a pleasant climate and society to modernization by using the devices of mass communication.
✤ The high level of organization on the one hand means discipline, while on the other hand means a reduction of independence.
✤ Centralization qualified in social planning implementation.

Modern humans according to Inkeles in Nasution (2002; 121) has the following characteristics:

✤ Open to new experiences, that is always eager to find or discover something new
✤ More independent to various forms of traditional powers such as tribes, kings, and so on
✤ Believe in science and the ability to conquer nature
✤ Oriented mobility and high life ambitions. Have a desire to pursue a career and achievements.
✤ Have a long-term plan
✤ Active in politics. Involved in both organizations and the wider family

Understanding Development Communication

In a broad sense according to Nasution, 2002. Development Communication covers the role and functions of the communication (as a reciprocal activity in message exchange) among all those involved in development efforts, particularly between communities and the government, since the process of planning, and implementation, and assessment of development.

Being in the narrow sense, communication development is any and all means and techniques of delivering ideas and development skills that comes from those who initiated and directed the construction of the public. Scram view of communication science within Nasution (2002; 101) formulate the main duty subject communication in the change social such as:

a. Convey any information to the public about national development, so that they focus on the need for change, opportunity, and how emerge changes, changes facility, and generate national aspirations.

b. Give the opportunity to the people for taking a part actively in the process of making decision,

c. The educate personal be needed project, since the adults to children, since writing lesson to technical skills which changed people's lives.

Discussion
The Positive Effects of Modernization

Modernization is basicly a development of nationalism, a movement to make all things rational and can be received by human reason. The impact is that traditional cultures which allegedly irrational will marginalized or backwardly swept away by cultures such as modernization. This condition has made society in the world into a system of relationships, especially with the opening of free trade system of the entire world community.

Modernization Positive Effect

This efforts the formed of reorganize view irrational become view rational in other to effectiveness and to increase productivity human. Beside that the positive effect of modernization such as :

✤ Improving the effectiveness and efficiency of human labor as a result of increasing knowledge, sophisticated equipment and the distance of human communication in the world.

✤ The increase productivity human activity

✤ The Increasing volume export

✤ The provided many consumption things

✤ The development of the science and technology

- ❖ The extensive of job fields
- ❖ There is professionalism and specialization matters pertaining to man power.

Modernization Negative Effects

As mentioned earlier that despite the benefits due to modernization and globalization also appears that negative influences are detrimental to certain groups of people. Modernization that is often seen as the emergence of new devices and systems of rational thinking that has caused negative impacts are as follows:

- ❖ There are the nature destruction and polluted environment
- ❖ The are consumerism
- ❖ There are the quality reduction demoralism
- ❖ There are social's restless
- ❖ The otonomous reduction in face problem
- ❖ The increase egoist and matirialis

The changing of Madura society lifestyle can be viewed from many aspects, starting from political economy, education, and socio-cultural

a. The change of Socio-cultural

In community life, they are commonly seen of owning individuality character like in urban communities. Lifestyle change occurs because of shifting its traditional culture to a modern one. It is strongly felt in the city especially within young generation. Many of them who do not know the customs of Madura itself but they are more familiar with the pop culture (K-POP / korean pop).

It also deals with the stereotypes of Madurese. Huub de Jonge, 2011. Said that Madurese not only different from neighboring tribes in terms of appearance, clothing, and hygiene. They are also very unique of possesing behavior. Many times they are described as being rude, brash, open, outspoken, less-manners, and even had no manners.

In Encyclopedia van Nederlanlandsch - Indie, published between the years 1917-1940, in De Jonge (2011; 67) Madurese described as follows: "as far as

talking about the general nature can be said that the Madurese less formal, more vibrant, and more independent than Javanese. Unfortunetely, their independence is as a form of rudeness and incivility that can feel uncomfortable, especially when just met. Even in conversation with the high level person, their voice is bold and not shy away, it often brash approach (Encyclopedie 1918, II; 639).

But this stereotype is now gradually disappear as the role of the Madurese in development and the role of mass media in informing the positives of the Society of Madura.

b. The Changes of Education

Madura is famous as a religion island and has a lot boarding school in every regencies even in any districts. So it is unfortunate that the pattern of this boarding school education has now getting fade just because veodal or liberal education system. The parents are more proud if their children take a study outside compared to schools in Madura.

Therefore, in encouraging the growth and development of education in Madura, many schools established. The fact that Aliyah and Tsanawiyah level education are more than high school in this island. This school thrives in every district. Even since 2001 Madura has had a State College: Trunojoyo University of Madura which located in Bangkalan. Moreover, in building human resources to be more skilled, Madura Polytechnic was established in the district of Sampang. It aimed to accommodate prospective students in particular of coming from Madura and also for them who are outside. Some private high educational schools at Madura such as Wiraraja University in Sumenep, Madura University and the High School of Religion in Pamekasan, and Sampang Polytechnic.

c. The Changes of Economic

Madurese community had always been well known of its trading on the island overseas. However, as the time runs after the emergence of technology and communication era, the economic is now speeding especially after the development of Suramadu as the longest bridge. Consumptive lifestyle has penetrated the Madurese. Many shops and restaurants are mushrooming, instant

style dining or fast food becomes the choice of the Madurese rather than their traditional cuisine.

Madurese people's lifestyles have shifted, more consumerist society than ever before. For instance in the district of Bangkalan that after the founding Bangkalan Plaza, the lifestyle communities especially young people become more modern like a big city style, Including their oral language. They often use slang language either written or oral. It can promote the rate of revenue of each regions, especially from the income tax and restaurant meals. In addition, due to the proliferation of access Suramadu, the emergence of batik traders and culinary to improve people's lives in general and particularly for Bangkalan.

d. The Changes of Political

Madurese people's political awareness began to increase, especially after the implementation of the election by holding direct elections. Their participation is very high, even the remote area people have finally got involved. It keeps a possibility that the candidates applying political money to get their voices.

Since the lifestyle of the indigenous people of Madura is changing, it is necessary to uphold the development communications strategy to promote development modernization in Madura. According to AED (1985) in Nasution, 2002. There are 4 development of communication strategies that can be used:

1. Strategy Based on Media

This strategy is an easiest technique, most popular and certainly most effective, media strategy. Srategy of certain media have been conducted primarily to determine: " Which is the best media?" What is the cheapest cost media ? "What is best media to popularize, teach, strengthen, or reminiscent of something".

The role of mass media in Madura already shows up the real thing like newspapers "Radar Madura", while radio almost every district has owned it. In Pamekasan there is radio "Karimata fm", in Bangkalan and Sampang we can find a governmental radio. "Voice FM Bangkalan" and public radio

"Amanna" and radio "Segara" are the radio exist in Bangkalan . In addition, there's even a local TV Madura is "Madura Channel TV".

2. Instructional Design Strategies

This strategy is used commonly by many educators. They focus on learning strategies for individuals target as a fundamental goal. Madura has distinctive characteristics and unique society, therefore the individual learning that has been done in Madura is not only formal education but also with the non-formal education.

Madurese community are already aware of the importance of education even though the majority of Madurese parents are prefer putting their children to boarding school than a public school. Because most of the Madurese said that take a study in boarding lodge not only gain knowledge but also "blessing" of kiai as luminary person. While in urban communities have a lot of standing play group or early childhood education, which 5 years ago, this model of education is still lacking.

3. Participation Strategy

In this participation strategy, the important principles in organizing activities is community cooperation and personal growth.The emphasis in this strategy is not turned away a lot of information that one has learned through the development of communication but rather on the experience of one's participation as equal. In the process of sharing knowledge and skills. (Nasution, 2002; 167). These forms of participation in Madurese society can be categorized as family planning programs participation or KB, political participation upon political knowledge, participation of SMEs due to the Madurese community awareness skills.

4. Marketing Strategy

The strategy is to grow as a communication strategy that are most directly, it is called as Social Marketing. The changing of Madurese lifestyles from traditional to modern is related with the influence of social marketing itself. The uniqueness of the social culture of Madura, Madurese culinary, Madurese batik are seen

as competitive advantage for the outside community to come to visit the island of Madura especially with the ease of access longest bridge.

Conclusion

As a result of changing in the indigenous lifestyle of Madurese, then in some aspects of life may encourage modernization development in Madura, such as:

1) Awareness education and community participation in the success of government programs in the field of early childhood education, secondary and higher education

2) The economic growth of the Madurese is increased especially after the Suramadu access. Which causes the Madurese community welfare changes, it is felt with the development of culinary and Madura batik.

3) Socio-Cultural Change of Madurese people particularly for young people, it's been a lot of young people in Madura using appropriate communication media technologies with the development of information and technology.

4) Political participation of the Madurese is higher, as seen from the implementation of regional autonomy. Not only the urban people who participate but also rural communities involved.

5) The role of mass media, both print as well electronic media.

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MODERN LIFESTYLE THAT PENETRATES THE "INNOCENCE" OF SAMIN PEOPLE [1] A POLITICS OF ENCOUNTER AND NEGOTIATION

Hartati sulistyo rini[2]

Introduction

As a global phenomenon, modernization is an inevitable process in the development of today's society. The development of modernization is often identical to the globalization and practices of capitalism, which has reached the stage of significant growth due to its powerful language which has penetrated into all aspects of life. Modernization even becomes a major issue that has marked the history of human civilization. Interesting things encountered in the development of this modernization is when it is entering developing countries and touching upon the root value, the history and characteristics of different communities. Local indigenous groups, such as Samin communities in Kudus, had to face the intrusion of modern lifestyles in everyday life. It is the aim of this paper to explore how Samin people negotiate with such a moder lifestyle penetration.

Research Problems

Research problems that will be answered in this study is how the forms of modern lifestyle in the Samin society in Kudus. In order to answer this research question, it will be delivered to the research question of how the life and principles of community life in Samin, Kudus. This study used a qualitative descriptive approach, the method of observation, interviews, and documentation.

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[1] Presented in the 4th International Graduate Student Conference on Indonesia in Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) in Yogyakarta on 30-31 October 2012.

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Discussion

As a part of the stage of human development, modernization is an interesting phenomenon in the history of civilization. That is recognized or not, at this stage of human development brought many changes in both the macro and micro scale. At the macro level, it can be said that modernization can be analogous to a system of movement and the resulting effect will be massive and widespread. While the micro-scale, this modernization will be internalized into the spaces of the individual as a member of the system, thus giving birth to a distinctive lifestyle and different from others.

Samin or *Sedulur Sikep*: The Life and Their Life Principle

Communities in this study is the Samin or also known as *sedulur sikep* domiciled in Kaliyoso, Kudus. Samin itself a community whose existence has a long history. The central figure in the birth of this community is a named Samin Surosentiko or Raden Kohar. Historical distribution Samin community itself is believed originated from Klopodhuwur, Blora spread by Samin Surosentiko to some areas such as Bojonegoro, Madiun, Pati, Rembang and Kudus. Meanwhile, the spread of Samin in Kudus, was in the Kutuk, Kaliyoso, and Larekrejo with different versions Surosentiko remain centered on the figure. While news sources can not be present in the coming year and spread (Rosyid, 2010: 83).

Samin community is one of the indigenous people living in the community. According to the Draft United Nations Declaration on the Rights of indigenous People (in Scheinin, 2005: 3-4), indigenous people have distinct characteristics which are as follows: 1) specificity, in the sense of different and want to be different. Self-identification is an important factor., 2) land grab, territories, and resources through colonization and other events in the past which resulted in a denial of his rights or other forms of injustice; 3) Land (located in a particular area) as elements important aspects of history, identity and cultural groups, usually causing the traditional economic activities and depending on the area concerned. In addition, according to Scheinin (2005: 4), there are still other things that have an important influence in it, namely: a) Being the first residents in the region, b) the lack of international recognition of the sovereignty which the group is located.

Bias against small communities (farmers) and resistance to authorities (Dutch colonialism) is the spirit of the teachings of Samin. It was then implemented in the form of teaching that comes from the way of thinking and way of life is simple, the principle of morality, and kindness. Samin is also known as sedulur Sikep. Sikep, in this case described by Wargono (figure Samin Kaliyoso) as behaviors or actions, actions taken by both men and women. If men do *Sikep rabi*, if women do *Sikep laki*. To interpret *Sikep*, needs to be seen also that the notion of the individual is not playing a dominant position in society. there is no 'me apart ", but there is always *Sikep rabi*, relationships and rigging (Subangun, 1994: 15).

This means that, as a philosophy of life, *Sikep* not just an idea in the abstract world, but far more important is that this teaching is strongly associated with the pattern of action that is run on a day-to-day livelihood. Sikep also emphasizes the aspects of keeping the interactional relationships between people in society and the environment. Social interaction can be interwoven with powerful if people do things that are based on the values of kindness. The meaning of "good" in social interaction are: *iso sing nglakoni lugu, iyo iyo yo, yo ora ora , nek goroh kuwi podho karo ngapusi dhewe awake* (do the innocence way, if you can please say yes, if you can't please say no, and if lying the same as lying to yourself).

Doctrine *Sedulur Sikep* is associated with simplicity and core morality of everyday life. That the points of doctrine from sedulur Sikep is human behavior should avoid attitudes: *drengki, srei, panasten, dahwen, kemeren, lan nyiyo marang sepodo*. *Drengki* is associated with a lack of gratitude; *srei* related to attitudes towards the condition of others envy; *panasten* interpreted as a simple gesture hotheaded and easily provoked by others; *dahwen* means easy prejudiced attitudes and judge without evidence, which is promoting the teaching assessment *Sikep* with clear proofs (without any supporting evidence, analyzes and assessments will be wrong); *kemeren* means wanting something that is not hers, and *nyiyo marang sepodo* means behaving badly towards others. This teaching is also supported by another principle of life, where man is forbidden to *bedok* (accused), *colong* (stealing), *njumput* (take a few something that become commodities), *pethil* (strum or pick up something that is fused to the main part), and *nemu* (find).

The teachings in the community emphasized *sikep* naive attitude as a handle (*lelakon lugu kuwi paugeran*). *Lugu* is based on the morality of life that aims to create a harmonious life. Moral values   is believed to Samin community will realize the physical and spiritual well-being in life. Welfare is not measured by the amount of material that we have, but it is highly preferred to live in this harmony must be established as a mechanism of social interaction both among fellow believers Samin, Samin with the outside community as well as with the natural environment. Especially on Samin community relations with the natural environment, Wibowo (2011) explains that the land or nature is the "mother" to be treated, so that when there is the exploration and exploitation of the natural world around Mountains Kendeng attitude developed by Samin community in acts of collective is the attitude *mbodohi* (pretending not to know) and attitudes *ngeli ning ora keli* (attend but not participate). It is the embodiment of wisdom of nature.

In Kaliyoso, Kudus there are 56 heads of families who embrace Samin. They live mingle with other non-Samin. In this case, there is no special area for residents Samin separate with other residents. In carrying out their daily lives, innocent demeanor is also a good grip in the interaction with fellow believers Samin and others outside Samin community.

The Forms of Modern Lifestyle In The Samin Society In Kudus

The complexity of modernization is not only about the progress so quickly even global, but also about aspects of its effect. Human and social changes that happened to be an interesting study to see how far the impact of this modernization came into patterns of social interactions that occur in the community. By Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith in Becoming Modern, this is referred to as the emergence of modern humans. The characteristics of modern man by Inkeles and Smith (in Budiman, 2000: 35) is covering some of the following, namely: openness to experience and new ideas; oriented to the present and the future; have the ability to plan; believe that humans can master nature.

As the perpetrators of all social processes and changes in society, humans have its own methods and mechanisms in living. Similarly, the human

behavior in the face of modernization. As the prevailing mainstream society, modernization is able to form a modern lifestyle that supports the formation of the modern man. Chaney (1996: 40-41) identifies as lifestyle patterns of action that differentiates one person to another.

In contrast to some indigenous communities which have a distinct and separate area with other communities, people in Samin Kaliyoso is living with the community at large. In these circumstances, the association that occurs between them still are good. The principle of mutual respect with each other to know the background of each form the basis of social interaction. However, this does not mean Samin community dynamics and free from the influence of modernization. Recognized or not this becomes a challenge in teaching preservation Samin rests on issues of morality and values simplicity.

Harvey and Thompson (in Cox, 2007: 67) looked at the relationship between indigenous and modernity in the light of which the two are incompatible. They argue that indigenous culture is close to nature, genuine and natural where it is contrary to the cultured, civilized, advanced and much use of technology that characterize modern life. What happens now is, modern lifestyles conflict is no longer comes down to the things that are radical but a threat to the existence of the local community. This modernization can be regarded as even more alarming threat spreader as it begins to enter Samin community life in ways subtle, slowly, calm, and into the ongoing social interaction space.

The forms of the modern lifestyle that began seeping into the first Samin community characterized by widespread use of mobile phones among the people. For the general public, mobile phones are now interpreted as something relative into a major social need. The need for rapid communication, effective and efficient perceived as an integral part of life. This need not necessarily show up, but in this case the modernization created a technology that can bridge even continues to provide stimulus to the community to always consume communications technology. For the people of Samin, this raises other needs related to the use and operation of the phone. As a product of modernization, handphone provide features that basic skills to operate it requires knowledge of Latin letters and the language in written form. Samin community oral culture in such a situation is also challenged by the development of writing culture among the people around them. The question which then arises is that skills

can only be acquired through formal education, whereas in Samin teaching is not allowed. This condition then makes some people learn from their non Samin Samin or even among Samin who attend formal school or minimally educated.

This indicates that the Samin community itself has been a shift in the implementation of the teaching in terms of education. Darmastuti and Prasela (2010) also noted that the principle of socialization for the oral Samin, has now changed. Although no formal training in school, but it turns out they are held in an informal learning outside of school and learn to read and write Java script count in Indonesian.

Invasion of the modern lifestyle which is then transmitted through the mobile phone can also impact on the ease of access to the things that are contrary to the simplicity and morality upheld by Samin community. This is supported also by the entry of television in public life Samin and as if a part of their daily activities. Furthermore, Surbakti (2008: 73) suggests that conscious or not, television shows to influence attitudes, views, perceptions and feelings of the audience.

Television serves all forms impressions both positive and negative, to be a serious threat to local values Saminisme. Violence, pornography and other media reality can be easily accessible at all times to be an agent of socialization counterculture of the parents. The message conveyed and the local values that are taught will have an imbalance may even be opposite to what may be enjoyed through the medium of television. Challenges in Samin community become more severe when considering that access to technology, communications, and information was hit by heavy youth as a successor to the teachings of this locale.

For young people, the challenges become more complex, their respective livelihood began to spread to non-agricultural sector, such as a truck driver and even a migrant worker abroad. Variations livelihood from cultivated a distinct concern considering will decrease labor to cultivate the agricultural sector as the principal livelihood of farming that resulted in socialization skills are also degraded. Social interactions that occur with each non-agricultural livelihoods may also play a role shift orientation and size of the welfare and needs of individuals. For current Saminists, modernization should be filtered and returned to the *kekencengan dhewe-dhewe* (teaching strong bond to each individual).

However, that does not involve teaching assertiveness Samin certain sanctions can also be a potential gap influx of modern lifestyle.

Motorcycle ownership in the community Samin also be an indicator of social change and inclusion of modern lifestyle. Motorcycle ownership, often associated with welfare measures and the size of a man's wealth. That is no longer a question of welfare measures *lakuning urip* but has led to the size of the material. In this case, simplicity as highly cherished values become increasingly misaligned with the entry matrialistis lifestyle typical of modern culture.

On the other hand there is a phenomenon in which modernization and social change in, but is not a threat to the existence of this Samin community. This is related to the enactment of KTP (identity cards) for people in Samin Kaliyoso. In this case, the significant matter of debate is the question of which religion is the religion Samin community Adam where religion is not a religious one recognized by the government. So, through the long process, finally Samin community getting KTP as the key to getting the administration of government facilities as well as a proof of the existence of this community. This is actually a bit different from the spirit of the birth of this community as a result of resistance to authority or colonialism in the past, which in the present relatively good relations with the authorities.

The shift values are affected by the inclusion of local modern lifestyle will affect the appearance of modern humans. Inkeles and Smith (in Budiman, 2000: 35-36) suggests that the effect on the formation of modern humans. This environment is connected with education, work experience, and the role of the mass media. It is also in line with Marx's thought about the state and human consciousness. In this concept, Marx explains that the human relationship to the means of production to give form and content to the consciousness (Budiman, 2000: 36). The establishment of modern humans and personality by Szctompka (2005) as the interplay between institutional and organizational levels on the one hand and on the other side of the personality level.

Attacks of this modern lifestyle eventually led to two major categories of community groups in Samin community. The first group are those who still adhere to the Samin value. Members of this group is dominated by the older generation and people who become leaders of this community. On the other

hand, there are some people who followed the modern lifestyle that creep into everyday life. Members of this group is mostly made up of young people who became acquainted with modernity and a few others who have an understanding of the value of a shallow Samin so easily fade buffeted modernization. If this condition continues over time without adequate attention from all aspects of society, it is not possible existence of such Saminisme teaching local communities will only stay memorable.

Invasion of the modern lifestyle into the space of everyday life Samin community this should get more attention. The problem that may arise is that the modern lifestyle is not only related to imitation or mimicry, but until further cultural reproduction in the form of cultural cloning. Agustana and Kertayasa (2011: 136) says that when the cloning process culture can not be prevented, then a variety of cultural resources that were previously under the control of local communities and in each place unique in the world would lose its uniqueness, its culture, and ultimately lost his spirit.

However, the noble values   embryo development and survival of the teachings of the local indigenous community is the wealth of a nation that is priceless. And development in the swift currents of modernization is a challenge not only to be imposed on the community itself, but also as a public responsibility.

Conclusion

Modernization will eventually arrive at a critical paradigm that forms of social change is not only promises sweet dreams of economic prosperity, but on the other hand should also be understood as an attack on the existence of indigenous people such as the Samin community. Being offensive is not only tangible but more dangerous material was attacked on aspects of socio-cultural values   as the core of everyday life. The dichotomy of the group where the strong and vulnerable to infiltration modern lifestyle has also become an important thing to be aware of. It is not impossible that this is a major threat to the survival of the Samin community itself.

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Panel 17

Indigenous Land in Crisis

WATER MANAGEMENT IN THE LOWLANDS OF SOUTHERN PAPUA INDONESIA USING A DECISION SUPPORT SYSTEM AND INTEGRATING TRADITIONAL ECOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

Elisabeth veronika wambrauw

Abstract

Papua is the largest Province in Indonesia with the smallest population .This area has abundant natural resources such as mineral reserves, indigenous forest ecosystems, and a diverse marine ecosystem. Papua also has vast fresh water resources in the form of rivers, lakes, and extensive wetlands. The area has a unique ecology, richest biodiversity, mangrove species, and globally significant cultural diversities. Papua has a minimum of 269 ethnic groups.

Even though Papua has vast natural resources which contribute to the nation's economy, the local people live in poverty. The central government has tried to address these issues with special attention to Papua, but as yet government efforts have not solved this problem. In particular, a lot of development has occurred in Papua which is understood to be unsustainable for the environment and the indigenous peoples of Papua.

Recently, lowlands in Papua have been focused on for development, especially for agricultural purposes. However, if the government proceeds with development in an unsustainable way, it will lead to complex problems. The wetlands in Papua are significant at a global level, and environmental issues such as climate change and sea level rise and concerns for the indigenous peoples of Papua.

To assist with better understanding these challenges, the main objectives of the study are to identify best management practice for water resources in

the lowlands of Southern Papua using a Decision Support System and integrating traditional ecological knowledge. This exploratory research approach includes; a literature review; the Mauri Model Decision Making Framework; and on-location action participatory research for data collection and analysis.

K E Y W O R D S : Papua, lowlands, water resources management.

Introduction

West Papua which is compressing two provinces Papua and West Papua is located in Indonesia (South East Asia). Papua has abundant natural resources, such mines, forests and marine ecosystems and also culture. Papua has a minimum of 269 ethnic groups and 269 living local languages (A. J. Mansoben, 2006; J. R. Mansoben, 2003; Marshall & Beehler, 2007) and has 1,068 clans (BPS, 2011). Papua also lags behind other provinces, even though Papua is a really rich island. Over the last 10 years, Central government has tried to catch up the gap with giving special attention to Papua. The Central Government have divided this province into Papua and West Papua. This programme still has not answered the problems in Papua. A lot of development has been done in Papua resulting in mining, deforestation, and infrastructure developments which are unsustainable. Exploitation of natural resources has negative impacts on the environment. Not only in there exploitation, there is a transmigration programme which is moving landless people from Java to Papua forcing Indigenous people into smaller and smaller areas. In many of the big cities the population of indigenous people is low, such as in Jayapura and Merauke where only around 30 % are Papuan (BPS, 2011). As known, Papuan indigenous people are really close to nature and when they develop something, they always care about its natural power. Other tribes have similar customary beliefs are related to sustainability.

Recently, the lowlands in southern of Papua are developing. Coastal lowlands in Papua are unique and complex with the hydrology of the ecosystem very interconnected. The connections are between land use, hydrology, sea water levels, climate change, CO_2 emissions, and cultural aspects. Also, lowlands provide natural resources of food, medicine, shelter and cultural for indigenous people who live around that area.

To address the problems the main objectives of the study are to identify best management practice for water resources in lowland in Southern Papua by making an approach for hydrology modeling with integrated qualitative data regarding human interaction / relationship with ecosystem in a Decision Support Tool. These main objectives can be divided into special objectives, which are:

a) To compare and identify similarities and differences in the hydrology of three areas Merauke, Asmat, and Kimaam Island.

b) To identify the traditional water management practices in Asmat, Kimaam and Merauke.

c) To conduct an assessment of existing water management practices and the use the Mauri model to consider the impact on sustainability.

Research Methodology

This study use Participatory Action Research and Exploratory Research

Study sites

The study will be conducted in three study case areas; Merauke, Asmat, Kimaam Island.

Figure 1 The map of lowland in Papua (Giesen & Houterman, 2009)

Discussion
Hydrology in Merauke, Asmat and Kimaam Island

Lowlands in Papua include mangroves, freshwater swamps, peat lands and seasonally flooded savannas. Fresh water swamps and peat swamps in Papua

mostly are located in the south part of Papua. There are two systems of lowland in Papua; recent alluvia-Marine Tidal lowland system and weathered old Lowland Terraces. Figure 2 explains the distribution of the two land systems and the name of places having lowlands.
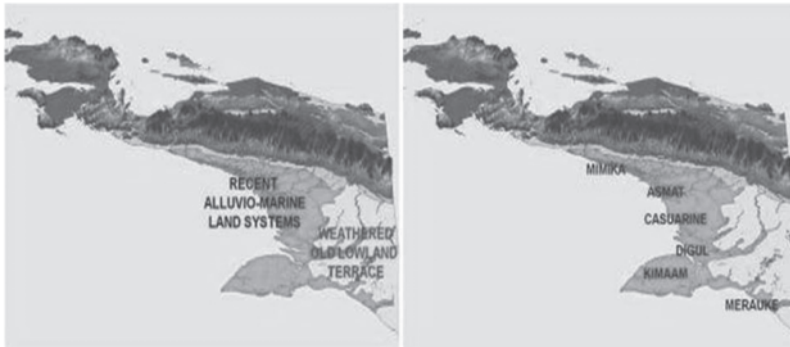
Figure 3 Schematic Diagram of the Transition from Coast to Uplands in the lowlands in Papua (Mawdsley & Houterman, 2010)
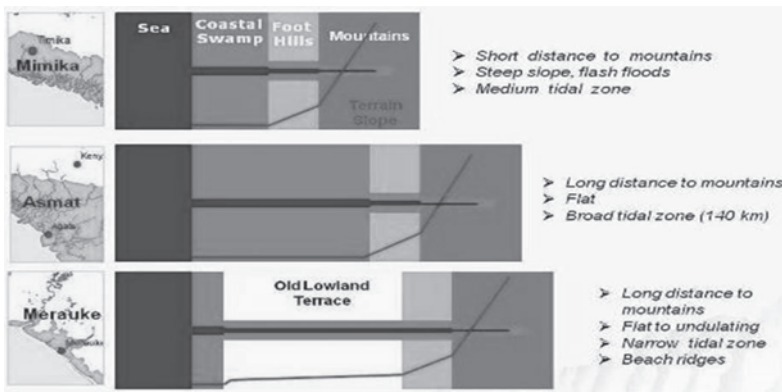
Figure 2 The two lowland land systems of southern Papua (Mawdsley & Houterman, 2010)

While, Figure 3 explains the schematic diagram of the transition from coast to uplands in Mimika (top), Asmat (centre) and Merauke (bottom) that showing the unique of tidal lowlands in Asmat and the unique lowland terrace of the Oriomo plateau and the Fly-Digul shelf extending into Merauke and Mappi districts (Mawdsley & Houterman, 2010) .

The detail of the conditions of those areas can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. The Comparison of those areas

Locations	Key Aspects
Asmat	The Asmat (Agats) area contains the largest area of tidal lowlands in Papua, containing unique bio-physical and cultural aspects. The tidal zone extends up to 140 km inland, with a mangrove zone of some 25 to 50 km wide. The hinterland contains mixed swamp forest and sago associations on shallow to deep peat lands intersected by many rivers and streams. As in Mimika, near the mountain range (flash-) floods and uncontrolled braiding rivers are a serious constraint for development.Deep peat, mangrove and flooded areas unsuitable for agricultural development. Rainfall can be very high up to 5000 mm per year. Deep peat deposits between the rivers are identified, presumably existing as peat domes (see Figure 4), although these have not been characterised in detail. Extensive swamp forests exist, with some logging in the past. Though not a physical characteristic, the cultural value of the Asmat is renowned worldwide. The culture is very much linked to the physical environment. Disturbance of the environment will result in unpredicted and most likely unwanted side effects.
Kimaam Island	Kimaam Island is a low lying wetland tidal area formed by sediment from the Digul River and covered with mangrove, saline wetland, savannah swamp and some woodland. The southern part of Kimaam is a protected area, not to be developed except for indigenous activities. In the northern part, the central area is unsuitable because of drainage restrictions and flood hazard, while other parts are suitable according to old surveys. Other agricultural constraints include the seasonal bird migration from Australia, birds and other pests of (rice) crops, and the monsoon climate with a long dry season.
Merauke	The tidal influence in Merauke coast area is limited. The coastline consists of a complex of (sandy) beach ridges, with a relative narrow strip of tidal lands, bordered by the Oriomo Plateau complex of 'uplands' and 'rawa lebak'.

Based on the secondary data, the study will conduct further research on those areas especially to analyse the change of natural hydrology due to the development.

Traditional Ecological Knowledge

The management of wetlands in Papua is really important because this is related to uncertainty problems including the global environmental aspects and cultural aspects. Indigenous Papua's have several local knowledge that relates to sustainable natural resource management. Indigenous people are an inseparable part of nature, so their sustainability is related to that of their environment. Sasi is a marine conservation tenure system that prohibits harvesting on land or in the sea to sustain resources and includes fishing area, fishing gear, and target species. This system has been practiced in Papua and some part eastern Indonesia. The system is generally called Sasi, however, some areas have their own local names. Indigenous Papua's who live in Raja Ampat call it Samsom, while, local people of Biak Island say Sasisen. Other parts of Papua such as the Maya tribe from Salawati island call Sasi Rajaha, and the Depapre Tribe who live in Jayapura, call this customary law Takayeti. This system proves that indigenous Papuans care about nature and sustainability (J. R. Mansoben, 2003; MCLeod, Szuster, & Salm, 2009).By using their traditional ecological knowledge, their survival is assured over many generations. Take a example, planting sweet potato in Kimaam Island. Indigenous Papua's of Kimaam island who live in Sabon, Tor and Kladar have developed a certain farming methods. The methods link the traditional knowledge with links to nature like the constellations, tidal calculations, wind direction, land fertility and pet's control. People build a traditional wooden structure called 'para-para or arbors (like vineyards) for gardens which can be located in sandy or muddy areas. The people use a canoe to go to the gardens. They plant in the sandy soil in the beginning of the dry season, and plant in muddy soil in the wet season. However, they have to put sand in the muddy region, which they transport by canoe, as people believe that sand is a fertilizer. During the dry season, farmers dig one metre both left and right side of area, and pile the resulting soil in the middle. They make a deep ditch along the area and the canals have to be kept clean to moisten the soil. They use a rotation system between dry and wet seasons. The soil is planted for two or three years continually and then left for one or two year before replanting. Besides this unique method, Sabon villagers use the movement of constellations to predict the weather. They can read astronomy,

they predict the first rainfall in the rainy season by using the cross constellation that is called 'Keyer', while it returns to the start point forecasts the beginning of the dry season. They can forecast the natural condition based on astronomy. If the group of stars "the Kuwan constellation, which move from east to west, have reached the west it informs of floods, high tides and heavy rainfall. Besides astronomical knowledge the indigenous people understand agricultural too, especially in protecting their agriculture product the sweet potato. In the dry season, they put dry grass down to protect their crop from drying up. They put the bark of bush tree to prevent soil erosion in the wet season. The people make different gardens according to the seasons. They consider water sources in the dry season, and the difficulty in transportation during the wet season. Lastly, the indigenous people really understand about the environment, they can draw maps of their land use and make their life sustainable (L.M.Serpenti, 1977; Manembu, 1995; Serpenti, 1977). Thus, the traditional ecological knowledge can be used alongside scientific data in a Decision Support system. With Participant Action Research, the study will explore further the traditional knowledge in water management.

What is Mauri Model Decision Making Framework?

MMDMF is a sustainable decision support tool that includes indigenous New Zealand culture which consists of four dimensions of well-being, Mauri of Community (social), Mauri of Whanau or family unit (economic), Mauri of the ecosystem (environment), and Mauri of Hapû (culture) which is developed by Kepa Morgan in 2006. This Aotearoa decision making has important attributes which are:

✤ Inclusive (effective incorporate and represent Mâori perspectives).
✤ Indigenous (adopt a sustainability of indigenous knowledge)
✤ Holistic (demonstrate ecological integrity).
✤ Eco-centric (adopt a sustainability measure from indigenous thinking).
✤ Equitable (deliver intra- and inter-generational equity).
✤ Legally relevant (be effects focussed and promote social, economic, environmental and cultural wellbeing).
✤ Integrated (demonstrate interconnectedness between the criteria chosen).

- ❖ User friendly (be flexible yet easy to understand in its application).
- ❖ Definitive (clearly determine whether a practice is or is not sustainable).
- ❖ Transparent (clearly identify applied bias).

The Model is divided into two stages. Firstly, describing well-being as criterion comparison, Mauri dimension and prioritization. Then, identifying case studies and prefer performance Metrics , the models continue to stage two, Mâori _ometer that determine Mauri rating from -2 to + 2, which can be shown in this figure (Morgan, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2008, 2011)

The relevance of using Mauri Model Decision Making Framework in Papua

The Mauri model measures sustainability using the concept of Mauri and the Mauri-ometer. This measurement can be adapted in Papua due to the similarities between Mâori and indigenous Papua's in the values concept of life. Papua is need of sustainable development. As Papuans are indigenous peoples, because of a lot of tribes depend on nature and live in traditional ways the people have their own culture and economic factors which distinguish them from other parts of the society (Dove, 2006). It would be good to use some indigenous knowledge to help solve the problems in their society. In the way that Mâori knowledge has been integrated into development in New Zealand, by using the unity of nature and environmental and culture, indigenous people in Papua can help address problems including environmental issues such as water cycling and waste water. Mâori people are indigenous people of New Zealand. New Zealand also is one of countries which is concerned with indigenous values (Durette 2010). The Mauri model is a concept that believes that nature can support life and it was developed based on Mâori knowledge. The Mauri Model measures sustainability with four dimensions like social, economic, environmental, and cultural aspects. This model was defined as "a new decision making framework that adopts mauri ('integrity' or binding force between the physical and spiritual elements) as the measure of environmental, economic, social, and cultural well-being in place of the monetary basis used conventionally for sustainability assessment. The model is based on Daly's triangle of well-being and adopts his hierarchy for sustainability.' The Mauri Model mentions

cultural, social, economic, and environmental well-being as mauri of the Hapû, mauri of the community , mauri of the whânau (family) and mauri of the ecosystem, respectively (Morgan, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2008, 2011; Morgan & Yukich). Similarly, Papuan Indigenous peoples believe that humans have a really close relationship to nature. They believe that their ancestors came from nature like animals. Thus, this model can be adopted in Papua.

By doing this study, the data is collected. This data is needed to support the weighting of indicators of Mauri Model Decision Framework in environment and economic dimensions. As Mauri Model Decision Framework measures the sustainability in four dimensions of well-being; Mauri of Hapû (cultural well-being), Mauri of Whana (economic well-being), Mauri of Community (social well-being), Mauri of ecosystem (environmental well-being). Mauri of ecosystem is related to the hydrological and wetland conditions of those areas. The characteristics of wetland and hydrological data are needed to determine the change of those parameters in order to weight of the indicators of Mauri Ecosystem. The indicators of the environmental dimension include biodiversity, air quality, water quantity and quality, tidal parameters, soil conditions and land use. Thus, the hydrological data is need to collect including rainfall data, water table, water quantity, water quality (PH, salinity, hydraulic conductivity ,pollutants), soil testing. While, GIS and remote sensing data are tools to determine watershed and catchment areas including   water resources, topography, and geology of in those areas.

Conclusion

This study is still in progress so there are several outcome of the research, which are:

✤ Determine if local knowledge is relevant in an international development context.
✤   Identify the transferability of a decision making framework form Aotearoa NZ to Papua.
✤ Develop new contexts for the application of integrated knowledge system decision making in water management.

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GREEN BELT OF BINTUNI BAY
Ethnographic Studies on the Introducing Program for the Implementation of Carbon Emissions Reduction in Bintuni Bay Regency, West Papua

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ABSTRACT

The construction of mega Liquid Natural Gas (LNG) project operated by British Petroleum has apparently a significant impact on the lives of various tribes in Bintuni Bay Regency, West Papua Province, such as Sumuri, Wamesa, Irarutu, Sough, Kuri, Sebyar. These impacts are both positive and negative. Mega Tangguh LNG Project, located in the district of Bintuni Sumuri, Tofoi Kampong, has forced the indigenous tribes to move to another location, i.e. Onar Kampung Baru. Due to the migration and development of the Tangguh LNG project, a lot of social problems occur. One of them is the change in the livelihood systems of fishing to farming.

Mangrove forests have many functions. primarily economic one, as a place for fishing communities and the ecological function as pollutant absorber. The mega LNG projects have made the mangrove forest disfunctional, both economically and ecologically. Climate change issues as discussed in today's vibrant international environment seems to have occurred in the Gulf region Bintuni from the land clearing for Tangguh LNG mega projects. Bintuni Bay area that was originally a mangrove forest in Asia is changing dramatically. People who seek livelihoods as fishermen are now forced to rely on oar and have turned to farming systems, since the mangrove forest shrimp spawning

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grounds are now a gas refineries of LNG. Large Speedboats operated there as the primary means of transportation between the regions in the Gulf of Bintuni also take a part in reducing fish populations.

Based on the problems mentioned above, the questions that will be the main focus in this study can be formulated as follows:

1. How is the introduction of the implementation of programs to reduce carbon emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in the Gulf region Bintuni carried out?

The process of cultural adaptation to the environment is seen as a form of dialectical relationship. In this context, it is the relationship of interdependence with one another. Environment plays an important role in the behavior of human culture creativity. Environment and culture are not two different realms. Society has its own perspective on the surrounding environment. By using the method of participant observation research and using functionalism paradigm as a model of analysis, the results of this study will be presented in the form of ethnographic narratives.

K E Y W O R D S : ecology, mangrove forests, deforestation, forest degradation, cultural adaptation.

Introduction

West Papua Province is ranked number four (4) in the rate of deforestation in Indonesia (deforestation). When referring to the period 2003-2006 Indonesia's deforestation rate of 1.17 million hectares per year (Ministry of Forestry), the rate of deforestation in West Papua of 254,460.41 ha per year. Deforestation is comprised of upland forest 719,674.62 ha of primary and secondary upland forests of 298,167.04 ha. (Pietsau Amafnini, Coordinator JASOIL Papua). Description of the location of the worst deforestation in the period 2005 - 2009 in the province of West Papua is in South Sorong regency Bintuni and Manokwari.

PM Laksono et al (1999) in his natural guard defending the people talking about how people Bintuni utilizing natural products to meet the needs of everyday life. At that time Bintuni still part of Manokwari. Research conducted by PM Laksono et al for two weeks in the District and the District Babo's

Bintuni generate ideas about the importance of conserving mangrove threatened by Chipmill industry, raw material for paper. If disturbed mangrove ecosystem surrounding it also affected. Mangroves are one of the habitats and the berpijahnya multiple forms of life such as shrimp, fish, and crabs (Karaka). All three mangrove biota has a high economic value. People have the wisdom in using natural products.

Meanwhile, in another book, Society Arfak Mountains, PM Laksono et al clearly show that people have a very strong attachment to the forest. In order to manage indigenous forest, the forest area divided into 3 sections: Susti, Bahamti, and Nimahamti. In this book also mentioned that the state and indigenous conflict stems from the establishment of a state-owned forests. However, in practice, state ownership is easily turned into the company.

A new pressure on forests in the presence of subsidized agricultural expansion has emerged in the form of development 'bioenergy', including palm oil, sugar cane and jatropha / jatropha. Ironically, policies that promote the production and use of biofuels as an environmentally friendly alternative to fossil fuels than to have the effect of increasing greenhouse gas emissions by encouraging the conversion of natural forests, either directly or indirectly. Target the European Union and other countries to promote biofuels subsidy policies need to be revisited in the context of REDD.

Mechanism of strong governance and institutional capacity needed to support the effective design and implementation of economic and financial instruments, and direct regulation. In particular, three areas critical to address the causes of deforestation and forest degradation is the ownership and property rights, procedural integrity of decision-making, and the ability of the institution. The first step to controlling deforestation is to remove the scheme that requires clearing to establish and guarantee property rights, thus effectively not connect land rights of deforestation.

Bintuni: As Arena Contestation Between Interest Development and Environmental Conservation Efforts

Bintuni who was named Steenkool is petroleum mining area and its people are familiar with the money. Suddenly there is a change. The Dutch government

came out and replaced with UNTEA (United Nations Temporary Executive Authority, The Executive Agency of the United Nations). Oil rigs not operated and closed well that does not leak and so on. Bintuni livelihoods diverted to other businesses. Coincidentally also the people in Bintuni are people living on the waterfront that would be fish, shrimp, and other seafood. Bintuni also rich in starch and the result is one of the barns sago for Papua's future (Dolf Faidiban, p 63). Now Bintuni district since expanded from this district to district dicetuskannya definitive. In 2006 Bintuni district consists of 10 Districts and 95 village and two villages. In 2008 the District Bintuni divided into 24 Districts and 114 village and 2 Village with an area of 18 637 km2, where the capital is located in Bintuni Bay Regency Bintuni District.

In District Bintuni basically ground status is state-owned land and communal land. Land is the land rights of customary land tenure and the master is headman. Status of land ownership in customary law is divided into two:

Owned land, the land owned by individuals or families who are legally valid custom as it gets inherited from the parents, the land given as compensation, and the spoils of war or the result obtained in the past.

Land use rights owned by, the public land granted to outsiders with the permission of the head of customs for cultivation according to the agreement and within a certain time limit.

In general, land and land use rights are not to be sold or transferred freely to the outside community. Each family will always defend their land and their villages due to their land and villages are part of everyday life in which they depend on supplies of natural resources in the neighborhood. In addition, given the magnitude of the sacrifice of ancestors when acquiring land in antiquity. Therefore, communal land is not easily removed without the permission granted chiefs.

Socio-anthropological, impact needs special attention is the "emergence of a new pattern of social relations at that location, which is between immigrants and local natives" are potentially give "social jealousy", which in turn can lead to "social conflict". Outsiders perceived by locals as the rich in power, backed the government, which would threaten the stability of the social and natural at the site, which will rob the soil and disrupt the lives of their subsistence, which would confuse and blue custom istidat ancestors and their dignity , which will

include a new population consists of different ethnic groups and religions, and various other negative stigma.

Stuff like this needs special attention from the company nor the government, because the symptoms are not transparent, not immediately recognizable, are latent, primordial involve perceptions and prejudices, the symptoms are not easily measured and recognized, it can explode at any time which is not unexpected, and others. Negligent in providing care and the proper response to this problem, it can seriously affect the running of the company and the government. Therefore, every company and development efforts of the government which will open a new activity in a particular area should be to develop policies and strategies that fit in the face of the local population. Policy and strategy is certainly based on the principles of a just and civilized humanity.

The conservation of natural resources is always directly related to the values and behavior of the local population. How ironic if the interaction with the local population often overlooked in conservation efforts. In many cases in different parts of the world, especially in Indonesia, conflicts that arise due to the nature conservation activities conducted over protective, people should not destroy nature, including taking take anything from nature, but people only utilize forest products for their daily needs like taking twigs to use as firewood, leaves of certain plants used for traditional medicine, to take advantage of sago leaves for the roof of the house in some traditional houses in Papua. In contrast to industrial forest concession holders (HPH), which is currently being transformed Permit Timber Forest Product Utilization in Natural Forest (IUPHHKHA) who use forests (timber estates) to meet the needs of industrial production which sometimes do not pay attention to the implementation aspects environmental sustainability, cut trees without a strong plan and do not want to plant trees.

The main strategy used the State to ensure the preservation of biodiversity and the protection of natural resources is to set a certain area a conservation area. In Indonesia, conservation areas can be protected forests, nature reserves, national parks, nature reserves and nature parks. Pricing strategies of conservation areas in Indonesia known pencagaran approach and have started since the colonial period (Wiratno et al, 2001). At first, this pencagaran strategy other than to fulfill international conventions and moral

aspects as well as to control the land and the land for economic and political interests. And it seems to be "pencagaran" most effective instrument of the State to regulate the relationship between people and the natural resources in the surrounding environment.

The idea of conservation in Indonesia began in the late 1970s along with the green revolution movement in other parts of the world and the swift currents of transmigration of Javanese and other residents to Bintuni Bay. Natural resources wisely by the people living around the forest actually been going on so long and spread all over the world. Form of management is considered as a taboo or sacred myths and even made everything that exists in the forest so that only limited use of forests for subsistence needs. Forest communities are not familiar with terms such as conservation of nature conservation nature reserves, national parks, or the language of sky the other, but their daily behavior showed environmental sustainability practices. Arfak mountain communities in the province of West Papua, especially Hatam tribe, from the time our ancestors have known concept Igya Ser Hanjop, there I stood guard borders and divided the forest into three parts, susti, bahamti, and nimahamti. While in the District Bintuni public interest Irarutu (tribe who live in coastal areas Bintuni besides Tribes and Tribal Wamesa Sumuri) concept of marsesig e mun ne re ne it it nut, which means mangroves and the ecosystem is entrusted to our children and not for destroyed. How real people who were never involved in the decision making and the decision turned out to have the concept and philosophy of life of the natural environment, a place where their lives going down through the generations since the days of their ancestors.

The problems that occurred in the Gulf region Bintuni in general directly affect people's lives. As the government's efforts to spur economic growth in the Gulf region Bintuni (Bintuni district), local governments provide greater access to investors to exploit natural resources. The problem posed is happening in the exploration of natural resources across the region which resulted in deprivation of the rights of indigenous peoples and the destruction of ecosystems. The government did not implement strict restrictions on the forms of resource exploitation in the Gulf region Bintuni. Aspects of government transparency rules on the use and management of natural resources is not done by the government in a way that is simple and populist socialization.

As a result of the activities of the company, then there are some people and some local institutions to act independently justification (justification) to all activities of the company in the hope of getting compensation. And people are actively involved in supporting the activities of the company with the position and the roles are not clear.

The potential for abundant natural wealth does not necessarily make society prosper Bintuni, as well as the exploitation of natural resources of the company that are not transparent, fair (in terms of natural resource revenue sharing, respect the right to life and the right to manage) and also the lack of participatory government programs to improve incomes by empowering human potential and natural resources of Bintuni Bay.

Efforts to maximize the utilization and management of natural resources becomes less attention. It is characterized by the lack of productivity of the people to develop natural products that have economic value and tend to make those sales to forests, land and water.

Special autonomy in Papua province and the division was not also able to reduce the aspiration of "Freedom" in Papua. Society considers that the Special Autonomy and the expansion is part of the improvement of the welfare of the Papuan people, but the political status of Papua affairs remains a part that must be solved separately. Failure of the government to reduce the issue of "M" with the approach of the Special Autonomy and expansion will surely bring a turning point that will be against the government, while Autonomy and expansion unsuccessful political missions in the "win" the Papuan people.

Regional autonomy and to see the accelerating expansion of the area both at the village, sub-district to the province, must be seen as an acceleration in the depletion of natural resources as well. Regional autonomy gives the widest possible opportunity for the region to look for new sources of revenue to finance the needs of the region and is a justification in doing excessive depletion of natural resources.

The plans depletion of natural resource wealth has been seen from the number of offers made   by the government to various domestic and foreign investors. Often the head of the region to travel to other regions within the framework of a sale of this wealth without first consulting with the people.

Destruction of people's consumption and production procedures also exacerbate this situation, people voluntarily give up the forest and other natural resources to investors to get their cash. Everything is valued in money. People's dependence on a variety of consumer products from outside of Papua are very high and it becomes very easy to be used within the framework of the subjugation of the people in terms of natural wealth mastery. In people who already have experience in dealing with investment, there is a tendency that people will seek to reclaim their natural riches that have been mastered. Strengthening the capacity of individuals and groups in order to strengthen the rights of indigenous peoples should continue, but at a certain point when the community is ready to reclaim the authority that has not yet provided a regulation or policy that can facilitate conflict resolution - conflict natural resource management.

Science is the basis of a reasoning human mastery. New insights gained from the process of thinking, reasoning, and research so as to produce an analysis of the data is intact, complete, and the empirical is scientifically academically. Mastery of technology would have to be held if it is to show the existence of oneself in the current era of global competition. Even today the acquisition of technology has become an indicator for success in all areas, both in the fields of industry, agriculture, health, as well as in the field of forestry.

Furthermore, necessary in an action at this time one of them is an affirmative action or in Europe known as positive discrimination refers to policies that aim to spread access to education or jobs for the non-dominant socio-political based on historical (especially minority or female). Motivation for affirmative action is to reduce the effects of stigma and discrimination to encourage public institutions such as universities, hospitals, government agencies, military institutions, and the police to be more representative of the population.

The study of social movements to a certain extent have the flow and dynamics of neoliberalism on social movements that some groups focus on the actions of local civil society, there is also an emphasis on the initiative group "substitute country", and other groups concentrate more on transnational social movements. Intermediary organizations such as NGOs that typically bridge the communication is lost between the marginalized and the various government agencies in the practice of everyday often bring issues surrounding human rights, women's issues and child - the child, the rights - the rights of indigenous

peoples, environmental issues, and sometimes up the affairs of trade negotiations.

NGOs or also called non-governmental organizations (NGOs) I define as institutions outside the government sector and private business, which is engaged in various development activities or the defense of public interest, and emphasis on finding alternative patterns in activity community empowerment.

Types of activities ranging from public advocacy NGOs, social workers, empowerment and enlightenment, humanitarian assistance, environment, consumer rights until about the eviction. During this NGO is identified with the opposing party and the government.

In the context of Bintuni civil society organizations such as the Institute of Indigenous Bintuni actually weakened role of local government and large companies (BP and HPH). In the case of NGOs Perdu, this agency has been in and empower the indigenous peoples around the forest since 1999, before the BP oil exploitation in the region. Rampant cases of illegal logging in Bintuni Bay Regency Djayanti allegedly involving PT, PT Hendrison Iriana Perkasa, PT Sarana Yotefa Timber, which produces timber and paper materials, causing mangroves that serve as a buffer waves and the best carbon sink is a terrible area shrinkage . The company does not want to be blamed just because it has a license from the department of forestry concessions. Instead, they allege that the conduct behind the destruction of forest communities that are actually just taking forest produce enough to meet the needs of everyday life.

Staying in the village and sharing knowledge is the prerequisite of the event. All activities are planned on running through mechanisms such assistance. Assistance will fully follow the processes used by the public, where the escort will adjust to the situation in the village. But also will try to improve these habits if felt to be able to support the process of mutual learning and mutual consent or otherwise as to build habits. This activity will be carried out also in the form of meetings between the village and the village.

In recent years, particularly after the election of 2005 of Bintuni Bay, Papua Bird's Head region not only attracted the attention of many investors, but is also a very "sexy" for various agencies of non-government coming from outside Papua, In 2004 there were around 12 institutions from outside Papua, which runs activities directly on the bird's head (TNC, CI, WWF, CSSP / USAID,

Perform Project, NRM-EPIQ, ACDI / VOCA, UNDP, UNICEF, NDI, FHI, CLGI). Proliferation of international organizations, allegedly due to the presence of large investments that process natural resources in the area of the Bird's Head. At the end of 2003 BP - USAID - UNDP and local government districts in the bird's head signed an agreement to prepare the public in anticipation of a major investment in the presence of a bird's head, including the re-design of the area for the sake of economic development. Cooperation scheme is often also called the Global Development Alliance - Bird Head of Papua. The presence of international institutions should be observed bird's head region seriously, signing of MoU between BP - UNDP - USAID is an indicator that can be used to explain that international institutions are very involved in the security context instasi in the bird's head.

The entry of international institutions was accompanied by inflows of funds for community development activities a pretty big bird's head region. This condition leads to the growth and development of local NGOs (although no clear directions). Institutions of society that had been built with self-supporting then also encouraged to access funds from these institutions. Slowly, people are invited to come to rely on aid funds are coming from outside agencies. The trend is also visible, local agencies only used as a justification for the project outside of these institutions.

Until the end of 2004, the struggle for recognition Arfak people back to their traditional territories are in the plot as the Arfak Mountains Nature Reserve has shown signs. It has been proved with the submission of the draft government policy designed by the Executive and Parliament to Manokwari. While still struggling to be passed, but Manokwari Parliament has given its commitment to support the draft policy. In the Gulf Region Bintuni, people from 5 villages along the river, accompanied by PERDU Kaitero for almost 3 years at the end of 2004 was also later issued a statement to reject trawl vessels owned by PT. Djayanti manage to enter their territory and also denied the presence of a concession subsidiaries Djayanti also be their territory. In September 2004 the Saengga also reject the presence of LNG-Tangguh Proyel their traditional territory before their customary land issues resolved. These events do not appear as such, this incident arose from a process of building awareness of the people and build the critical power of people's ancestral lands for almost 5 years.

The ways adopted by PERDU to build awareness of the people is a locality-based economic development, by utilizing the potential of the natural resources in the community. Kaitero River - Bintuni people managed to get marketing contracts 500 kg / month for salted fish, the results are then people began to improve their production facilities are then also exacerbated cruising in search of fish. People in the Arfak mountains began to get the market remain to yield their vegetables, although still very limited on-renstoran restaurants in Manokwari, but it is becoming an important lesson for people to be consistent in terms of economic development. The increasing economic activities of this society became the main driving force to fight for the existence of indigenous people of the region governance and livelihoods. With the economic approach, also successfully organized women's groups that exist in Babo and also in the Arfak mountains. In Babo there are eight groups consisting of women's economic and 200 more women in Arfak mountains there is a group of women who organized the local market.

In addition to learning is done directly from the people's livelihoods, the development of critical power of the people was also done with the development of information media village, until the end of 2004 there were five information boards scattered villages in the Arfak mountains and the Gulf region Bintuni, this medium is a means for the community to follow any developments outside the village. Distribution of information, both in nature and the actual things government policies continue to be made and it continues to build critical power of the people at the village. The problems at the level of the people of the village also continues to be disseminated out to build pressure to support the movement of people in the village.

Efforts to share learning experiences have also started on doing, at least not with the infrastructure already built village learning centers in the Gulf region Bintuni and Arfak Mountains. Development means learning center village was conducted independently by the community.

The main factors causing poor indigenous resistance against the company, is a high dependence on goods produced in factories. So that needs to use cash, the answer is absolutely. All of it was due to unavoidable immediate needs that must be met by the availability of cash. This condition eventually led to the difficulty in determining life choices when dealing with the company and outsiders.

Conclusion

There are three groups that played at the local, national, and global. Institute for Indigenous People in the local level, the Department of Forestry, Department of Agriculture, and the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries is in the national level, while British Petroleum, PERDU NGOs, and other international institutions play in the global level. The third fight was incredible class. Each claim scramble to manage natural resources are relatively abundant in Bintuni Bay Regency.

PERDU, global group in favor of the local level, working hard to raise the dignity of the people through training to strengthen the capacity of the lower class in the face of the onslaught of the middle class (national class) and upscale (global class). In this way people organize themselves and fight to uphold traditional laws and all rights inherent therein.

Carbon emissions reduction program in the District of Bintuni Bay can be done and is expected to improve the standard of life of the people and the degree of Bintuni. In the spirit of openness ranging from process to execution, the term PMP, Papua Eating Papua hopefully not happen again. Finally, research on deforestation suggests that capacity building of national and local institutions will be critical to the successful implementation of REDD. Some of the required capacity of a technical nature - for example, staff agencies will require the development of skills related to a new method of monitoring carbon, people need training in methods of fire control and officials from customs, financial and judicial institutions will require new capacity to address forest crime. However, the biggest challenge is the development of new institutional capacity, in government and in the group of stakeholders who are affected.

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THE JAVA FOREST IN THE TURBULENCE OF INTEREST AND POWER:
The Eco-History of Mangkunegaran Forest

S UB T H E M E
Indigenous Communities' Responses to the Activities of the Mining, Plantation and Forest Industries

N INA WITASARI

A B S T R A C T

T he management of teak forests in Java at the period of Netherlands-colonial government period was ups and downs, even the large of the area were not known for certain until the end when the General Governor Daendels (1804) stipulated that all the teak forests in Java will become government property. In 1808 Daendels appointed some officials to manage teak forests in Java. In 1865, Daendels issued regulations based on the first of eternity, while in 1874, it was issued regulations governing the second division of unity into the woods, and since then started to know a rough forest. Daendels policy made during his reign in the Netherlands East Indies by doing reforestation and establishing regulations that limit the exploitation of natural teak forests in Java, is seen as the beginning of the forest management activities that use the techniques of forestry science and modern institutions in Indonesia, especially after Daendels form Dienst van het Boschwezen (Department of Forestry) was given authority to manage forests in Java. In the case of Mangkunegaran forest, there are indications that the forest damage occurred as it is concerned with the spirit of Mangkunegara IV to unearth indigenous spirit of capitalism through the establishment of factories and exploit the forests either as raw material or fuel. Java forest destruction could get serious attention between the years 1928-1937. But once again there was never a serious effort to increase

the area of forest land saved, and the increase of population has always blamed as the cause of failure. Although the time span is not long, however, different policies generated at the time shows that there is a government commitment to save the forests. The official authority had commitment to control the use of forests; to balance the process of production, conservation, and protecting forest on the one side; and respond to the needs of local communities on the other side. The commitment is now back to being a crucial issue for further action.

KEYWORDS: *Forest management system, indigenous spirit of capitalism*

Introduction

Forest in Indonesia has been known as the second largest forest area in the world for years after Brazil. It is also the one which is damaged as the huge utilization during the last three decades. Forest exploitation is not only done by local people who use forest for fulfilling their life needs, but also by government that use forest as the source of income and foreign exchange for the country. Historical study about forest in Indonesia shows big interest in utilizing forest, especially in Java as mainstay commodity. Not only local-traditional Javanese government who utilized the forest, but also Netherland-colonial government, Japanese-colonial government until Indonesian government did.

Many researches show that forest in Java was still using traditional system before the western countries gave influence. As stated by Yanuardi in '*Politik Kehutanan Jawa dalam Perspektif Politik Poststruktural*', in the beginning, forest management in Java had not utilized scientific-knowledge principle yet. During the kingdom period, control of forest and manpower resource was still based on traditional-knowledge produced by palace. However, people still got autonomous authority to manage the forest resource based on their local-knowledge. The state's control on forest management, in this case is the kingdom, toward the people was limited and the need of wood had not been too much. Peluso in Warto, *Desa Hutan dalam Perubahan* (2010), said that the early concept about forest of the country grew in French and Germany in the early of 18th century. The

experts of forestry from other countries, including Netherland, study the forestry in this university. After they finished their study, they went to the colonized countries especially in Asia, Africa even America. In those colonies, they practice the philosophy and method of forest management that is controlled by the state or by doing central management system. The control-centred by the state based on practical thought that forest is the source of the government income and forest utilization justification as "the greatest good for the greatest number of people" or the concept of the maximum of citizen's prosperity dominating forest policy in Netherland East Indies during 19th century until early 20th century. Nevertheless, in the development of this concept, as if become State legitimating to acquire the forest absolutely, meanwhile the people is the object that their need is overridden. The concept of centralizing control by the State is in contradiction with the value system and the tradition of the local people as the application in the real life often destroyed the value and tradition that has lived for thousand years. The economic interest that took the role has crushed the value and social norm that has became the front guard of culture changing.

Palte' research (1984) that took place in Java hilly area conclude that there are three period of Javanese deforestation movement. The first period was at the end of 18th century until 1830 that was signed by the implementation of force labour and the rule of tax obligation by colonial government that brought effect of the opening of wood transportation infrastructure and housing in Java forests. The second period was during 1860-1925 where at that time government had policy to increase the agricultural productivity through deforestation for the field. This period was also signed by the opening of some coffee, tea and rubber plantation. While the third period was between 1942 - 1950 or was more known by Japanese colonialism until the early of independence. At this period, forest logging, plantation nationalization, and any chaos colouring the management of forest in Java.

Palte's writing that has been discussed above if it is correlated with Peluso analysis, it can be pulled the correlation is the interest of Netherland-colonial government to be the absolute administrator of the forest management got full support from the parliament who allow any rules about forestry. Another effect that we can see is that Indonesia entering new phase of the usage of ex-

forest land by introducing it as plantation system. Many kinds commodity become the superior commodity like tobacco, sugar cane, coffee and tea. The state-centralized forest management give opportunity for the third party to get involved and get financial benefit from this forest business.

One thing that must be appreciated by Indonesian people is the rule about forest management that produced by Netherland-colonial government also contributed big thing for the Indonesia Republic government since they put the strong base for the development of forest conservation and management technique. That condition seemed keep happening until the early of the Indonesian Independence. Even on the time of transition of authority to Japanese-colonial government, there were not so many produced rules, in the contrary; there was forest damage as the result of abundant forest exploitation and robbery.

Based on the source of history investigation, it can be understood that the biggest cause of forest degradation of Java is firstly because wood exploitation that is needed in big industries owned by Netherlands government or foreign private. Second cause is function-transfer of the land that is used for plantation. Third cause is the increase number of inhabitant, and last cause is deforestation for land transportation.

For local-traditional Javanese government, forest is part of their live and life that can be utilized proportionally for unirrigated field or rice field. The means of forest resource management during Netherland-colonial government started from teak forest management in Java and Madura in the middle of 19th century. The forest product was mainly concentrated on ship industry spread along northern Java coast. The golden time of ship industry in Java brought bad effect for the forest condition like quality and quantity degradation(Wiatasari:2011)

When western countries such as VOC, Netherland-colonial, French, Great Britain and back to the Netherland started embedding their power on the Java land, the forest exploitation was extending along with the introduction of more scientific-method of Java forest management and utilization. General Governer Herman Willem Daendels was the colonial government official who firstly organized forest management by forming Forestry Department *Dienst van het Boschwezen*. The duty of this department was making reforestation

planning for degraded forest area. Beside that duty, it also administered the rule of permission issue restriction and determined criminal sanction for offender. During the Japan colonialism, forest management especially teak forest was lessened comparing to Netherland-colonial time. It was caused by the prolonged war condition that prosecuted more attention from the colonial government. At that time, forest was deforested for crops planted in dry season (palawija) plantation, castor oil plant, coffee plantation, protected caves, and logistic and ammunition pilling. Indonesian forest management under authority of Republic of Indonesia government is still adopted Netherland-colonial period rule. Because of the transition period from Netherland-colonial government to Japan-colonial government, there was not any principal rule about forestry that is adopted by Indonesian government. With the result that Netherland-colonial period, Forestry Department of Republic of Indonesia had special division to translate the Netherland-colonial rules about forest management (Wasino:2008, Witasari:2011)

Mangkunegaran Forest in Interest Turbulence

Mangkunegaran refers to two concepts namely government and area unit. As government unit, Mangkunegaran is a name for a territory of jurisdiction or small kingdom or large kadipaten that was established by Raden Mas Said who was titled Mangkunegara I later after Salatiga treaty on 1757. As area unit, Mangkunegaran consist of a territory of jurisdiction and the outer surrounding area of villages. Territory of jurisdiction was the centre of government that was located in the central of Surakarta city on the north part, northern Kasunanan Palace. This territory of jurisdiction consisted of 1/5 of the whole Surakarta city. The villages of Mangkunegaran were most located on the south of Surakarta city that is now become Wonogiri regency area and some areas were on the east and south of Surakarta that become Karang Anyar regency nowadays. The area of Mangkunegaran changes many times. In 1757, when Mangkunegaran established, the scope of this area was 4000 karya or 959.5 jung or 2800 hectare. The early area of Mangkunegaran territory of jurisdiction in the Mangkunegaran treasure was called Babok village.

Mangkunegaran Territory Area on 1737

Area Name	Scope (jung)	Scope (karya)
Keduwang	141	564
Laroh	115,5	462
Matesih	218	872
Wiraka	60,5	242
Aribaya	82,5	330
Hanggabayan	25	100
Sembuyan	133	532
Gunung Kidul	71,5	286
Pajang (southern of Surakarta-Kartasura main road)	58,8	235,2
Pajang (northern of Surakarta-Kartasura road)	64,5	258
Mataram (in the middle of Yogyakarta)	64,5	258
Kedu	8,5	34
Total 979,5 3.918 = (4000)		

The scope area of Mangkunegaran had undergone many changes since its establishment until the middle of 20th century. The first change happened in the time of Mangkunegara II administered in 1813. At this time, the Mangkunegaran territory of jurisdiction got added area from Raffles as wide as 240 jung2 or 1000 karya so that its scope area was 5000 karya or 3500 hectare. The second change was in 1830, still in the Mangkunegara II administered period. At this time, Mangkunegaran got 120 jung or 500 karya added area. The added area was different from the other Babok land which was unfertile; this added land was fertile land on the Bengawan Sole dale. Sugar industry belonged to Mangkunegaran was established on this area in the end of 19th century. Colomadu sugar industry was in North Pajang (Malang Jiwan) and Tasik Madu sugar industry was in east Sukawati (Karang Anyar, Afdeeling Sragen).

The study about forest management either in Indonesia or in Java has been done by some researchers. Any aspects of forest and its forestry have been studied. However, there are not many works on forest management of Mangkunegaran territory of jurisdiction that was managed by the Netherland-colonial government. The intended Mangkunegaran territories of jurisdiction areas were Surakarta, Karanganyar and Wonogiri. Naturally, Mangkunegaran

territory was blessed with forests area in Wonogiri and parts of Karanganyar that is in Tawangmangu along Lawu mount slope. The land ownership that has been followed by Mangkunegaran territory that stated the land of the Lord and its plant on it belonged to the Country indicates that the local people were allowed by the kingdom to use the forest for their live(Wasino:2008)

Daendels' policy (1808-1811) that formed Forestry Department was one of the Netherland-colonial government interventions in Mangkunegaran forest area. The main duty of this department was doing reforestation degraded forest. Besides that, on 26 May 1808, Daendels issued the rule of forest functionary in Java with several principals like: 1. The functionary of forest become the country's domain and only for the country's interest; 2. Forest functionary withdrawal from the Resident's authority and from jurisdiction of the Court; 3. The delivery of forest functionary to the special division under General Governor that is equipped with administrative and finance authority and giving criminal sanction authority; 4. The area of government forest cannot be broken, and the existence of company with protrude exploitation was guaranteed with the obligation of reforestation and field cultivation harvest; 5. All of technical activity is done by the villagers and they get pay from their work; 6. The woods that are cut firstly must be used for the country's need, then for private's need; 7. The villagers are given wood-cut permission following the rule that is valid for the whole Netherland-colonial area. There are some areas that are not under colonial-government administrated like Kasultanan and Paku Alaman area in Jogjakarta and Kasunanan and Mangkunegaran area in Surakarta. Special for Mangkunegaran, the forest area was in the Lawu mount slope in Karang Anyar and Limestone Mountain in Wonogiri. Until now, those both forest areas are still done by the people surround it.(Wasino: 2008, Witasari: 2011)

So far, history record in past time, before VOC came to Java, the Regents gave bribe to the kings in the form of *glondhong pengageng-ageng*. Likewise, it still happened though there was an official *juru wana* or *juru pengalasan* (*wana, alas* is forest in Javanese language). In the 16th century, it has been known that there was teak forest that was well managed around Bojonegoro, East Java for the sake of buildings, fortress and ships. Until the early of 19th century, VOC kept extending its acquisition of teak forests in the

north of central Java and east Java. Even though VOC had acquired the teak forest for about three centuries, it could be said that the forest management had not done well. VOC ruled more on the forest cut and wood custody for the use of trading-ship making and other buildings.

The previous study about the rule of forest resource cultivation that was done by the government approve that the degradation of forest resource quality and quantity in Indonesia happened as the chosen development paradigm that based on state (*state-based resource development*) with development management that has centralistic figured and economic growth-only oriented also supported with repressive rule and policy, not merely because the population density factor, the low level of citizen's prosperity who had tradition of shifting cultivation.(Bodley, 1982; Repetto & Gillis, 1988; Zerner, 1990; Poffenberger, 1990; Peluso, 1992).

In order to make the forest management and implementation smoothly, it is necessary to issue the rule that binding the official and the citizen either they live in the colony area or under indigenous administration. The rule of law about forest management was firstly issued in 1865 namely *Boschordonantie voor Java en Madoera* 1865 (the Law of Forestry for Java and Madura 1865), and then followed by agrarian rule namely *Domeinverklaring 1870* which claimed that every land (forest) that cannot be proven its acquisition right is become government domain. (Peluso, 1990).

However, Daendels' effort doing reforestation and limiting teak forest cut in Java and Madura cannot be sustainable and get optimal result, instead of the limit of forestry department officer ability, knowledge and technology of forestry, van den Bosch imposed *cultuurstelsel* in 1830-1870 that affected drastic change toward the forest condition in Java in which so many forests were cut and inversed to be coffee plantation to increase export commodity. Meanwhile, the need of teak wood for supplying ship company, building tobacco drying warehouse, sugar company, workers' barracks and housing for plantation workers that keep increasing during the period of *cultuurstelsel* (Schuitemaker, 1950 quoted by Simon, 933: 31).

Studying about the forest condition in Mangkunegaran territory of jurisdiction, Wasino in his disertation explain that Mangkunegaran area is naturally blessed with forests mainly in Wonogiri and some from Karanganyar

namely in Tawangmangu in the slope of Lawu mountain. Cultuurstelsel of some parts of forest in Wonogiri was erased because it was used for extending coffee plantation. Deforestation had resulted ecological damage in that area at that time. After the coffee cultivation did not give any benefit, so that the unproductive coffee plantation was given back to the people. It resulted deforestation of trees that were used as protective plant to make a ricefield. Slopin lands were made to be portion of a ricefield for food plant, but there was not any trees to restrain the land erosion. The land erosion affected the losing of the land's fertile to the valey. Deforestation kept happening until the end of 19th century and there was not any effort to reforested the teak forest and the field. (Wasino, 2008)

According to Nababan (2003), the utilized of forest that affected ecological damage like what the local rulers did, was legitimated with special rights that attached on them that state the king had claim as the whole land in his area. That claim was the weapon to omit the citizen control on land and forest robbery by the ruler. Furthermore, Nababan points out that land robbery was not aimed for economical reason of forest exploitation, but it was for the dominance statement on an area and statement of political conquest. It is in line with the management condition of the forest, especially when Mangkunegara IV ruled, that is stated by Wasino (2010) as indigenous capitalism resurrection. The usage of Javanese forest for sugar industry was so fenomenal since it was succeed to brought the victory of the kingdom's economy back after helter skelter previously. Javanese forest contributed on the opened plantation land, factory building, infrastructure development until become fuel resources in some factories owned by Mangkunegara IV.

The rulers of Mangkunegaran after the 4th king seemed not as strong as the previous kings. The decreasing of politics and government, then followed by economy deteriorate brought bad effect on industries that had been established by Mangkunegara IV to be bankruptcy. The plantation that occupied the forest area was taken over by the people around it to be cultivated independently. The kingdom itself could not face the flaming and did nothing toward the overtaken. Entering the government period of Republic, Soekarno issued land reform policy that narrowed the land acquisition of the local rulers then.

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Panel 18

Narratives of
New Indigenous Identities

"INTERRACIAL COURTSHIP":
A recent Dilemma in the Contemporary Social Relation of Chinese Indonesians A Study from Discussions on Social Media

SESCO SARAGIH

Introduction

Long since the anti-Chinese violence in May 1998 happened, the revitalization of the Chinese Indonesian culture and traditions has been taking place. Thanks to Abdurrahman Wahid[1] who lifted the discriminative regulations made by the New Order regime, the Chinese Indonesian culture and traditions are now acknowledged as part of the rich Indonesian culture. Chinese Indonesian (henceforth abbreviated as CI) communities, social gatherings, and clan clubs were founded and have been openly showing their activities thereafter. The Chinese annual festivals, such as the Imlek[2] and Cap Go Meh[3], are celebrated in public and broadcasted in electronic and social media. It is not rare that in such festivals, especially the Imlek, voices to blend with the rest of ethnic groups in Indonesia are spoken. Interestingly, the voices come from big names who represent the CI ethnic.

However, these voices of blending are also a source where a new problem arises. To what extent is the blending? How do we say that we have blended well? Do we have to let non-CI men marry CI women as well? Those are but a few questions that often come up whenever a discussion of blending is in. The later question, from what I have seen, always brings up hot debates as to whether or not they agree and are willing to do it. The CI is no longer reluctant to hand their help to those in need and poverty, or to participate in public events or social cause held by other ethnic groups. But as for interracial courtship, especially for CI women, they would be very reluctant.

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[1] The 4th Indonesian Prresident who took office in October 20 1999 until July 24 2001.
[2] The Chinese Lunar New Year.
[3] The closing event of Imlek, celebrated in the 15th day of the 1st month on the Chinese lunar calendar.

Why, then, is it now necessary to discuss this interracial courtship issue, especially because it is known in fact that the ethnic has been living in Indonesia since centuries ago? The answer to this question is because of the rise of East Asian pop culture has grown a spirit of orientalism and self-identification. This pop culture is brought to the country with the help of globalization, electronic media, and internet. It has been well known to teens for nearly a decade since early 2000s. Interestingly, the fans of the pop culture are not only the CIs, but also other ethnic groups in Indonesia. From fans gathering and social interactions that follow, the young generations learn to see and care for their Chinese ethnic friends, who have been so long marginalized. Unlike the old generations, the young generations no longer question their nationalism toward Indonesia which indicates that they approve their Chineseness. However, they are now questioning the possibility of their friendship to go to the next level, that is interracial courtship.

This study observes the phenomenon of the CI's dilemma of possible interracial courtship. This study tries to answer the following questions: (1) what does the effect of East Asian pop culture toward self-identification and interracial courtship?; (2) what are the factors for disapproving interracial courtship?; and (3) what does the effect of self-identification toward interracial courtship. The source of data for this study is CI groups in Facebook and Kaskus. Facebook is a global social media in the internet where groups based on ethnicity are easily found and joined. Kaskus is one of the biggest online forums in Indonesia whose users are mostly teenagers and early adults.

Research Methodology
Research Data

The data for this study is collected from online websites: Facebook and Kaskus. Facebook is a worldwide social networking website, and Kaskus is one of the largest online forums in Indonesia. In Facebook, there are groups based on ethnicity, religion, clan, school, etc. where the users can join or be invited to be the member. Each member, after joining the group, can post and discuss topics related to the group specification. The data used for this study is collected from such group.

In Kaskus, members of the forum can post a thread to discuss a topic, and comment on other threads available. However, internet users do not have to be a forum member to read every post on every thread as long as the thread is not made restricted. If a thread is restricted, only Kaskus members can read the posts in that thread. The data used for this study is collected from unrestricted threads.

Due to the limited availability of data, the data is restricted to comments which were posted from July 16 2009 until May 25 2012. In total, there were 893 comments collected from the two websites. However, not all comments discussed the topic related to this study because there were junks, spam, off-topic comments, and invalid comments. After the data was organized, there number shrink to 74 comments. The steps of organizing data are presented in the following paragraph.

After the data was collected, the next step was to organize the data. In doing so, I first divided the data into two to split off the on-topic comments from off-topic ones. This step is necessary to make it easier to analyze the on-topic comments and put away unrelated ones. The data was then classified according to each factor that becomes the obstacle of conducting interracial courtship. The factors are: (1) family, (2) stereotypes, (3) environment, (4) history, and (5) culture and traditions. Plus, there was a separate classification of data which discussed why CI women did not wish to be in courtship with CI men. In addition, since the data is in Bahasa Indonesia, I translated each one of the comments in English by myself.

Since the data is from online websites, the validity of the data is questionable. No one can guarantee if the collected comments are false or sincere, nor can I make sure that the identity of the members is not fake (e.g. one claims to be a CI but actually not). To solve this matter, I neglected comments which lack explanation and reasoning. Such things are usually short in sentence and are ignored by other members, and therefore are invalid and untrustworthy. The following is an example of invalid comment which is compared to a valid one.

Invalid comment:

 "*Well, not really. I am now in courtship with a CI woman. We are fine, although I'm jobless.*"

Valid comment:

> *"Sorry bro, but don't be racist. It all depends on the culture. My neighbors are Batak people whose parents are orthodox. They have to get married to Batak people too, and they even consider the clan name. (My friend of) Manado is not allowed to be in courtship with the non-Manado too. My Balinese friend is also ordered by her parents not to be in courtship with the non-Balinese. Maybe you are also ordered by your parents not to be in courtship with the CI.*
>
> *But there is my CI friend who is in courtship with a Javanese. Another friend of mine is also CI, but she is a Moslem and wearing veil. Moreover, some people (including me) befriend others without considering the religion, race, ethnic, or whatever you may call it. Once again, NO RACISM. It all depends on our perspective."*

Although this method may not be enough to separate valid comments from invalid ones, it is still worth doing. In my opinion, it is better to be selective and strict to data rather than being ignorant to the validity of the data. However, because the data is restricted to certain websites and from certain period of time, the findings of the analysis may not accurately point out the matter in a different field of data and period of time. Thus I can only guarantee that the findings do represent the bigger picture of the matter.

Why Websites and Not Interviews or Questionnaires?

In academic study, it has been common for researchers to do interviews and questionnaires to obtain data. Each of the two is a popular method, and is academically acceptable. On the other hand, obtaining data from websites, where the identity of the participant and the validity of the data are not guaranteed, is sometimes argued as to whether it is feasible and ethical. By feasible it means that the responses are considered as secondary data which may result in an analysis which is based primarily on intuition. Thus the result of the analysis may be inaccurate (Stangor:2007).

However, obtaining data from websites has one benefit than collecting data from interviews or questionnaires. Such benefit is the space-and-time advantage. The space-and-time advantage protects the internet users from

direct, face to face confrontation, which potentially causes offensive yells or even physical fight when the topic of discussion is too sensitive or the debate gets too hot (Haryanto:2008). Internet users can express their feeling such as anger, sadness, grievance, or empathy without fearing that their interlocutors witnessing them. They can speak up their opinion or ideas without fearing to be accused orthodox, unjust, vulgar, or insulting in front of other people. They can finish their arguments without being interrupted. They can also take back or edit what they have said at any time they want. They are not given limited time so that they have a lot of time to think. In brief, they can express very aggressively in an unlimited time while their face, profile, and whereabouts remains hidden. Such benefit cannot be obtained from interviews and questionnaires where the participants might respond in a wise, subtle manner to save their face while actually their minds speak the opposite. Knowing such benefit, I chose to do this method of research in a hope that I can obtain the sincerest comments about the sensitive issue.

In addition, Bordens and Abbot (2011) suggests that internet research is ethical as long as the identities of the participants remain confidential. It can be done by assigning pseudonyms to replace their real names (2011:207). However, the problem is not yet over as the next concern, as alerted by Pittenger (2003), is the protection of the participants' responses. Because the responses are stored in a database, it is possible that hackers will gain access to the data and do something harmful to the participants. To avoid this problem, Pittenger (2003) suggests the researchers to edit any data collected and shuffle the arrangement of the data which is often arranged chronologically on a website.

Similar Studies

A similar study by Willmott (1960) discussed the matter of interracial marriage in Semarang[4] from 1948 – 1955. Willmott conducted a survey on many Indonesian Chinese from both old and young generations about the possibility of marrying the indigenous. From the survey, he concluded that the percentage of Chinese women marrying Indonesians was much lower than that of the

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[4] The capital of Central Java province, which has a considerably large population of CIs since the Dutch colonialism era.

Chinese men. When a Chinese woman married an Indonesian, the family was considered 'lost', and that was really a pity for the woman and the family. Willmott also found out that the old generations tended to oppose mixed marriages or gave no comment about the matter. However, the young generations at that time were far less opposed to mixed marriages. The most common comment was to get married with two conditions: (1) if they really loved each other, and (2) there was the proviso of parental consent because it was unlikely for them to approve due to racial differences. Nevertheless, there were also a small number of young generations who strongly opposed due to the feeling of superiority even though it was stated often implicitly than explicitly (1960:90-93). Unfortunately, Willmott did not provide profound explanation as to why his participants consent or oppose to interracial marriage.

Another similar study by Pitt (1984) discussed the nature of courtship and marriage in the Chinese community in Indonesia. Pitt collected data from magazine columns published in 1939 until 1942. Pitt also faced a similar problem in which she could not guarantee that her data was valid because the writers of the letters used pseudonyms. She also could not guarantee that her findings accurately displayed the problems of the broader society. Pitt found out that there were various problems encountered by young Chinese people in the matter of courtship and marriage. The problems were categorized as follows: (1) conflict between parents and children over the choice of spouse, (2) choice of characteristics for a spouse, (3) courting procedures, (4) problems with concubines, (5) insufficient income delaying marriage, (6) pregnancies, (7) inter-ethnic marriage, and (8) divorce (1984:165-169). Pitt concluded that CI parents had a role and right in approving or disapproving a prospective partner that their children chose.

Cautions

As the topic of CI may be a sensitive issue, there are some things that need to be sorted out before discussing the matter.

First, whenever the term CI is mentioned in this study, it applies to the Indonesians of Chinese descent, and thus their nationality is Indonesian. The term Chinese-Indonesian does not apply to the Chinese descent whose nationality

is not Indonesian[5]. In fact, the term CI itself is still not a suitable diction when discussing CIs (as we might see later) who are very conservative, less conservative, or lives in a different region or province.

Second, the term 'indigenous' is used in this study to distinguish the CIs from other Indonesian people who are of other ethnicity. I am sorry because I cannot find other suitable words to replace the word '*pribumi*'[6] which is offensive and insulting for the CI. This is also the reason why I write this paper in English. Hence the term 'indigenous' is used. With all respect to CI, the term is not meant to be insulting. It is just for the sake of this study.

On a side note, this term may also be ambiguous because there are a lot of ethnic tribes in Indonesia. To which ethnic tribe does the term 'indigenous' refer is not clear. Does it refer to each and every single ethnic tribe in Indonesia, from Sabang to Merauke? As we might see later in the analysis, the term 'indigenous' implicitly refers to just a few tribes of all ethnic tribes in the nation. However, naming these tribes explicitly will bring more problem than using the ambiguous term 'indigenous'.

Third, as there will be many ethnics mentioned in this study, the problem of generalization may pose false perception to readers. Although, for example, an ethnic is said to have some kind of negative stereotype, it does not apply to every people of that ethnicity. The reason is that generalization, by nature, comes from what is seen in most situations for most people in reality. It is a conclusion that falls only in the category of 'majority'. In other words, although generalization describes the majority, the description may not be true for an individual per se. Thus, any arguments that disagree with the generalizations mentioned in this study because of reasons of personal basis are therefore rejected. Generalization is not meant to mark an individual, but rather it emphasizes the likelihood, possibility, or general description of something that is large in population.

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[5] It is interesting to see that during the New Order era, researchers used the term 'Indonesian Chinese' in which it linguistically puts emphasis on the 'Chinese' as the head noun, which implicitly means 'Chinese who live in Indonesia'; compared to studies during the Reformation era, the term is 'Chinese Indonesian', which puts emphasis on them being 'Indonesian' which underlines the acceptance of Chinese descent as Indonesians.

[6] It literally means "sons of the soil". During the New Order era, this term was used to discriminate CIs from the indigenous.

Theoretical Review: Pop Culture and Process of Identification

Pop culture is the most dynamic product of human civilization. It can be consumed by people in every corner of the globe regardless of their nationality, socio-economic status, or personality. Pop culture is broadcasted via audio-visual media such as television and internet, by which this media brings amusement in the form of style, spectacle, special effects, images and imagery (Strinati:2004). This visual pleasure is able to stimulate brain to get to know what has just been seen – locations, settings, people, clothes, physical appearance, and ornaments. This visual pleasure is also imbued with conversations containing local cultural and traditional values, motivation, and value of life[7].

Pop culture is consumed more by teens rather than adults because teens need reference to shape their psychological emotion and behavior. Audio-visual media is the most easily-found source of reference in this globalization era, and by this media pop culture influences the taste and preference of the teens in the form of cinema, TV programs, music, advertisements that prioritize on image rather than quality (Strinati:2004). This will stimulate the young people's choice to wear what their idols wear, use gadgets that their idols use, drink what their idols drink. They will not really pay attention on the quality of the product (2004:206-216). Even if the same brand that the idols possess is not available in local stores, any brand from the idols' nation or region would be okay. But then, what does this theory have in relation to East Asian pop culture and CI?

As a reference for psychological shaping, pop culture can be used as a means to identify self. According to Hall (1996), there is a process of 'being' and 'becoming' identification. In 'being' identification, *who we are* or *where we came from* is the way of distinguishing oneself from 'other', and it is constituted on outside representation such as physical appearance. In 'becoming' identification, *what might we become* or *how do we represent ourselves* is the way of distinguishing oneself from 'other' which is constructed within representation and is questioning one's own identity in the basis of history, language, and culture. This 'becoming' identification is also followed by responsibility and involvement in culture change (1996:4).

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[7] This is in relation to East Asian pop culture, compared to the Western one that emphasizes more in actions.

This concept is useful in identifying gender and race. For example, if a man identifies himself as Chinese because he has fair skin, slanted eyes, and speaks Mandarin or one of the Chinese dialects, he identifies himself as 'being Chinese'. But if he identifies himself because he behaves according to Chinese culture and traditions and does that from his awareness that his ancestors are from China, then he identifies himself as 'becoming Chinese'.

However, this process of identification is also a source of debate when there is a process of identification that *crosses the margin*. For example, if there is a non-Chinese man who is interested in Chinese culture and tradition and behaves according to them, he is 'becoming Chinese' although he realizes that he is not 'being Chinese'. The same goes for if a Chinese man identifies himself as Indonesian because he behaves according to Indonesian culture and traditions, and that he and his family were born in Indonesia, he identifies himself as 'becoming Indonesian' although he realizes that he is not 'being Indonesian'.

This concept, however, still leaves questions: (1) is it possible for the two processes of identification occur at the same time?; (2) Is it the conscious or unconscious mind that does the identification?; (3) Is the process intentional or unintentional? Nevertheless, this study is not on the attempt of answering these questions. This theory is needed, as we will discuss later, to see the effect of pop culture in self-identification and interracial social relations between the indigenous and CI.

Discussion

The Effect of East Asian Pop Culture toward Self Identification

Since the discriminative regulations toward CI were lifted, the revitalization of the CI culture, traditions, and celebrations has been going on[8]. At the same time, the rise of the East Asian pop culture floods the media, especially online and electronic media. Starting in 2000s, the Taiwan, Japanese, Korean entertainment industries have been competing one by one with the Western to attract the Indonesian audience who are mostly teenagers (Tjhin:2008). The

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[8] For more details, see Lindsey and Pausacker:2005, or Lan:2010.

teens, who have been westernized in pop culture, find a brand new alternative in idols[9], traditions, and lifestyle. Not only there are idol fanclubs or Harajuku fashion style, but Japanese and Korean culinary also attack big malls in big cities, especially in Java. Of course, those would not have existed without the increasing interest of young generations. This momentum is also apparent from the establishment of courses and institution majoring in Mandarin, Japanese, Korean languages and culture. The attendants are both the indigenous and CIs. This gives an indication that the rise of the East Asian pop culture grows the spirit of orientalism which impacts the awareness of self-identity (2008:131). Getting curious to the CI events celebrated in public and at the same time influenced by the East Asian pop culture, the Indonesian young generations are starting to show their face to their friends who possess similar, but different, physical and cultural identity. Their eyes are open for the CI.

The above statement may look rather speculative. However, the young generations now feel the impact of such influence. It is proven below, as taken from the data.

> [1]
> I just want to tell my story and ask questions. But I am sorry if this may sound offensive to a certain ethnic.
> *I am 25. I have a job and a girlfriend. As a normal man, I like to see sexy and beautiful women. But I love to see women with oriental or Chinese face more than any other beautiful women. I don't know why, but since I was in Junior High School I have been dreaming of having an oriental or Chinese girlfriend. In the past, when the J-Dorama[10] was booming, I really loved to watch the female actors. And now SNSD[11] is booming, it's just so tempting to see them. I am not a K-Pop[12] fan, I just love to see their oriental face.*
>
> *But why is it very rare for me to see a CI woman dating an indigenous man? That's why, I have never approached a CI woman. There is some stereotype that a CI must be in courtship with a CI.*
> *Now I want to ask, especially to my sisters here who are of CI:*
> *1. Have you ever loved an indigenous man?*

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9   Those which are of high popularity include: Meteor Garden, L'arc en C'iel, Japanese cartoons, SNSD.
10 Japanese drama broadcasted on TV series
11 A Korean girlband
12 The abbreviation of Korean pop music

2. What will you do if an indigenous man is approaching you? Will you step back from him? Or will you just let him approaching you? Anyway, this is not about religion because that is not the case. Maybe some of you can give your opinion.

[2]
It just happens that I love oriental women, but it must not be considered that I'm obsessed. It's just a matter of taste. Just like you guys perhaps love chubby or slim women. For me, oriental women are very pretty. But I have been wondering why it is so rare for me to see an indigenous man dating a CI woman. So I'm asking why.

[3]
I am wondering why men from other ethnics are dreaming of having CI women as their girlfriend. Is it because of the Korean booming now?

It is clear that some indigenous men have been wishing to take CI women as their girlfriend. What is interesting is that their reason, ***among other possible reasons***, is related to the East Asian pop culture. They are influenced by the beauty of their idols. They watch that their idols are beautiful and then their physical beauty becomes a preference for looking for a girlfriend. Moreover, it is also possible that the similarity in culture and traditions accompany this reason. The East Asian culture and traditions can be watched from the broadcasts of the pop culture, and introduced by the idols in their social etiquettes. This makes it easier for the Indonesian audience to identify that their culture and traditions are similarly 'Eastern'. However, there are very few Japanese, Korean, or Chinese who live in Indonesia, by which it turns the indigenous eyes toward CI who undoubtedly also possesses oriental face and similar culture and traditions.

It is also interesting that the indigenous use the word 'oriental' to refer to CI even though 'oriental' means something that is associated with the eastern part of Asia such as Japan, China, Korea (Collins Cobuild:2006). By using the word 'oriental' to refer to CI, those men think that CI has similar physical appearance, and they thus identify CI as 'being East Asian'. The indigenous identification of CI as 'being East Asian' is derived from similar physical appearance and culture, which indicates that this is a product of visual representation of the pop culture.

In addition, the East Asian pop culture has attracted young generations in general, and not specific to CI young generations. In this case, the pop culture provides a new channel for the social relations of the indigenous and CI young generations. This new channel can be in the form of language courses or fanclubs. And it must be noted that sharing the same interest is the best way of having intimate friendship. Although this may sound very practical and not all interracial courtships are initiated from this, the new channel does give more interesting moments than school or campus. Via this pop culture, the border between the CI and indigenous young generations is weakening. As time goes on, the identification of CI as 'being East Asian' will turn out to be 'being Chinese', especially during Imlek and Cap Go Meh because by that time the indigenous will realize that their *East Asian* friends are celebrating the events in public and thus they identify them as 'being Chinese'.

This young indigenous acknowledgment of CI as 'being Chinese', however, is also followed by their expectation of CI as 'becoming Indonesian'. Since CI is constitutionally approved as a group of Indonesian ethnic, the young indigenous expect that there should not be serious racial problem in intimate social relationship which later potentially becomes interracial courtship because the two sides are now 'fellow Indonesians'. Unfortunately, indigenous man faces difficulties in convincing CI woman to be their girlfriend. Some pieces of data are provided below.

[4]
I wonder why CI woman's boyfriend is always CI man. Please help me guys. Is it because of their ancestral tradition? Or is it because they do not want to be with the lower class? I asked this because I often see CI couple, and almost never see CI-Javanese couple, CI-Ambonese couple, CI-Papuanese couple, or CI with other ethnics. Please help me find the answer.

[5]
Why must CI get married to CI? I have many neighbors and acquaintances who are CI men. It is easy for them to marry indigenous women. But when indigenous men want to be in courtship with CI women, they find it difficult to get permission from the women's parents. Do the CI parents look down on

indigenous men, to the point that they doubt their ability to earn wealth?
It's so sad considering that CI women are pretty.

[6]
Well, that's the most difficult question that I still couldn't find the answer.
Whenever I approach a CI woman, it's always difficult. The problem is always the parents. I don't know what makes the CI woman's parents rarely or never give permission to indigenous men. Maybe some of you can help me find the answer.

[7]
Why are there many indigenous men attracted to CI women, compared to CI men who are attracted to indigenous women? This is my life experience. My neighbors, my parents' friends, my friends and their family also experience that. Furthermore, there are many threads from indigenous men who complain about why it is difficult for them to get CI women as their girlfriend, compared to threads from CI men who complain about the difficulty of getting indigenous women.

The data no.4-7 show that indigenous men find something strange; that is, the CI is both exclusive and inclusive in terms of interracial courtship. They are inclusive when CI men are trying to date indigenous women, but somehow exclusive when indigenous men trying to approach CI women. It is noted that indigenous men are demanding a chance to be in courtship with CI women, but they encounter a thick wall from the CI parents. What, then, are the reasons for CI parents for not allowing their daughters to be in courtship with indigenous men? Is it true that it is the parents who become the obstacle, or is it the indigenous men who are just making a speculation about it? Unfortunately, I could not obtain data which seem to be from CI parents; maybe it is because having discussion in internet websites is not common for them. However, some CI men and women are willing enough to give their explanation, as well as responses from indigenous men who have experiences in this matter. In general consensus, there are factors that become the obstacle.

The Factors for Disapproving Interracial Courtship
Family Factor

From my analysis, it can be concluded that CI parents get paranoid about the indigenous. What is causing the paranoia and where it comes from are not apparent from the data provided below. Still, because of that paranoia CI parents make a rule, forbid, and warn their daughters to not even try having courtship with indigenous men. Some of them even get to the point of frightening their daughters to leave their family and trying to confine them to a CI environment so that they will not get a chance to have a date with indigenous men. And if CI parents find out their daughters are in courtship that they have forbidden, they are likely to make the courtship end by either getting angry with their daughters, giving contemptuous looks to their boyfriends, or forcing them to breakup. Thus, they are not necessarily clannish or keeping aloof socially from interracial friendship. However, they are very reluctant in terms of interracial courtship.

> [8]
> *Well, how should I put it? I don't mean to be racist. But that's the rule. Life must have rules. We can't live without rules, can we? My family is really opposing that. I could get expelled from my house or no longer be regarded as a member of my family.*

> [9]
> *It's true guys. I was in courtship with a CI woman twice, but all must end because of that reason. In my first courtship with a CI woman, my girlfriend and I didn't really think about our racial difference. But her parents gave me contemptuous look when I first dated her. In my second courtship, I eavesdropped when my girlfriend's mother got angry in the kitchen, saying: "if you look for a boyfriend to be your husband, don't choose the WANA[13]. Why didn't you choose the TENGLANG[14]? You embarrassed me." Here I don't mean to be racist, but what does all that mean? We live in Indonesia, don't we? Or have they forgotten the BHINEKA TUNGGAL IKA[15]?*

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[13] It refers to the indigenous
[14] It refers to CIs
[15] The Indonesian motto of unity in diversity

[10]

1. My mother has warned me since a long time ago that I am free to choose a man to be my boyfriend as long as he is not (sorry) indigenous.

2. My mother allows me to befriend indigenous men, though. She is fine if that is the case. But my mother has said "If you bring a huana[16] home, it's better for you to leave this house right away." Things like this usually happen in a conservative CI family, including mine…. So in my opinion, if you want to be in courtship with a CI woman, then look for one whose family is more modern and less conservative.

[11]

My family is rather conservative, tends to be exclusive and has negative stereotype for the indigenous. Sorry, I don't mean to be racist as I just want to explain it as it is. And I must say that I disagree with them.

When my sister graduated from Junior High School, my parents intentionally took her to a Senior High School whose students are almost 90% CI. The reason was simple, they didn't want my sister to be in courtship with indigenous men. Likewise, when she had graduated, they took her to a university and chose a major whose students were nearly 100% CI. At the same time, they also watched carefully with whom she befriended. But ironically, under such tight control, she was found to be in courtship with an indigenous man. That was when she was in her second year. Unexpected, isn't it? How did they meet, knowing that her friends were nearly 100% CI? Surprisingly, the boyfriend was none other than her lecturer, who is also a true Javanese. The courtship began when my sister had just broken up with her ex (her ex was a CI man).

What made my parents really mad was the different ethnicity, different religion, the fact that he only had a big motorbike for transport and a ten-year difference in age with my sister! My parents hit the roof and forced my sister to end their courtship. They didn't really breakup, though, and went backstreet instead. I know this because I caught them at a movie theater and found them having dinner in other time. I didn't tell my parents about this.

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16 Huana, wana, fuannah all refer to the indigenous. The only difference lies on the pronunciation because those three are articulated similarly

Stereotype Factor

The problem of stereotyping is the most sensitive issue from the data. Some comments contain mockery and foul words. What is more problematic is that the stereotypes have been circulating in popular public websites, and are read by potentially millions of people. From the data, the CI parents are thought to have some kind of chauvinist prejudice, while indigenous men are gossiping speculations without solid proof. This might bring sentiments to both sides and could potentially cause disharmony in their social life. Below are some pieces from the data.

> [12]
> *In my opinion, it is not related to race but rather to different principles and belief. These principles and belief are shaped from how the parents educate their children.*
> *In this case, the parents are demanding their daughters to be in courtship and get married to a fellow CI because they believe that the same race (CI) has the same principles in life and social matter.*
>
> *Generally, they believe that (please don't get insulted): indigenous men are lazy, not a hardworker, and they often enjoy their leisure time too much; are unfaithful and often involved in love affair; often divorce their wife; are difficult to convert their religion from Islam. There are many other stereotypes told by the parents to their daughters.*
>
> [13]
> *I have once asked my mother, why must the fellow CI? And she said because there are differences in culture which she fears will bring disharmony in the marriage life. Parents want their sons and daughters to be happy. If the marriage is of one ethnic race, parents already understand about the culture and principles which, I believe, must be similar. Hence they won't worry too much to let their sons and daughters live as husband and wife.*
>
> [14]
> *Why is it difficult? Because generally they (CI women) say that they have been dogmatized by their parents, neighbors, or friends who say that indigenous men are described as bad, evil, poor, nasty. Well, of course they would think so because they provide*

the examples only from jobless criminals, beggars, thieves, hoodlums, or men who like to be violent to their own wife (as seen from news)... Hence the CI women are scared.. Imagine if they have been dogmatized since childhood.

[15]
In my opinion, the reason is because indigenous men are famous for their laziness, while CI men are hardworkers. Maybe her father doesn't give permission because he thinks that her boyfriend will spend more of his time doing nothing than working hard for the sake her daughter's happiness.
It may still be possible to get the permission. Just prove that [you] are not a lazy man and, of course, that [you] are serious in your courtship with her. Actually, this racial matter or whatever you may call it is not a great obstacle.

[16]
Most of CI families don't really find it a problem if there is a CI man who wants to marry an indigenous woman. The reason is that he can pass down the family clan name. However, if it is the opposite, they will be stricter because they want their daughters find a man who can provide her wealth, at least as wealthy as the family.
The image of indigenous men is not good in the eye of CI parents. The reason is that in their daily life they have interactions with indigenous men who are of low social class such as servants, drivers, security personnel, debt collectors. If there are indigenous men who are of higher social class, they are the local authority who often give CI people hard times by making their business as the source of financial exploitation. Hence the image of indigenous men in the CI people mindset is not good.

Stereotyping about the two sides takes back to the 17th century, by which history recites that before the arrival of Dutch colonial administration in Batavia, the relations between the Chinese in Indonesia and the indigenous were harmonious (Setiono:2002). The Dutch colonizers then took control over Batavia and Java, but were nearly expelled by the Javanese and Chinese who united. It was due to the local authorities, being bribed with power, land, and position, cleaved the union by ordering the indigenous to kill the Chinese. The Chinese massacre continued in the Java war period (1825-1830). It was apparent later

that there was internal strife: some authorities were pro-Dutch colonizers and some others were pro-Chinese. Fearing the threat of the Chinese-Javanese union would once again strike someday, the Dutch colonizers seized the land and forced the indigenous to rent and plough them for crops and set high taxes on both the Chinese and Javanese. However, the Chinese were given a special position as tax collectors and were allowed to sell drugs and open gambling stalls to earn profit. With this ploy, the pressed and hopeless Javanese became mere peasants, the Chinese excelled in economy, and the Dutch colonizers enjoyed the taxes from both the Javanese and Chinese[17]. In addition, the Dutch colonizers kept a close watch on the Chinese by placing them in Chinatowns with strict rules in order to keep them separate from the Javanese[18].

Over the years, this ploy resulted in socio-cultural-economic gap that developed into a composite stereotype which is well articulated by Coppel (1983):

> The Chinese are clannish, they keep aloof socially and prefer to live in separate areas. They cling persistently to the culture of their ancestral homeland. Their loyalty is dubious at best… Chinese who apparently identify with Indonesia are not genuine, they are only pretending to do so for opportunistic reasons rather than from a true sense of identification with the country and its people... Having been given a favored position by the Dutch, the Chinese dominate the Indonesian economy. (p.5)

> Except for the poorest Chinese, it has been common for Chinese have at least one Indonesian servant; it would be rarity to find a case in which an Indonesian had a Chinese servant. Where intermarriage has occurred, it has usually been between a Chinese man and an Indonesian woman… It has been most unusual for a Chinese girl to enter into such a relationship with an Indonesian man… Typically the Chinese performed the role of employer, shopkeeper and creditor; the Indonesian that of employee, customer and debtor. (p.18)

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[17] For a very detailed explanation upon this history, see (Kasdi:2000) and Setiono (2002, Chapter 5, 8-14).

[18] In Chinatowns in big cities in Java, such as Jakarta, Semarang, Yogyakarta, Solo, Surabaya, there are Dutch-style old buildings surrounding the Chinatowns. This can give a picture how the Chinese were really under watch by the Dutch colonizers.

Likewise, the anti-Chinese violence that occurred in Indonesia post-war was more directed against property (involving the destruction of cars, shops, houses) rather than people (involving killing, torturing, raping) (Coppel:1983). Clearly, it is a product of socio-economic jealousy.

Environment Factor

There is a belief from the young generations which says that environment affects the possibility of interracial courtship. From their experience, they believe that in some regions CI parents are not reluctant to let their children be in courtship with indigenous people. There is also consideration on the background of the family. If the family is an orthodox one who conserves their ancestral culture and traditions, then the possibility of interracial courtship is low. But if the family is of moderate background who does not really consider racial differences and can blend with local culture and traditions, then the possibility is high. Although there is no solid proof to this statement, and not all CI parents who live in the regions mentioned would be willing to accept interracial courtship, I personally think their reasoning is logical. Their reasoning, however, is derived from personal experiences, which may be different in other people's eye. In addition, similar to earlier discussion, CI people who are confined in CI environment such as Chinese or private school are unlikely to accept interracial courtship even though it is not entirely impossible.

[17]
I've once lived in West Kalimantan for more than two years, with nearly a year in Pontianak.
Although I am a true Javanese, I was in courtship with a CI woman for twice there. My first courtship with a CI woman did not last long because she already had been in courtship with another man who happened to be CI. My second courtship with a CI woman lasted quite long before she was matched by her parents.
Then I moved to East Kalimantan.. I was also in courtship with a CI woman there. Her parents are very conservative, though, and her mother still finds it difficult to speak Bahasa Indonesia. Now they live in Tangerang.
At first her parents didn't really allow us to be in courtship, but even until now I'm still her boyfriend. It's true that there are many

differences in culture and traditions but I can prove them that I'm serious about my courtship. That was really challenging.

[18]
You must consider in what kind of family the CI women are raised: A. Conservative / pure-blood CI: they still continue and preserve their ancestral culture and traditions, including languages. They are also tolerant toward different race, religion, and culture. But the possibility for them to accept interracial marriage is little (except for indigenous whose social and economic statuses are of high class). For example, CIs in Sumatra and Kalimantan.

B. Peranakan Chinese / Mixed-blood / Qiaoseng: they have lived for tens of generations in Indonesia since the Tang Dynasty (7th – 9th century A.D). Most of them do not have Chinese name, no longer understand their ancestral culture, tradition, and languages. They are quick to assimilate and accept local religion, culture, and traditions. They are not against interracial marriage with other ethnics.
For example, CI people who live in Java and Sulawesi. You can see from CI who live in Benteng in Tangerang, or CI people who live in Bekasi. They have assimilated with the Betawi and Sunda culture. The result of the assimilation is, for example, the borrowing of Hokkian words such as 'loe', 'gwa', 'goceng', 'noban' in Betawi language[19]. Another example is CI people who live in Surabaya who are fluent in speaking Javanese.
My suggestion is, if you guys wish to be in courtship with CI women, either from conservative or mixed-blood family, then try to look for those who live in Java such as Jakarta, Bekasi, Tangerang, Bandung, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya. They are more welcome because they already understand local culture. If you shake hands and nod, they also shake hands and nod. If you can only speak Bahasa Indonesia, the same goes for them.

[19]
Well, it depends on the environment. CI parents usually put their sons and daughters in Christian private schools, starting from elementary, junior high, senior high, until university level. There

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[19] There are a high number of Chinese loanwords in Bahasa Indonesia vocabulary. Those loanwords are mostly associated with trade, kitchen utensils, and culinary such as sempoa, anglo, teko, soto, sate, lotek (for more details, see Kong:2005). It is just unfortunate that many Indonesians are not aware of this.

are various reasons, some of them are: (1) they want their sons and daughters only befriend fellow CI, or (2) they fear of discrimination if they sent them to government schools. As a consequence, very few of them who are familiar with Bataknese, Javanese, etc. who are of the same level either in social, economy, etc.

Related to the matter of CI environment such as in schools (e.g. data no.11&19), there is a strong tendency for CI parents to send their children to private schools founded by religion organizations. Most CIs choose Catholic, Christian, or Buddhist schools not only because of the quality of the schools but also because of the very high percentage of the number of CI students. There are perhaps socio-cultural and psychological benefits that that kind of school has, compared to government schools whose students are mostly indigenous. Such benefits as longer holidays for Imlek, Cap Go Meh, Wesak, or other religious or cultural events give more time for students to celebrate those events together with their family. Another benefit such as behavioral shaping which does not violate the values of ancestral traditions if conducted in schools whose students, and perhaps employees, are mostly CIs. Another benefit such as minimum potential of racial conflict among students may also become the parents' consideration.

It is okay if the benefits mentioned above become the reason for CI parents to send their sons and daughters to CI schools. Moreover, Chinese schools, which were closed by the New Order, have been constitutionally allowed to operate. However, this chance may be misused by some CI people to form imagined communities by founding CI environment and persuading fellow CIs to join or take part (Meij:2009). This is most apparent in schools and universities (see data no.11&19). These imagined communities may affect the mindset of CI in their commitment of being part of Indonesia, since the acknowledgment of CI as part of the nation *de jure* must be followed by actions *de facto*. In other words, imagined communities may produce misguided mindset. Data no.11 serves as a perfect example of a misguided mindset, in which the parents intentionally sent their daughter to Chinese schools in order to confine her in imagined communities and protect her from the hands of the indigenous. In this case, the parents see educational institutions only from the race of the students,

and not from the accreditation or quality of the schools. This means the parents are racist, which might be caused by negative stereotypes.

Poerwanto (2005) also finds this matter a problem in his research in Singkawang, West Kalimantan[20]. He writes that CI parents preferred not to send their children to schools if they could not find Chinese schools that would accept their children (in this case, the children were unfortunately not admitted by the Chinese schools). They would not send them to government schools or other schools whose students were mostly indigenous. This is an example of how CI parents see schools not just as an educational institution, but rather as imagined community. They misguidedly see schools from the race of the students, not from the quality.

This argument does not mean to accuse that Chinese schools are imagined communities, nor it suggests the closing of such schools. The condition of the CI as a province-less ethnic group (compared to other ethnic groups which have a province to call it 'home') might also initiate the need of Chinese schools in many provinces in Indonesia. Moreover, government schools mostly do not provide lessons and teachers related to Chinese religions (Confucian, Tao, Buddha). Although this may be a dilemma, the misguided mindset that sees Chinese schools as a place exclusive only for CI must not weaken the commitment of 'becoming Indonesian'.

This argument, though, lacks support in that (due to limited literature that I read) I could not find research which profoundly discusses the reasons of the CI parents to send their children to Chinese schools, how and why they see them as imagined communities. This may also become a suggestion for fellow researchers to conduct a study on this matter.

History Factor

As has been discussed earlier, the Dutch colonizers introduced three social classes. They were the Dutch in the highest position, the CI in the second position, and the indigenous in the lowest position. These social classes had legal rights and privileges, and assimilation to the lower class meant degradation

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[20] West Kalimantan has a very large number of CI population. It is suggested that future researchers can take the province as the field of data. So far most studies about CIs are concentrated in Java.

in social status (Coppel:1983). Hence the CI people view themselves superior to the indigenous. This was a means for the Dutch to separate the CI from the indigenous, familiarly known as *devide et impera* (divide and rule ploy). Even if the wish to assimilate existed, the Dutch colonizers' policies stood as the obstacle. The CIs were placed in Chinatowns and they were required to obtain *passenstelsel* (travel document) if they wanted to travel outside. They were also expected to dress according to their ethnicity. This policy was called the quarter system (*wijkenstelsel*) (Setiono:2002). Breaking this policy was regarded as a criminal offence. Hence the Dutch colonizers actively discouraged the crossing of ethnic boundaries (Coppel,1983:13-14). Unfortunately, it is still apparent in nowadays life that the feeling of superiority and inferiority still lives in the mind of both the CIs and the indigenous (esp. the old generation).

> [20]
> *If you ask me why most of CI people are racist, try to watch the 97-98 incidents.*
> *If you think that was just their past, the annals of history, you are wrong. Many CI parents whose sons and daughters are now of our age experienced those incidents. How could they not be racist to the indigenous, if it was the indigenous who were racist to CI in the first place and then the CI people were robbed and killed?*
> *I personally think they are indeed orthodox, because there are people who are good and bad, but I can understand why they are that orthodox.*

> [21]
> *I don't deny that there are people who think that CI people are superior to the indigenous and thus it is improper to befriend them. This view is derived from the colonization which lasted for three centuries. During that time, CI people were put in a superior position from the indigenous. Maybe that view has taken shape in our everyday life.*

> [22]
> *Remember the Chinese massacre tragedy in: (1) Batavia in 1740, (2) during the period of war in Java in 1825-1930, (3) in Java in 1946-1948, (4) in May 10 1963, (5) in August 5 1973, (6) the Malari Incident in 1974, and (7) May 1998.*
> *Those incidents affect on how they treat the indigenous...*

It is also known that during the New Order, the CI became the subject of discrimination. The New Order regime which lasted for 32 years (1966-1998) was begun and ended with two anti-Chinese riots. Before and in the beginning of the regime, the CI people were accused of supporting the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) which at that time was thought to plan a coup d'état. The accusation had some grounds on the thought that the CI people were communists. They were feared that they would be the Trojan Horse for China. A riot then erupted in the capital in 1966. And the mayhem of May 1998 also proved to be the end of the regime. During the 32 years, the regime issued discriminative rules that forbid everything about Chinese such as languages, writings, media, schools, festivals, and gathering clubs (Suryadinata:1984; Lindsey and Pausacker:2005). Riots of either small or large scale also occurred in other cities or towns in the archipelago, with the CI as the scapegoat. Thus the New Order regime was started by anti-Chinese violence, made discriminative regulations during its days, and was ended by another anti-Chinese violence.

With such black history, it is unlikely that CI people are not haunted by their past. CI parents nowadays, who are around 45-55 in age, must have experienced, witnessed, or at least been informed about, the bitterness of the repeated attempts of ethnic cleansing. Being the survivor of the tragic discrimination and mayhem, it is understandable if the CI parents take the wound to heart. Thus it is no wonder if they keep distance from the indigenous to the point that they would be protective toward, especially, their daughters.

Culture and Tradition Factor

If researchers who study CI often divide CI into two categories: *totok* (pure-blood) and *peranakan* (mixed-blood), I have a different approach which categorizes CI into three: conservative, less-conservative, non-conservative. If the *totok* and *peranakan* categorization is mostly based on the bloodline (such as where one was born and lives), my categorization is based on the conservation of culture and traditions. Conservative CIs are very concerned about their culture and traditions. Mostly they have faith in the *Sam Kauw*[21],

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[21] The three Chinese religions: Confucian, Buddha, Tao. Sam Kauw is considered to be the combination of the three. In this line, I put emphasis on the three religions and the Sam Kauw.

believe in signs such as Shio[22], and pray for their ancestors during Qing Ming[23], speak their dialects, and in some way are exclusive toward other sub-ethnics (Tiociu, Khek, Hokkian, Kanton, etc). Less-conservative CIs are CI people who are less concerned about their culture and traditions but still identify themselves as CI in ethnicity. Mostly they are Catholic or Christian but may still celebrate Qing Ming. Some of them speak their dialects but are not exclusive toward other sub-ethnics even though may still be exclusive toward the indigenous. Non-conservative CIs are those who are no longer concerned about their ancestral culture and traditions. They are mostly either Catholic, Christian, or Moslem, no longer pray for ancestors during Qing Ming, do not understand their dialects, tend to identify themselves as indigenous rather than as CI, and thus not exclusive toward the indigenous.

> [23]
> *For me, it's better to conserve our own bloodline. If we remain pure-blood, there won't be problem when it comes to our ancestral traditions. Imagine what racial differences can do if even religious differences can erase Chinese traditions? It's okay, though, if you don't care for every little piece of your ancestral traditions. That's your choice, not my choice.*
> *If you guys ask the indigenous here, if you are in courtship with CI people, will you follow their traditions? Those such things as burning hio[24], and pray for ancestors, which must not be wrong in every small detail. I believe that most of you will mind doing it. The same goes for us CI people. It's difficult for us to follow your (indigenous) traditions.*
> *If you think I'm conservative, try to think from other perspective as well. Don't just judge me from your own perspective. It's true I love my ethnicity, but it doesn't mean I hate other ethnics.*
>
> [24]
> *I feel aggrieved if I remember this. Too conservative.*
> *So, from the beginning of my courtship, they go to a fortune-teller and ask him if we really match each other. It was seen from our*

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[22] Chinese Zodiac
[23] A period when the Chinese visit their ancestor graveyards and hold a prayer ritual there. In some dialects, it is known as Ceng Meng or Ceng Beng. The difference is just a matter of pronunciation.
[24] Chinese joss stick used in traditional prayers

Chinese names and our parents' Chinese names, our birthdays, birth hours, shio, etc.

I was accused by her family for reporting false birthday and shio, which is of 6 months 13 days difference in birthday. They don't trust me even though I have shown them my legal birth certificate which notes my birthday and birth hour. The birth certificate also matches the hospital document of bornbabies, family certificate, KTP[25], passport, driving license, and confirmation from my mother. What kind of fortune-teller did they consult to?

According to the data above, conservative CIs still find it difficult to accept interracial courtship. They will also do traditional things such as going to fortune-teller or asking for *ciam-sie[26]* in order to know if the couple matches each other. It is their belief that certain shio is not compatible with other shio, and that match can be predicted from Chinese names.

The data also shows the preference of purity both in bloodline and culture, which is typical of conservative CIs thinking. In primordial view, not only limited to CI, culture and tradition must not be contaminated. Hence interracial courtship is thought as an attempt of contamination. But in the case of CI, to which 'pure' culture they refer to is not clear. In the very beginning of Chinese migration to Indonesia, all of them were men and none were women[27]. At that time the Chinese men had no choice but to marry indigenous women. In decades thereafter, the Chinese culture and traditions have blended with the local culture, creating what is known as the Peranakan Chinese culture; a hybrid which is denied by China as a part of China's culture. It means the so-called 'purity' in bloodline and culture has been 'contaminated' from the very beginning. However, it can also be argued that what they mean by 'purity' in culture is *looking to China's culture as reference and put aside the Indonesian influence* which gives indication to conservative CIs as 'becoming Chinese' rather than 'becoming Indonesian'.

Looking again in the data, conservative CIs prefer identification which is 'being Chinese'. Even if there is an indigenous man who is 'becoming Chinese'

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25 Resident Identity Card
26 A tool used in Chinese religious prayers to perceive what is considered as the gods or goddesses answer.
27 See (Joe:2004, pp.14-16), (Onghokham:2009, pp.2-4), and (Idi:2009, pp.134,139-140).

and understands all the small things about Chinese culture and traditions, it is still unlikely that he will be given a chance for interracial courtship. The reason is, as stated in the data, by physic he is indigenous and not Chinese. But it also indicates that conservative CIs are being practical because the negative stereotypes have already blinded the genuine personal characteristics. This can be considered as a precaution step because the negative stereotypes have existed before the examination of the personality begins.

We can look again in the data no.8-11 on how the CI parents react when they know their daughters dating indigenous men. The getting angry, making of the rule, forcing to breakup, giving contemptuous look; all these have begun before the men have a chance to prove themselves. Yet negative stereotypes are difficult to be extinguished because they already give birth to what is called generalization. Though generalization cannot, and should not, be used to mark an individual, it gives a description of a possibility on the bigger picture. Even if, supposedly, an indigenous man is given a chance to prove himself as 'becoming Chinese' as conservative CIs likely require, the process is time-consuming and it does not guarantee a satisfactory result. Some CIs will find the indigenous as good as they are, but others may find more who are worse from their expectation.

So for conservative CIs, trying to find a 'becoming Chinese' indigenous man is like a woman trying to find an almost-perfect man who is loyal, financially well-off, does not smoke, does not drink liquors, does not tell lies, does not play gambling, who after a long time concludes that such a man does not exist. Thus, for being practical, CIs try to save time and effort by preferring 'being Chinese' man rather than wasting time by examining the 'becoming Chinese' indigenous, because 'being Chinese' man is more likely to be 'becoming Chinese'.

The Source of Dilemma

So far this study has introduced five factors that show the reasons why CI parents are very reluctant toward interracial courtship. The factors, however, are interrelated. It means that CI parents are not only concerned about one factor, but rather a combination of more than one factor.

The study also finds few exceptions where indigenous men are in courtship with CI women even though they are not given permission by the parents (data no.11&17). Some of them went backstreet when the CI parents knew their courtship and force them to end it. The question that arises, then, what is the reason for CI women to go against their parents' objection. Is just because of love? Or is there another consideration that influences their decision? This study finds some worth-looking data.

[25]
I have a friend who once was in courtship with a rich CI man. She told me that the man, however, was conceited and arrogant, and her mother always thought that she was always right. Thus when my friend had a problem with them they always put her in the wrong side. My friend got stressed and she was not comfortable with that kind of courtship. At the same time, there was a handsome indigenous man who was approaching her and willing to listen to her grievance and sighs. Then my friend broke her courtship and started a new courtship with the indigenous man even though that indigenous man was not rich. When I asked her why, she thought that she could earn money by herself and that her indigenous boyfriend, despite of him being not rich, never asked her for money. Moreover, he could understand her. So she felt that it was better for her to live happily with him rather than live with her ex who treated her as a bird in a cage.
So if you CI men are wondering why your CI girlfriends broke your courtship and started new courtship with indigenous men, try to remember that woman wants to be understood. It's not that they steal your women, maybe it is you who put yourself as a man unworthy of their love.

[26]
There is a friend of mine who was bewildered as to why she had never been in courtship, especially when she was already 30. She was then introduced to a CI man who was 5-8 years older than her. He had a house and a shop, was financially well-off, and a workaholic. They then agreed for courtship, but when their courtship was around a month, her boyfriend told her that he wanted to marry her. This friend of mine got confused as to whether to agree or not because she was still in the process of learning about him. But then her boyfriend told her: "if you are married to

me, you will live at my home, take care of the shop, while I will run another business so that we can earn more money." My friend was surprised and later on she broke her courtship. No wonder, I say. How could you respect a man who wants to get a wife but treats her like a servant?

[27]
Maybe one of the reasons that I could think of is because of being too conservative with traditions. I was told that Hakngin[28] men traditions do not allow men to touch household equipments. The problem is that in this era such reason is unacceptable, especially if we do not live in a town or village where it is easier to employ a servant. If a man is not allowed to help his wife in taking responsibility in household matter, should the wife take care of everything (including children, while there is no servant)? Do they think a wife is a superwoman?

[28]
Must live under the same roof with parents-in-law for the sake of being 'filial'. The word 'filial' is often misused by men to have women serve themselves and their parents. They know wife and parents-in-law often do not get along well, but still they want us to live under the same roof with their parents just for their own convenience. That way, parents-in-law are always in the upper position and wives can only cry in the corner without being able to share their problem with their husband. Being filial does not always mean that we must serve them like a servant and live together.

The above data indicates that CI men seem to prefer simple women who prefer to stay at home, do not argue against the parents' wishes, can do household chores, can look after children, and are not more educated or wealthier than them. Surprisingly, this finding is very similar to the Pitt's finding (1984), in which the object of study was columns published in 1939-1942. These two findings show that CI men preference of a proper prospective wife, in general, has not changed over decades. Note also that modern CI women now call it "*treated like a servant*".

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[28] It refers to people of Hakka. Hakka is one of Chinese sub-ethnic groups.

From the data, it is also found out that CI women fear that they will live a difficult life once they are married to CI men from conservative family. Almost all experiences obtained from the data find a general consensus that CI women are afraid of being treated like servants. They must serve both the parents-in-law and the husband, in addition to doing the household chores. They believe that in the era of woman emancipation, women must not be marginalized and must be treated fairly. However, it is not in line with the traditions of CI family, especially those of conservative family. Conservative CI people will call people who do not obey traditions or their parents as being unfilial. Hence CI women, who think they could not cope with heavy tasks that await them after married to CI men, prefer to breakup their courtship. For them, it is a better choice rather than being accused unfilial.

The Filial Piety

Being filial is really emphasized in Chinese traditions. Some teachings, one of them is the De Zi Gui, require people to be obedient to their ancestors, especially parents. This is known as filial piety (for more details, see Editors:1997 and Willmott:1960, pp.204-205). Confucian teachings also encourage people to be filial to their parents, for it is the root of benevolence, and the source of every teaching (Suryadinata:1988). Being filial to parents, during their life, can be applied by adjusting oneself to what the parents want. The teaching of filial piety is the basic concept of righteousness in Confucianism (1988:46-63).

This particular teaching, though the young CI generations may not know what it is, is passed down usually in sayings such as: "*you must obey what your parents say*; *your parents know better than you*; *your parents are experienced; your parents know what is best for you*; *your parents will not disappoint you*; *your parents have sacrificed many things for you, so you must repay them with your obedience*; *do not disobey your parents, or you will hurt them*; *your parents are old and weak, do not disappoint them by being unfilial; be obedient to your parents while they are still alive*;" or other similar sayings. This kind of teaching is very good, but is very potential to be misused (see Editors, 1997:9-11). The teaching can be exploited by egoistic parents for their own sake, rather than for the children's sake.

Willmott (1960:273) even said that the practice of filial piety often had to be imposed by severe discipline which made children's respect to their father was characterized far more by fear and silent anger rather than by love and admiration. The frustrations of severe punishment were such that the positive values of filial piety were reduced to minimum.

Although not all CI parents hold their faith on Confucianism, Confucian teachings have been taking shape in their culture and traditions because Confucianism itself is not regarded as a religion in China, but as a way of life which is practiced in everyday life since a long time ago. In addition, the mixture of Confucianism and patriarchal traditions of Chinese put woman in a subordinate position to man. Chinese families, especially conservative ones, put woman as the 'other' whose business is just around kitchen and well (Meij:2009). Not only that, a father of a family has the ownership of the wife's and children's belongings as well as the right to abuse, kill, or sell a woman in his family (usually daughters) (for more details, see Wijaya:1997). Hence woman is considered to be less worthy than man.

Logically, derived from the above point, it should not be a problem for CI parents if their daughters are in courtship with indigenous men because, as conservative as they might be, Confucianism and ancestral traditions look down on woman. What should be a problem is if their sons are in courtship with indigenous women. However, the data shows that what happens is the opposite: CI parents are very reluctant to give permission if it is the daughters that do the interracial courtship.

What happens in this case is that CI identity and self-consideration as a superior race to the indigenous helps improve the status of CI woman. Precisely speaking, the status of CI woman improves with a condition as long as there is an indigenous man approaching her, and the parents know about this. If the CI parents do not know, or if there is no indigenous man approaching, probably the status of the CI woman remains inferior. Thus the pride of 'being Chinese' overlaps the Confucian teaching and traditions.

On a side note, although the patriarchal system gives right to CI man to pass down the clan name, man is not the one who preserves the culture and traditions (Meij:2009). It is more likely the woman who preserves and teaches them to young generations. The reason is that values of traditions are taught to

CI women and they are trained to practice every single thing, including cooking and preparations, for rituals of ancestor prayers and religious and cultural events (2009:81-83). Those are things that man most likely considers trivial. This means that the preservation of CI culture and traditions are in the hands of CI woman. This may also be one of the reasons why CI parents are reluctant to let their daughters in courtship with indigenous men.

Nevertheless, with the CI parents' experience as the target of discrimination and racial violence during the New Order, it is very possible for them to plant filial teachings to their children and discipline them with punishment should they disobey. However the process of teaching must be off the mark if it is blended with the parents' long-lasting grievance or hatred toward the indigenous. This is apparent from the data we just discuss where it says that CI parents make a rule to forbid their sons and especially daughters to be in courtship with the indigenous. The punishment for breaking the rule is also severe. Hence, rather than getting accused of being unfilial, the young generations of CIs are afraid of dissenting their parents' wishes (Suryadinata:1988).

The Pattern of Courtship

In general the CI, once well-known for parental and matchmaking arrangement on marriage, seem to have a loose restriction in courtship. CI parents have allowed their daughters, especially, to choose a partner as long as he is not indigenous. This loose restriction is also apparent from those who have tried to be in love with the indigenous, which means that CI parents tend not to put very tight control with whom their daughters have close friendship or to where they go. However, CI parents think they still have the right to approve or disapprove the courtship. From the data, what matters the parents, in order of emphasis, are: (1) race, (2) religion, (3) culture and tradition.

The CI parents also seem to consider courtship as a very serious matter, as though their daughters' partners would be 90% their sons in law. This is apparent from how they react by the time they know their daughters are in courtship with the indigenous; from hitting the roof, giving contemptuous look, frightening the daughters to leave the family, and forcing to breakup. They do

not see that courtship does not always end in marriage. This is of course different from the viewpoint of the indigenous, especially teens, who think courtship as a less serious matter where it is common to breakup due to distance, boredom, disloyalty, or arguments. In addition, it might also be considered that CI parents see interracial courtship as a shame that can lower down their social status and pride, regardless of the socio-economic status of the indigenous partner.

It is also a custom for CI to start courtship and introduce the partner to the parents at a later point. This introduction is meant as a way of consulting to the parents, even though they know that interracial courtship is forbidden. It is also a sign of respect to the parents as well as asking for parental consent. In addition, introducing partner does not always mean that the parents have not got acquainted with him before. It is a sign that they are not just friends anymore; they are in courtship.

The Absurd Concept of 'Fellow CI'

We have seen from data that the preference of CI parents over potential love partner for their daughters is fellow CI. But who is this fellow CI is very absurd. It only points out people of the same ethnicity, but of course there is no one who is *the same Chinese*. As we know, there are different subgroups of Chinese ethnic (Hokkian, Hakka, Tiociu, etc.) They speak different dialects and among them are people of different culture, religion, socio-economic status, national orientation, family background. Among the same culture, there are people who are conservative, moderate, and non-conservative. Among the same religion (either Moslem, Christian, Catholic, Buddha, Confucian, Tao, or Sam Kauw), there are people who are orthodox, moderate, and false. Among the same level of socio-economic status, there are people who are stingy and generous. Among the same national orientation, there are people who view Indonesia as a mere living place and there are those who view it as their motherland. Among the same family background, there are those who are *totok*, *totok* who are 'becoming Indonesian', *peranakan*, and *peranakan* who are 'becoming Chinese'. Even in this so-called *sameness*, there are layers of differences. Yet in these vast differences among the same ethnicity, CI parents are still very selective.

CI parents can argue, of course, that if among the same ethnicity there lies differences, logically there must be much more differences between the CI and indigenous. It seems hard, or unacceptable, to think otherwise; that if among the same ethnicity there lies differences, how could the *fellow CI* be no different from the indigenous? Among the *same CI* they are different, and with the indigenous they are different. Can't this prove that both sides are the *same different*? Ironically, the difference between the so-called *fellow Chinese* and indigenous only lies in physical appearance, in identification of 'being Chinese'. So, for indigenous men who want to conduct interracial courtship with CI women, they must pass physical appearance examination first, which is impossible, before going to personality examination.

The Future of Indonesia: Summary and Suggestion

In the earlier part of the discussion, I have argument that the rise of East Asian pop culture, in coincidence with the revitalization of CI religions, culture, and organizations, has grown the awareness of self-identification. Both the indigenous and CI identify CI as 'being Chinese'. From the discussion, there might come a counter-argument that may say that the pop culture has manipulated, or poisoned, the indigenous young generations' taste and preference; or that the pop culture is not good for the development of Indonesia's *original* culture. I personally do not think that it is not good. The East Asian pop culture has helped awaken the young indigenous awareness of their marginalized friends. The once-marginalized ethnic has now come to surface and become the center of interest with the help of the *manipulation*. It is a good political movement, to introduce the pop culture to the young generations, rather than to make bold attempts to older generations (who keep silent racial prejudice in their hearts) to acknowledge CI as 'becoming Indonesian'. In addition, pop culture is not a threat to traditional culture because it is dynamic, ever-changing, and does not always sell well[29]. We cannot guess what would happen to CI ethnic if the East Asian pop culture did not sell well in Indonesia.

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[29] One example of pop culture that does not sell well in Indonesia is the Bollywood pop culture. Bollywood only flooded the television, but did not succeed in becoming a trend in fashion, culinary, lifestyle or language and culture learning.

One effect of the pop culture, however, is that there are indigenous men wishing to conduct interracial courtship with CI women. But their attempts failed in the hands of the CI parents who identify them as not 'being Chinese', along with the other four factors that become the obstacle. Of course it is not good for the CI if this goes on. The reason is that CI has been constitutionally allowed to re-establish their Chinese identity. Yet, on the other hand, the indigenous still find it difficult to get permission for interracial courtship which gives them doubt over the CI commitment of 'becoming Indonesian'. If something happens, most probably caused by dirty politics, the old sentiments might resurface and the CI will once again be the scapegoat[30]. The history tells that the scapegoat has been the CI.

Nevertheless, as we are now living in the era of multiculturalism, pluralism, and human rights, it is not acceptable if there is still a trace of racism or discrimination. It is also very possible that in the future both CI and the indigenous need to collaborate in melting pots, not only limited in economic matters, to develop the nation as a major force in the global mainstream. We can imagine what happens if the seeds of prejudice, suspicion, and hatred are still growing.

My suggestion is to give knowledge to people involved in interracial love about what has happened between the two races, and what will likely be of their future, and let them find out the differences by themselves. It will be their own decision whether to fight for the differences or to breakup. If they choose to breakup, it will not be a bitter one caused by the parents, but a worthy experience for their future. It is very possible to see interracial courtship between the two races if CI parents, as the major obstacle, give the knowledge fairly. This kind of support is sufficient to help the young generations. It is not that we are suggesting mass interracial courtship to happen. We must support interracial courtship because it is very possible that interracial courtship will accompany cross-culture understanding. It is also potential to end the bad stereotypes, ethnic sentiments, and bitter history for a better future of Indonesia.

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[30] Ester Jusuf (2000) estimated that an anti-Chinese violence occur once in a 10-year cycle in Indonesia.

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that struggle for existence is not only in politics but also in symbols. Symbol becomes a device for acknowledgement for their existence.

that acculturation process within Cristianity and Hinduis in Blimbingsari conducted through some communication media or lines, i.e. the architectures of Pniel Church in Blimbingsari, the carving in Pniel Church, the rituals of Pniel Church, social organization and Awig-awig in villages with Christianity tradition.

Blimbingsari uses culture as one of the media to fight for the dominant culture. The acculturation within Hinduis and Christian culture in Blimbingsari village is an effort to fight for without violence, and a conformity which they try to use in reducing conflicts happened inside Bali society. The acculturation of culture creates self identity of Blimbingsari culture, in Bali society which embraces Christian in a village with Christianity tradition.

K E Y W O R D S : Cultural Acculturation, Etnography of Communication.

Introduction

Bali is stated unique, for it has specific symbols which reflect their identity. Ting Toomey in Purnomo Raharjo revealed that cultural identity is emotional significance from a person to own sense of belonging or afiliate with certain culture. The inhabitants which divided into different groups, then do cultural identification, that is, every person concern himself as a representative of a particular culture. A person who incosolidated in a certain society will identify himself similarly with cultural identity in their society.

There is a general agreement that recognizes identity as one of the few fundamental human needs and part of condition of being human. (Ling Chen, 2011:213). Therefore, identity becomes the important part of someone's or society's life. Identity in a society contains primordial sentiment like ethnics, religions and others. For society, identity is a pride and weapon to encounter outer strength by language and cultural symbols. (http://ejournal.unud.ac.id, 12 Januari 2011).

Identity will become more complicated in plural society. And Bali owns it. Historically, Bali and its dynamics has pluralism in the identity of *Bali Mula* or *Bali Aga* (Bali Asli) dan Bali Majapahit (*wong Majapahit*). (Damayana, 2011: 91). The development authority of Majapahit dinasty in Bali and the migration of Java-Bali utters second distinguishing which based on kinship

identity (*tri wangsa dan jaba wangsa*) as a specific caste of society system in Bali. (Wiana 1993: 98; Dwipayana, 2005: 5, Putra 1998: 32 dalam Damayana, 2011:92).

Pluralism in Bali is more materialized when Moslems as King accompanist came in step with Patih Agung Maruti coup d'etat which caused conflics and internal cleavage in Bali to become several kingdoms. Islamic identity is more materialized in the organizing of several Islamic kampong in Bali, such as Kepaon, Serangan, Karangasem, Pegayaman di Buleleng and the founding of place of worship (male deity's intersection in Mekah) in several temples in Bali (Mengwi, Badung, dan Bangli). (Ibid: 93).

Besides Islamic identity, Christian identity also exsisted in Bali since Dutch collonialism, although indirectly, through some missionaries. The next journey of Catholic missionary, Pastor Johanes Kersten SVD, followed the bilding of Catholic community who are most resident at Palasari.

Based on BPS (Statistical Centre Bureau) Bali Province in 2009, Bali is widely range about 5.632,86 km^2 or only have measurement of 0,3% of all the land width in Indonesia. The amount of the inhabitants is 3.471.195 persons (1.739.526 persons atau 50, 10% males dan 1.732.426 persons atau 49,90% female), with the composition of inhabitants' religions can be seen from the following table

Tabel 1.2.
Table of Inhabitants'Composition Based on Religion in the year of 2009

Inhabitants' Composition	2009	
(based on religion)	Amount (person)	Percentage (%)
Hindu	2.751.828	87,44
Islam	323.853	10,29
Buddha	16.569	0,53
Christian	30.439	0,97
Catholics	23.834	0,76
Others	476	0,002
Total amount	3.471.195	100

Source: BPS Provinsi Bali, 2010: 83-120

Based on those data, it can be observed that the dominate religion in Bali, based on the survey, is still Hindu. However, other religions except Hindu have developed, from 2,67 % become 12,56%.

Bali identification with Hindu is also validated by Bendesa Adat (ketua adat) *desa pakraman* (desa adat) Ekasari, I Wayan Winara, "Bali culture is difficultly released with Hindu.Whereas the majority of Balinese is Hindu, and the culture art is always connected with religiousity. So, automatically, the culture known as Balinese culture is Hindu culture." (an interview result on Wednesday, pukul 09.13 WITA). The unique of Bali is identical with Hindu. That Hindu Culture which then becomes the contributor of tourism business in Bali. Since 1970, tourism has become the part of Balinese culture. (Suryawan, 2005: xxvii).

However, August 2002 became historical month for Balinese. A month which bring a great change for the society well-known with its excotic of nature and culture. The Bombing Event in Bali, of course became the tragedy which contrastive with the effort of developing devisa of Bali. The tourism became buried, in which most of the Balinese were lost their job as a result of the hotels left by without any visitors. The income drastically decreased and give the result on the raising amount of unemployents. Chaos, it was the description of Bali after bombing.

Collateral with that event, mass media began to take part exclusively. Mass media became the effective access in building the public opinion. The media which unceasingly pioneer this is incosolidated in Kelompok Media Bali Post (KMB). In the end of nineties Bali Post was a solid province media and include of it, a local television channel, four radio stations, the prestigious Bali Post newspaper, daily Denpost and other magazines. (Suryawan, 2005: xxx). KMB make serious effort to awaken thesociety through the jargon they have created with the term *ajeg* Bali. The launching of jargon ajeg Bali was in step with the opening of Bali TV on May 2003 by The Governor of Bali, I Dewa Made Beratha.

Henk Schulte Nordholt in *Bali: an Open Fortress* revealed that *"ajeg means that we should go back to the origin. Back to the peaceful Bali, when things were in order and true." "Ajeg means that Bali is safe and can resist terrorists."* (*Ajeg* means we should have be back to the origin, back to the pure Bali, and peaceful, in which everything is neat and original, *ajeg* means Bali is safe and able to resist from the terorists). (Suryawan, 2005: xxxi).

Jargon Ajeg Bali has not only anaesthetized identity of "Balinese" of Balinese society, but uncosiously, besides it is –Ajeg Bali- has congealed culture, made it become property, ignited the seeds of cultural essensialiam movement, and also the seeds of Hindus fundamentalism. (Suryawan, 2009:130). Ajeg Bali in make the ossification of Balinese identity occur, between something or someone indicated Bali or not. (Suryawan dalam Damayana, 2011: 4). This is because *ajeg Bali* –for the follower of cultural essensialism movement- should have been based on Hindus percept which underlies Balinese culture. So, it is called then, that Ajeg Bali should have been called Ajeg Hindu. (Suryawan, 2009:131). More deeply then, is the understanding of Ajeg Bali which should be called Ajeg Hindu. In the stage of the struggle, there is an affirmation and institutionalization of religion, including the grudge of localism, which in this term, BALInese based on Hindu percept. The basic of the grudge itself, then become the seeds of fundamentalism movement, just like what had happened in Islamic or Christian movement, and others. (Media Hindu, Ajeg Bali Proteksi Agama, Budaya, dan Tanah Bali, Edisi 21 November 2005.) (Suryawan, 2009: 143).

In Denpasar, the contribution for the visitor is increased, in order to make wary effect for the visitor that it was not easy to enter and stay in Bali. The effort reaped protest from the visitors. The KTP (identity card) politics was clearly done. The traditional institution, that is *pakraman, pencalang* dan *sekaa teruna* (youth organization) has a great power to determine who is able to live or stay in that island. This matter builds opinion that they (Balinese) purpose to show their existence which seen discriminative in determining identity (original or not) from Bali, including the struggle of economical assets' belonging.

The apprehensive about hard discriminative action is not only experienced by the visitors. This condition also makes Blimbingsari society restless, a village in Melaya district, Jembrana region. Their restless in not because they are visitors. The fact reveals that ajeg Bali is on behalf of keeping the originality of Balinese culture, which is Hindu, the religion which is professed by almost of Balinese. In the other hands, Blimbingsari, eventhough they are Balinese (born in Bali) but all of the inhabitants are Christian. Blimbingsari begins to feel worry because the recent policy makes non-Hindu feel suppresed. In that condition, Blimbingsari seems to do some effort to build the symbols which they want to express as their own identity.

Research Problems

Blimbingsari society is Balinese who profess Christian. The program of 'Ajeg Bali" build by the goverment of Bali directs that Bali is Hindu, so it can be said that 'Ajeg Bali" is identical with "Ajeg Hindu". Blimbingsari society who profess Christian, feel threaty with that policy, so they need to do some adjustments in the form of cultural acculturation. This observation is purposed to know how Blimbingsari society who profess Christian do the cultural acculturation with Hindu (Bali) in order to keep that their cultural identity is still Bali, so their existence is guaranteed.

Disscusion and Conclusion

This research took Bali as the place, exactly in Blimbingsari village, Melaya district, in Jembrana region. Pre research has begun since October 2010 and the data was collected until February 2012. In this research, the writer has explained all the data and corpus (primary data) as the result of observation through ethnographycal communication.

According to the result of this observation, the writer found process of aculturation between Hindu and Christian occur to Blimbingsari society. The aculturation is able to be seen from several elements of cuture, i.e.:

1. The architecture of Pniel Church in Blimbingsari
2. The arrangement of religious service in Pniel Church in Blimbingsari
3. Sociality system of Blimbingsari society

    Based on those categories, here are the analysis of aculturation result to Blimbingsari society.

The Culture Aculturation of Hindu and Christian in The Architecture of Pniel Church in Blimbingsari

Rasmusen (1964) in *Experiencing Architecture* reveals that architecture is not only able to be seen and touch,

which can be heard and felt are also part of architecture. It can be said that architecture is a realization of complexity in art. This art is built to emerge the deeper feeling according to the aim wishes to reach. The aim itself is definitely close related with the meaning of the creator of the architecture.

Blimbingsari is well-known as Christian village. The Christianity is deeply seen by the exixtence of unique church with Balinese architecture, called Pniel. The word "Pniel" means a meeting with God. In a glance, it cannot be seen that this building is a church, because it more seen as a temple. In its development, this church has rebuilt three times.

Based on the site of Pniel Church, it can be observed that the building is located in kaja side or the northern part of the village and it is on the highest part of Blimbingsari village. This matter is similar with the understanding of Hindu society when they build a temple. Therefore, though it is a church, Blimbingsari people are still figure on the understanding of the situation of the church based on Hindu's philosophy.

Aculturation seems to be applied by Blimbingsari society in building their place of whorship. Pniel Church is divided into three stages. First is the outer side of the church, second stage is the foreground and the third is the main building where the service is done. Those three elements of Balinese temple symbolize Tri Loka, or three parts of the world according to Hindu's philosophy.

In every part of religious service building, there is always an entrance door. In common church, entrance door is only ordinary gate. However, it is different in Pniel. There is Bentar Temple as the entrance for the first foreground of Pniel church.

On the architecture of Pniel Church, it is seen that this church also has *candi kurung* to enter the second foreground. This building is stepped, made of concrete bricks which neatly arranged, looks like Pura/temple. However, the difference is, there is a Cross symbol in *candi kurung*. The Cross of Jesus Christ, for Christians, is also understood as a symbol of The Trinity of God.

Bali island is an island with inhabitants majority in Hindu. The worship to the gods done by Balinese, has been done hundred years ago. Every temple built has its specific characteristic, which make it looked special. One of the characteristics is on its carving. (http://eksotikabaliutara.wordpress.com).

Pniel Church seems the same with those temples which state in Bali with fulfilled with carvings in every wall of its. The carving in Pniel Church done by an artist from Ubud. The ideas of making the carving came from Priest Ketut Suyaga Ayub. He gave A Holy Bible to the artist to be learnt, and then realized in the form of carving. Those carving is appeared to exert Balinese approach.

The Arrangement of Religious Service in Pniel Church Blimbingsari

In Blimbingsari, the religious service is done according to Christian Church in common. However, the difference is that the religious service is performed in the beginning of the month. Pniel Church differs it into common religious service and special service. Every beginning of the month or in the first week, the Church will perform contextually service (Religious service in Balinese context) and diverge with the common Christian religious service, the community wears traditional clothes in contextually service. Priest Ayub said that in that Procession, the feeling will be reached when all the members are able to get the feeling and build it. Therefore, in the procession of Blimbingsari contextual service, the members of community must wear Balinese traditional clothes.

A liturgy is a guidance in arranging religious service in Christian worship. This written guidance directs the community in the way to behave in a service. In opening the public worship, the community of Pniel Church will do the first procession, that is votum and greeting, however in its liturgy, it will be written as the opening worship, they will do votum and *Swastiastu*. Swastiastu is a greeting which is used to say by Hindus people. Whereas for Christians, the greeting which used to be said is Syallom. But in reality, *Swastiastu* is the word chosen to be used as one of the procession when they want to do the worship in Pniel Church.

Blimbingsari society also do acculturation process towards the musical instruments they use in worship. In contextual service, Blimbingsari people use *gong kebyar* as the accompanist instruments.

Social System in Blimbingsari Society

1. Christian Traditional Village Blimbingsari

The policy of "ajeg Bali" is tried to be received and behaved by Blimbingsari people with the concept of pekraman village which is emerged in Blimbingsari as Christian Traditional Village of Blimbingsari. Based on the villagers election, Bendesa Adat in Blimbingsari is Mr. Suka Bagya. The founding of Christian Traditional Village in Blimbingsari was legitimately done in November 2009. The founding of traditional village which is finally compromised with the name of Christian Traditional Village of Blimbingsari, is actually realized as an effort to harmonize with the policy of Bali Goverment about "*ajeg Bali*". Since it is understood that the Goverment with the society (Hindu) is hard in making effort to succeed '*Ajeg Bali*" program.

2. Awig-awig Christian Traditional Village of Blimbingsari

When *pakraman village* is the form of social organization, awig-awig is the system or the order of manner to operate the components in pakraman village. Awig-awig in traditional village is a basic to do actions for all components of the village.

Based on the content of awig-awig of Blimbingsari village, it was fated that Blimbingsari constructs itself to become Christian Traditional Village. That matter has been legitimated since November 2009. Seeing the content of awig-awig of Blimbingsari, it can be obsserverved that tisvillage has positioned itself righteously as Hindu village. The called *Jesus Christ* as *Ida Sang Hyang Yesus Kristus*. Similar with Hindu people who called Their Majesty with Ida Sang Hyang. Then, it is explained that in the basic and background of awig-awig of ChristianTraditional Village Blimbingsari, stamped that St. Matthew ch.28: vs. 18 – 20 and 1st Peter ch.2: vs.9 as the basic. The stricking difference with the other awig-awig of pekraman village is that the basic is taken from Holy Bible of Christian.

It is also in the name of the place to do ritual service or the place considered holy one. Christians are used to call the place to ritual service with church, whereas Hindu people called it with pura. Pura is a holy building where

Hindu Bali do the ritual service. (Soebandi, 1983: v). In Chapter 3 of stipulation of Christian traditional village, Blimbingsari constructs itself similar with Balinese in the other pekraman village. The word Pura is chosen to call their place of worship or church.

Beside Pura, in running the life, Balinese is oriented on the phylosophy of Tri Hita Kirana which means three subjects conducived to welfare. Those three subjects are: (1) Parahiyangan Element, that is Divinity, which points at the supernatural of powers. (2) Palemahan Elements, that is territory, which is macro-cosmic element. (3) Pawongan Elements, that is the human (who inhabit in the territory) as the micro-cosmic element. (Ayub, dkk, 2011: 5).

Based on the explanation of Official Regulations of Bali Provence Number 3 Year 2011, about Pekraman Village (Ttp and Tth, hal.2 butir 11), Tri Hita Kirana is the basic of pekraman village, which previously called traditional village. In the explanation, it is lean on that the phylosophy of Tri Hita Kirana is "contain constitutive characteristics which become the ethical spiritually orientation to the entirely basics which purified in the life of desa pekraman." (ibid).

The culture acculturation through three media which meant by Blimbingsari society is more physically/ outer appearance, without touching the conviction aspect of Christianity in Blimbingsari.However, in the arrangement of religious service or ritual in Pniel Church in Blimbingsari, what which happen seems not only in the level of acculturation. The result of the research reveals that what are being done by Blimbingsari people, especially in ritual or the arrangement of religious service is the form of syncretism between Christians and Hindus. Therefore, it can be said that syncretization Pniel Church Blimbingsari is a new identity of Christian Bali, an identity which eventhough Blimbingsari society are Christian, they are still Balinese.

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"BEING INDIGENOUS"
DEBATING THE REPRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE AND ITS ARTICULATION INTO THE LAW

Vegitya ramadhani putri

Abstract

Being indigenous means 'had claims of time and space'. Being indigenous also means 'had historical legitimacy', as well as legitimacy to exclude the others. Then, being indigenous is privilages and rights, as such subsidies, treatments, etc. It happen because there is debatable articulation method to define whom we called as indigenous. Perhaps we had checklist for measurement to define. But, who "we" is? We-ness, as well as other-ness, comes from and into the reproduction of knowledge. Bacause of the binary oppositional is structural debate, then the discourse of indigenous is constructed, not just given. The reproduction of knowledge about who-indigenous-is had large scale impacts, legally and politically.

Keywords : reproduction of knowledge, articulation into law

Problematization

Debate around indigenous term was begin from the critics toward the definition of "who indigenous is". Democracy, as a knowledge and method as well as regime, contributes significantly the definition of whom "self" and and whom "other". It is not just romaticism of ethnography. Recently, the identity of indigenousity has embrace from the identity itself into its claims for entitlement and treatment. Considering that indigenousity has legitimate basis, culturally as well as historically, many communities was arose quantitatively and appeals

their claim for political succession or, at least, access into it. There is a situation that we can say as liberal democratic regime that provides the devices for those claim. For instance, the qualification of position such major of city or chief of the district must came from native, which known as Putra Daerah paradigm. Somehow, it seen as the positive discrimination, especially in effort to emansipate local society and theirs interests. But in the other side, there is exclusion toward others. The affirmative action, in some prominent case as: policy, had dilemma of representation. In one side, it gives benefit to who called as indigeous actor. In other side, there is exclusion to whom that called as outsider.

There is crusial concern toward methodology of defines and articulates who indigenous is. This article will discus articulation method of indigenousity. The debate about indigenous, not just about marginalization, but also how the community uses liberal democratic regime's devices to escalate their interests. The interest is not only about recognition, but also their claims in national scale. International agents, commercial actors, national apparathuses, etc, plays game in same field, even in different capability, with whom mostly called: indigenous community. Then, when there is some efforts to emancipate or to protect the indigenous community in brutal eco-political battlefield, the community itself uses the opportunities to bring their 'microscopic' agenda into national grand agenda. And next, as we seen, several indigenous communities goes as pressure group, with their legitimation claims. The differances going more bold and atractive. The unique going more 'sacral', and so on. Are the project of modernity came to justify the indigeous-ization? What to extend being indigenous? Now, it's not easy to identify who indigenous is, as before.

The Reproduction of Indigenousity and Its Claim

Indonesian society is known as the communalistic society. In communal society, there are certain claims about who is entitled to represent the group, one of them through the identification 'symbolistics' to the representation. Indigenousity based on the identity of particular groups at the local level, apparently drives the creation of a distinctive political configurations. One of the highlights is the emergence, or strengthening, local elites. Of course, every elite foundation

have their legitimacy, could be a historical claim, or the power of certain social capital. Based on the claims, it creates powers which previously might have been informal, or at least latent, but now has a concrete strength at the local level.

The claim, formality, consequentiality, and reflexivity of ritual bring to the fore certain dilemma implicit in the very nature of representation – dilemmas that are thoroughly implicated with general problems of power, authority, and agency, even in local level. Both sense of the word 'representation' are : depiction (representation as something) and delegation (representation by someone or something)[1].

A democratic government, especially one that has strong organizational roots in society, in Rueshemeyer[2] and Rueschemeyer[3] views, may be better able to make choice under condition of even severe scarcity than an authoritarian regime because it can count on support grounded in legitimacy, rather than solely on the conditional support that vanishes when 'the goods' are not delivered. Policies that rigorously seek to establish competitive market as the primary regulatives of economic life tend to have atomizing consequences that undercut vigorous social participation and the collective organization of interests.

Thompson[4] identified the main factors of political participation found in citizenship theories. First, participation of citizen protect them against sinister interests. Second, avoiding excluded interests. Third, providing political knowledge. Fourth, improving the legitimacy of democratic institutions. Fifth, function of participation is self-realization. Democratic representatives create incentives and disincentives for civic participation. Nagel[5] contend that while spontaneous popular action warms the heart of any good democrat, a moment's reflection shows that the people initiate little of what we call participation. Acts of participation are stimulated by elites. Participant in the sense of encounter stage complex performance about who they are (such as named clan), who they are each other (such as descendents or affines), and who they are together

1   Keane, Web. 1997. **Sign of Recognition: Power and hazards of Representation in an Indonesian Society**. Berkeley: University of California Press.
2   Rueschemeyer, Rueschemeyer, and Wittrock (eds). 1998. **Participation and Democracy, East and West : Comparisons and Interpretations.** New York : ME Sharpe. pg.17
3   Rueschemeyer, Stephen, and Stephen.1992. **Capitalist Development and Democracy**. Cambridge : Polity Press.
4   Thompson, Denis. 1970. **The Democratic Citizen**. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press
5   Nagel, Jack. 1987. **Participation**. Eaglewood Cliffs New Jersey : Prentice Hall. pg.3-4

(such as self-respecting people allied in authoritative performance). In the process, they engage, challenge, or otherwise presume the existence of particular sorts of interlocators, to the exclusion of other sorts. In scenes of encounter and the events that support them, participants interactively define themselves and each other (something that also has quiter entailments for power differences within each group). Much of politics and even cosmology of representations concerns this effort. The resistances it generates, and the hazards to which it is prone. But the effort and hazard are not matters of which people are fully conscious, and the politics are not to be found in a set of choice clearly laid out before autonomous strategizing agents.

Democracy coincided with the opening of an opportunity to gain strategic positions in the local community, making the fight an increasingly massive range of interests. Regional autonomy has given rise to local bossism, or at least strengthen the local regime that has long existed. Political power previously monopolized by the central government, is currently spreading in areas where the local people really are still closely by the bonds of patron-client. In patron-client society cases, as noted by Schiller[6], decentralization which is purposed to disperse central government's power and authority to local level precisely often empower local powerful elites making people dependent upon them and encouraging pseudo-democracy which consequently perpetuate poverty and disparities.

Indigenous Community as Interest Groups

The study of interest groups and interest representation is an 'old' concern of political science, but one that should enjoy new life[7]. A focus of interest representation entails three component parts: a conception of interests expressed, a conception of the process of interest representation, and impact on public decissions. Interests are constantly being defined, redefined, and even discovered as when some new action proposal appears on the political scene[8].

6 Schiller, Jim, 2009, "Electing District Heads in Indonesia", in Erb, Maribeth and P. Sulistiyanto (eds). **Deepening Democracy in Indonesia? Direct Elections for Local Leaders**. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

7 Crotty, William, Schwartz, Mildred, & Green, John. 1994. **Representing Interests and Interest Group Representation.** Lanham : University Press of America. pg.9

8 Salisbury, Robert H. 1994. "Interest Structure and Policy Domains : A Focus for Research" in Crotty, William, Schwartz, Mildred, & Green, John. 1994. **Representing Interests and Interest Group Representation**. Lanham : University Press of America. Pg.12-20

Interest groups display a wide range of diversity depending on their degree of organizational and strategic cohesiveness and the extent of their antiestablishment status. Combining the work of McCarthy and Zald[9], Tilly[10], Eyerman and Jamison[11], and Ost[12], interest groups manifest these elements such: (1) represent people outside established political institutions or who feel a low level of political efficacy in affecting those institutions; (2) seek to change elements of the socioeconomic and political structure, make visible public demands for changes in the distribution or exercise of power in society, or both; (3) employ collective political action that uses, in whole or in large part, non- institutional channels such as protests, sit-ins, passive resistance, and sometimes illegal means such as violence; (4) hold strong antipolitics stance particularly in their formative period, manifesting as an antiestablishment, antigovernment attitude that sees power as located not in the state but in civil society; (5) have a loosely defined, often amorphous organizational structure; and (6) usually either lack a clearly defined leadership or have a charismatic leader.

Angus McIntyre[13] follows with an analysis of the middle way leadership concept. Indonesia's survival as an 'association', he posits, is contingent upon the type of leadership it receives. Strong leadership, characterised by moralism, divisiveness and political division, thrives in an authoritarian system. Robert Cribb[14] canvasess the prospect of Indonesia shedding the burden of empire and discusses the resistance to this concept in elite circle where the emotional power of the 'idea of Indonesia' is prevalent. The Indonesia experiment, he asserts, is contingent upon three factors: the potency of centrifugal forces in the outlying regions; the ability of the centre to accentuate the positive features of Indonesia unity, and the desire of the island of Java to remain a part of Indonesia.

9   McCarty, John & Zald, Mayer. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements : A Partial Theory" in **American Journal of Sociology** Vol.82.pg.1212-1241.
10 Tilly, Charles. 1984. "Social Movements and National Politics" in Bright, Charles and Harding, Susan. (eds). 1984. **State Making and Social Movements**. Ann Harbor : University of Michigan Press.
11 Eyerman, Ron and Jamison, Andrew. 1991. **Social Movement : A Cognitive Approach**. University Park : Pennsylvania State University Press.
12 Ost, David. 2001. "Poland : Parties, Movements, Groups, and ambiguity" in Thomas, Clive S. (ed). 2001. **Political Parties and Interest Groups : Shaping Democratic Governance**. London : Lynne Reinner Publisher.
13 McIntyre, Angus. 2001. "Middle Way Leadership in Indonesia : Sukarno and Abdurrahman Wahid Concept" in Lloyd, Grayson & Smith, Shannon. (eds). 2001. **Indonesia Today : Challenges of History**. Lanham : Rowman & Littlefield Publisher Inc. pg.85-96
14 Cribb, Robert. 2001. "Brief Reflection on Indonesian Social History" in Lloyd, Grayson & Smith, Shannon. (eds). 2001. **Indonesia Today : Challenges of History**. Lanham : Rowman & Littlefield Publisher Inc. pg.231-233

Articulates Indigenousity Into The Law

Due the enormous interdependence of the production and consumption functions of communites and individuals, negative externalities are becoming larger and larger. This implies that living together and coexisting in the modern societies is becoming increasingly costly, taxing, time consuming, complicated and difficult for all individual. Many interrelationship are becoming ever more a zero-sum-game. Such a phenomenon is making citizens more selfish and disunited, and less law abiding, something that will affect democracy negatively in the future, as individuals will become more unruly. Consequently, governments will find it increasingly more difficult to govern, in spite of the great improvements that people have experienced in their living standards and education. Also, politics and the lives of ordinary people are becoming more and more litigious rather than negotiation.

Adaption is one solution (and one which has been used for centuries in the SouthEast Asian region) to the problem of sustaining tradition. However, the pressures on traditional values which arise from economic growth, or 'development', demand other answers[15]. Then, legal system, as example, could be used to explore broader matter of the adaptation into its compromise. Most reformist lawyers in Indonesia would now agree that 'reformasi hukum' is at best a confused mess[16]. Questions of Nielsen[17] about legal turbulences then remained : So why is this happening? Why has Indonesia's 'rush to law'? Or, resulted in the same old trope of 'law without law'?

Politicians and political parties, as well as private citizens, tend to resort to court action to resolve any conflicts among them. Courts of Justice are becoming overwhelmed by the many trivial conflicts. The theory of interests groups and its combination with divided government would provide very grim predictions on legislation. Supplementary explanations have been advanced in its favour. First is the so-called 'conspiratorial' theory based on differentials in

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15 Hooker, Virginia Matheson. 1993. **Culture and Society in New Order Indonesia**. Oxford : Oxford University Press. pg.13

16 Lindsey, Tim. 2000. "Corruption and The Failure of Law Reform" in in Manning, Chris and Van Diermen, Peter. 2000. **Indonesia in Transition : Social Aspects of Reformasi and Crisis**. Singapore : ISEAS. Pg.284 Nielsen17 about legal turbulences then remained : So why is this happening? Why has Indonesia's 'rush to law'? Or, resulted in the same old trope of 'law without law'?

17 Nielson, William. 1999. "The Rush to Law : The IMF Legal Conditionalities Meet Indonesia's Legal Culture Realities', in Lindsey, Tim and Duncan, Drew (eds). 1999. **Prospects for Reform in Post-Soeharto Indonesia.** Centre for Asia Pacific Initiatives. British Columbia : Univerity of Victoria Press

costs of politics compliance among institutions. A close relative of the conspiratorial theory is the interpretation of legislation as a symbolic gesture to please the general public [18]. Finally, interest group theory could also be based on consumers. Rent-seeking legislation could in this case have originated in the strong interest for political amenities expressed by upper-middle class individuals.

Horizontal and communal conflicts also often emerge as implication of the rising primordialism in the regional autonomy and administrative fragmentation[19]. It is frequently worsened by the involvement of 'indigenous bosses' collaborating with local leaders and elite parties colouring the local democracy with violence, intimidation, discrimination and riots. The situation is called by Bunte[20] as 'big bang decentralization' haunting state with more rooted corruption, a weak rule of law, a limited state capacity, and society disorder.

Many observers conclude that the government operates from a broad base of legitimacy. More support, such Liddle[21] and Emerson[22] said, has been bought with distribution than through coercion. Liddle[23] sees a wide acceptance of repressive institutions and few demands for democratic participation. Speaking of the Orde Baru, Robinson[24] also decided that it rules with the general acquiescence of most people and in the general interests of the middle and upper classes and has provided the conditions for economic growth and social stability. In fact, the state protects the interests of the middle and upper classes, quite directly at times, against the interests of the poorest. The press frequently recounts, for example, land disputes between large developmenters or corporations and small owners, squatters, or others with unwritten claims to land. Most of the victims was identified – by themself or by others – as indigenous community.

Compromise is everywhere a primary method of dispute settlement. In some societies, however, compromise is more prominent than in other; or maybe

18 Pardo, Jose Casas and Schwartz, Pedro (eds). 2007. **Public Choice and the Challenges of Democracy.** Cheltenham : Edward Elgar Press. pg.21 and 123
19 Malley, M. (2003). "New Rules, Old Stuctures and the Limits of Democratic Decentralisation," in E. Aspinall and Greg Fealy (eds). **Local Power and Politics in Indonesia: Decentralization and Democratizations**. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
20 Bunte, Marco and Andreas Ufen. **Democratization In Post-Suharto Indonesia**. New York: Routledge.
21 Liddle, William. 1989b. **The Relative Autonomy of The Third World Politician : Soeharto and Indonesian Economid Development in Comparative Perspective**. American Political Science Association.
22 Emerson, Donald. 1987. "Invisible Indonesia". **Foreign Affair** Vol 66 (2). Pg.368-387
23 Liddle, William. 1985. "Soeharto's Indonesia : Personal Rule and Political Institutions". **Pacific Affairs** Vol 58. Pg.68-90.
24 Robinson, Richard. 1986. **Indonesia : The Rise of Capital**. Australia : Allen and Unwin

it should be put the other way around that some societies rely more on formal conflict resolution that others. A few of the social variables are clear. Small communities where face to face relations predominate tend to emphasize conciliation and compromise. Conversely, unfamiliar relationships make formal third party decisions more appropriate. Whenever common interest of disputants can be established, compromise is likely. The burden of the concept of legal system, as it is used here, is procedure. What we want to understand, essentially, is how men get things done in society, how they manage their conflicts, what kinds of role they rely upon for assistance, how these roles are related systematically, and what resources of authority they have. The second, substantive, component of legal culture consist of fundamental assumptions about the distribution and uses of resources in society, social right and wrong, and so on. Because these assumption change over time, as societies themselves change, the concept of substantive legal culture requires a dynamic element. This is provided by a notion of ideological themes of economic, social, and political ideas which, as they evolve more or less quickly, are reflected in substantive legal behavior[25].

In general, rulers govern on a day-to-day basis, according to the latest opinion polls. We know that the difference between an ordinary (not to say mediocre) politician and the statesman lies in the fact that the former rules according to the preferences of the public as expressed in the opinion polls, whether the outcome would be reasonable and good for the community or not, while the letter is a politician who can convince people that some policy, which is not popular but which is good for the community, has to be implemented. The best theoretical instruments to analyses the political markets are modeling the latter as an oligopolistic market, strategic behaviour, and games theory.[26]

Epilog

The term 'indigenous' itself been co-opt-by. The real meaning of this term has been obscured by the dual connotations that it has acquired : of a silent mass

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25 Lev, Daniel S. 1972. " Judicial Institutions and Legal Culture in Indonesia" in Hold, C, Anderson, B, and Siegel, J. (eds). 1972. **Culture and Politics in Indonesia**. Ithaca : Cornell University Press. pg.246-281
26 Pardo, Jose Casas and Schwartz, Pedro (eds). 2007. **Public Choice and the Challenges of Democracy**. Cheltenham : Edward Elgar Press. pg.18-17

on the one hand, and an uncontrollable chaotic horde on the other. The situation has been identified that may be profoundly anti-democratic. Could be realizes that indigenous society is not always democratic and even able to marginalize other groups entirely from participation in the public sphere. Furthermore, encouraged by the neo-utilitarian arguments, states that actively pursue these policies also often try to undercut intentionally the self-organization of society. One of the more depressing findings or recent research on the conditions of democracy is indeed that dominant economic and social groups will turn against democracy unless their interests are protected by large conservative or clientelistic parties or secure pacts with other political forces.

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Panel 19

The Power of *Adat* and the Politics of Territory

BUBUHAN: A CONCEPT AS A BASIS FOR DEVELOPMENT
The Case of Resettlement Program of Dayak Meratus Tribes in South Kalimantan

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Abstract

This paper is aimed at exploring the living culture of Dayak Meratus tribes and explaining the implementation of the concept of *bubuhan* in an existing government resettlement program, namely Indigenous Community Empowerment or *Pemberdayaan Komunitas Adat Tepencil* (*PKAT*). Knowing and understanding the cultural values of Dayak Meratus tribes are very important in ensuring the success of the resettlement programs. Research is carried out by ethnography method, in particular, the approach of field observation and in-depth interviews. The descriptions presented in this paper are an overview of cultural interpretation and the notion of Dayak Meratus tribes, particularly the ones related to the implementation of resettlement program (PKAT) that so far have been doing well. From the research analysis, two factors have determined the success of the PKAT resettlement program for Dayak Meratus tribes in South Kalimantan, those are the maintenance of kinship system i.e. concept of *bubuhan* as the basis for the resettlements

program and the selection of the resettlement locations based on the *balai-adat* or traditional dwelling of each kinship group.

K E Y W O R D S : resettlement, Dayak Meratus, kinship, ethnography.

Introduction

The major problem or weakness in all government policies that relate to the traditional communities is 'to match' the purpose of program with the cultural values of local communities. It is common, the program that offered to the remote community is lacking of understanding to local cultures or in other words the local values are less accomodated into the program, that cause the prolong failure of the program. As a consequence, both of results and impact of the program will not be optimal. The importance of synchronizing the purpose of the program with the cultural values is due to the differences in assumptions that exist in community, such as the level of knowledge, the basic needs, lifestyle, etc. In the context of architecture, particularly the settlement issue, it is commonly found in the program of resettlement for isolated tribes in various regions in Indonesia. At the moment, the purpose of the program which is already good cannot be understood and accepted by the society, it is no longer something to be gained. In other words, the potential failure of the program is very huge. It is very important to understand the culture values of the community, especially the living culture, therefore, the result of the resettlement program can be applied to the local communities.

Indigenous Community Empowerment or *Pemberdayaan Komunitas Adat Terpencil* (PKAT) of resettlement Dayak Meratus tribes is acknowledged as one of the best practice in synchronizing the purpose of the government program with the cultural values. Traditionally, Dayak Meratus tribes live in Meratus Mountain region, South Kalimantan Province, Indonesia (Figure 1). The unique of their living tradition which lived by both of groups and nomad tradition is a challenge for PKAT program and becomes the focus of this paper.

Based on the problem or weakness and to show the best practice, this paper is aimed at exploring the living culture of the Dayak Meratus tribes and explaining the implementation of cultural values in an existing government resettlement program. Knowing and understanding the cultural values of Dayak
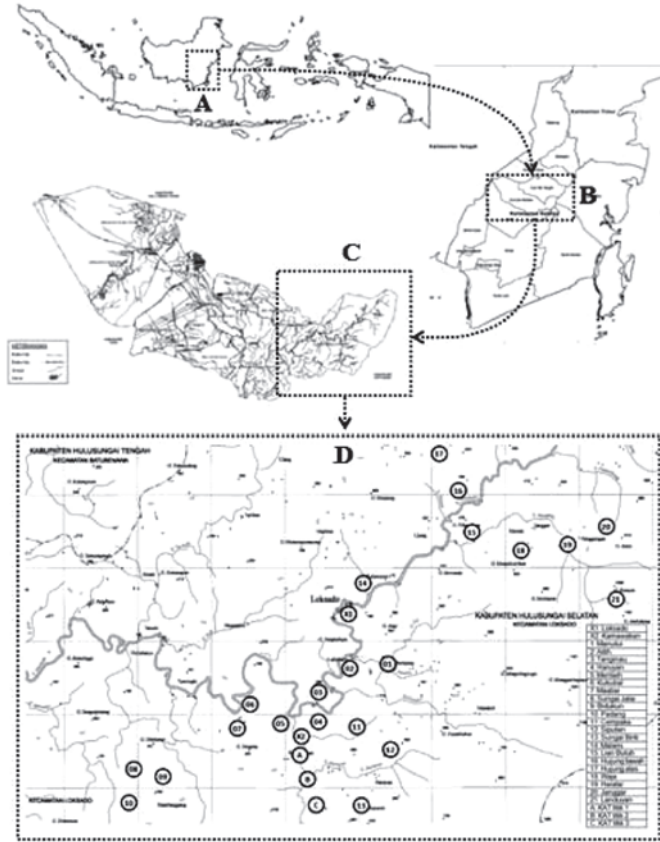
Figure 1 Research location and Dayak Meratus settlements (A) South Kalimantan Province in Borneo island, (B) Hulu Sungai Selatan regency, (C) Loksado sub district, (D) The spread of 21 balai-adat (settlements) as a research case.

Source: Muchamad, 2012.

Meratus tribes are the key and very important in ensuring the successful of resettlement programs.

The research is carried out by ethnography methods. In general, the term ethnography refers to the distinctiveness of writing or reporting based on intensive field research and eventually became the method which is intended to produce the reporting. Distinctive feature of ethnography is holistic, integrative, thick description, qualitative analysis in order to get a native's point of view. The main data collection techniques were participant observation and open interviews and in-depth by the researchers themselves. In operational research, this method refers to structure of Spradley's ethnographic methods (1979). This research used 21 balai-adat as a research case, all at once represents the

settlements of Dayak Meratus tribes in Loksado sub district. The descriptions presented in this paper are an overview of cultural interpretation and the notion of Dayak Meratus tribes, particularly related to the implementation of resettlement program (PKAT) that so far have been doing well.

Dayak Meratus and Cultivation Culture

In South Kalimantan and in some literature, there are various terms that refer to indigenous people of Meratus Mountains region, i.e. Dayak Meratus, Dayak Bukit, Dayak Banjar, Dayak Loksado, Orang Bukit, etc. The variety of names that refer to these tribes shows that the position of the Dayak Meratus tribes have not been studied yet or still unknown. However, all terms refer to the same entity, and in this study, the terminology used is Dayak Meratus tribes.

According to the characteristic of traditional societies, the Dayak Meratus tribes have elements of faith that dominantly influence other aspects of life, namely religion of *huma* (agricultural field). As a system, *huma* religion made up of religious beliefs and rituals associated with such belief. *Huma* religion belief essentially contains a variety of everyday behaviors that will influence or determine the success or failure of the farm, while the religious acts, especially the ceremonies, are held mostly during farming activities or related activities (Radam, 2001). Therefore, in everyday life, the main work of Dayak Meratus is farming (*bahuma*) especially rice (Oryza sativa) on non irrigated agricultural field. For comparison, in the District of Loksado, as a research location, paddy fields made up the largest (3595 ha with harvest yield as much as 11,276 tones) compared to corn, peanut, soybeans, etc. (BPS. HSS district, 2011:65).

Based on the belief, rice farming is considered as a sacred work and an obligation for all member of *bubuhan* (a group of Dayak Meratus tribes). The sanctity of the rice plant can be understood from the Bukit Dayak's name given for the rice. The name was not rice or *banih* (local name for rice), but *rezeki* (blessing of God), *buah tahun* (fruit of year), *buah pohon* (fruit of trees), *buah musim* (fruit of season), *kembang musim* (flower of season), dan *diyang* (Holy Spirit). The rice planting called *pergi berlayar* (going to sail), or *berlayar mencari kawan* (sailing looking for a friend). Rice grown is called *lahir di atas tilam berlapis*

lapis (born-plated pads). Rice harvested is mentioned as *dijemput* (picked up). Rice put into the barn is called elevated to *balai peristirahatan* (resort place). Pounded rice is called *dilepaskan baju keemasannya* (released golden dress). Rice ready to eat is called *diisap sarinya* (sucked the juice). While offering ceremonies, rice referred to *sari buah tahun* (essence of fruit of year), *sari buah pohon* (essence of fruit of trees), *sari bunga tahun* (essence of flower of year), and *sari bunga langit* (essence of flower of sky). The whole parable attached to rice planting and the process cannot be separated from respect for the sanctity and dignity of rice.

Figure 2 Opening of farmland
Source: documentation, 2011.

Dayak Meratus tribe farming in line with the tradition of living in a kinship, called *bubuhan*. Each *bubuhan* consists of several core families called *umbun*, and an *umbun* is made up from the parents (fathers and mothers) and the children, especially those who are still children or not married. Diagrammatically, the hierarchies of the Dayak Meratus tribes are shown in Figure 3. Cultivation is done by all members of *bubuhan*, men and women, and parents, adults / teens, and children alike. Each *bubuhan* has an indigenous territory (called banua) which large enough to allow each umbun to have some arable fields
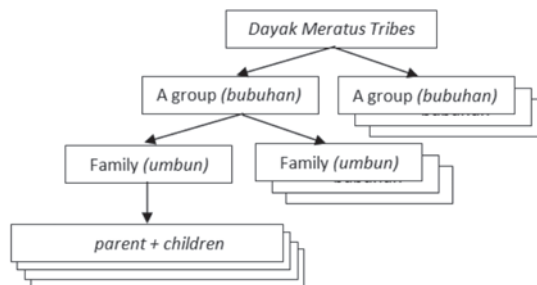
Figure 3 the structure of Dayak Meratus kinship
Source: compiled from the interview / field observation, 2012.

(*huma*). It is what makes the system of shifting cultivation can be carried out; that is the belief of the underlying obligation cultivates community groups and the availability of some farm fields.

Some Problems and Government Policy
Some Problems Related to Shifting Cultivation

Currently, one of the problems faced by the Dayak Meratus tribes, especially seen from the perspective of the science of architecture, is the increasing of housing needs and feasibility standards. This problem is closely related to Dayak Meratus tribes during this farming tradition. The need of housing was caused by rapid population growth. The imbalance of the increase between the *umbun* (family) in a *bubuhan* (group) and the traditional land of a *bubuhan* is considered as the root of the problem. Because the farm fields owned by each family divided among new *umbun* as a legacy, the area of land farm becomes less and less (narrow). As a consequence, less land owned by each *umbun* cause switching cycle farming traditions became shorter. Finally, the impact of the reduction of the acreage every *umbun* and arable field's short cycle is also reducing the crops. This condition is due to the unavailability of land to be planted in rotation so it does not give enough time for the land that has been planted to restore fertility. Nowadays, Loksado's area is 338.89 km2 with a population of 8173 inhabitants (BPS, 2011). With population that continues to increase the ratio of the number of inhabitants per km2 will continue to rise or the land owned by each family becomes narrowing (Figure 4). From the comparison between the total population and land area (Figure 5) and comparison with the land paddy for rice (Figure 6) the tendency has been much reduced. In some villages, there have been an increase in ratio and if it is calculated for shifting cultivation with a 10-15 year cycle, as in the past, for now on, this is no longer possible. The variety of problems, ranging from the increasing demand for housing, loss of arable land, reduced crop yields, to which the lost soil fertility led to increased poverty and decreased standard of living. From some existing settlements of Dayak Meratus tribes, the threat of poverty and the decline of living standards can be vividly recognize from the unfulfil of housing needs and the unhealthy living conditions.

For this reason, the central government, in this case the Department of Social of South Kalimantan Province and Local Government launched the empowerment program for remote indigenous communities particularly in the field of housing.
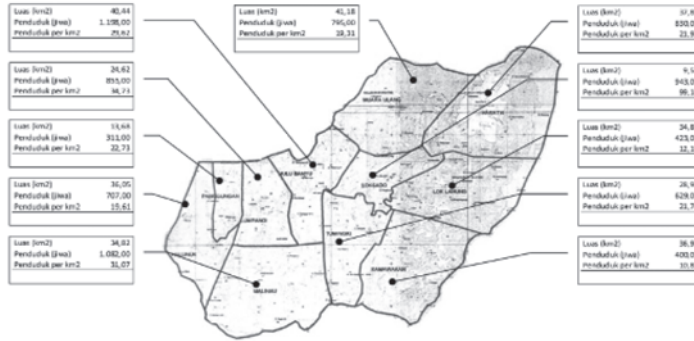
Figure 4. the ratio of the area, the amount and the density of population

Source: Graphics processing of the BPS District HSS, 2012.
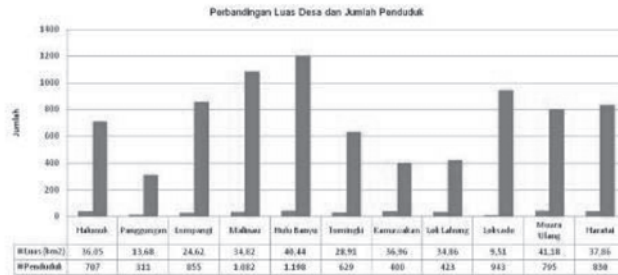
Figure 5 the ratio of the area and the amount of people

Source: Graphics processing of the BPS District HSS, 2012.
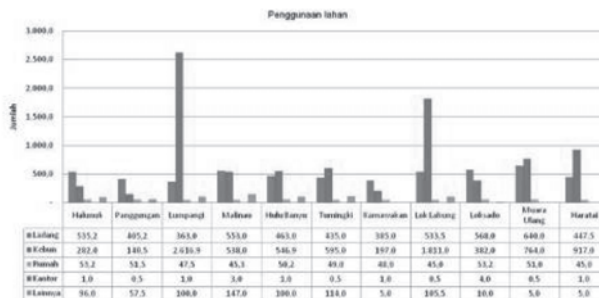
Figure 6 the ratio of the area and the land use

Source: Graphics processing of the BPS District HSS, 2012.

Local Effort

Thus far, the problem of the growing need for housing has been responded by the Dayak Meratus tribes. Various efforts to meet the housing needs have been implemented, by adding extended *bilik* (chamber spaces) at the *balai-adat*, build huts around the *bilik* or *balai-adat*, and, currently, build separate homes in outside the *balai-adat*. The whole efforts to meet the housing needs are not running evenly, because it depends on awareness, education and of course, the economic capabilities of each family or group. Economically, when they have the ability, they will build homes with a variety of types (area), kinds of materials, structures, and other supporting elements. Meanwhile, for families who have not been able to build a home, they will stay in *balai-adat* and extend existing *bilik* space. This is why there are some Dayak Meratus people seemed to be less feasible.

Schematically, the initiative to build a place to stay in that has been done by the Dayak Meratus can be distinguished based on self-supporting or by the government programs (Figure 7). It is also can be seen from the distance to their traditional settlement (*balai-adat*). However, in this paper is not to discuss the whole initiative, but only with respect to the involvement of government programs.
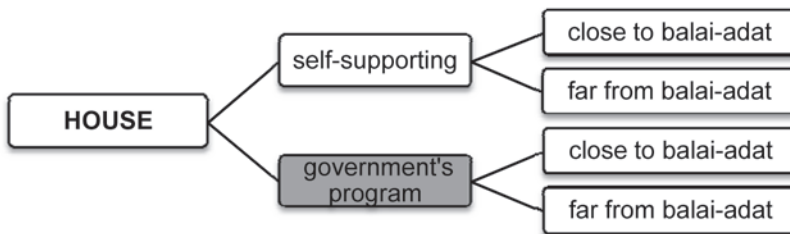
Figure 7 House development pattern
Source: researcher, 2012.

Of the 21 cases of existing research, the following data and distribution of Dayak Meratus settlements base on the initiative.

Balai-adat	Inisiatif membangun rumah	
	Swadaya	PKAT
X. Loksado*	√	
1. Manutui	√	
2. Aitih	√	
3. Tanginau	√	
4. Haruyan	√	
8. Sungai Jalai	√	
9. Bidukun	√	
10. Padang	√	
14. Malaris	√	
15. Lian Buluh	√	
16. Hujung bawah	√	
17. Hujung atas	√	
18. Waja	√	
19. Haratai	√	√
11. Cempaka		√
12. Siputan		√
13. Sungai Binti		√
5. Mentaih		√
6. Kukubal		√
7. Maabai		√
20. Janggar		√
21. Landuyan		√

Figure 8. Distribution of Dayak Meratus settlements based on the initiative

Source: researcher, 2012.

Data and distribution of Dayak Meratus settlements base on the distance of balai-adat shown below.

Balai-adat	Lokasi rumah thd balai-adat.	
	Dekat	Jauh
X. Loksado*	√	
1. Manutui	√	
2. Aitih	√	
4. Haruyan	√	
8. Sungai Jalai	√	
9. Bidukun	√	
10. Padang	√	
14. Malaris	√	
15. Lian Buluh	√	
17. Hujung atas	√	
18. Waja	√	
21. Landuyan	√	
5. Mentaih		√
6. Kukubal		√
7. Maabai		√
11. Cempaka		√
12. Siputan		√
13. Sungai Binti		√
20. Janggar		√
3. Tanginau	√	√
16. Hujung bawah	√	√
19. Haratai	√	√
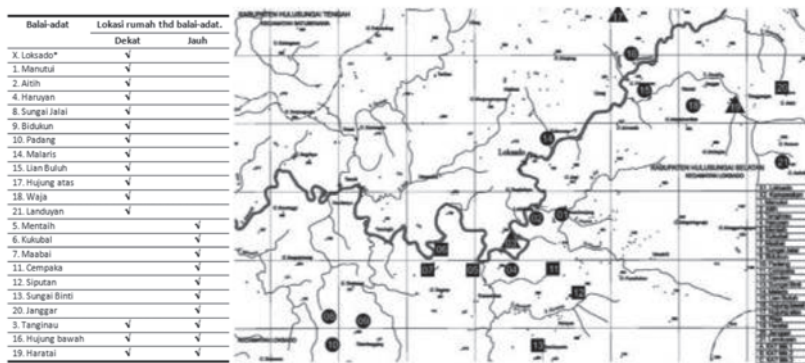
Figure 9
Distribution of Dayak Meratus settlements base on the distance to balai-adat

Source: researcher, 2012.

Resettlement Program

One of the government's policy to break the chain of poverty and improve living standards as well as cater for the families of the Dayak Meratus that economically not have the ability to build their own is by the provision of a healthy housing. Previously, a similar program has also been implemented around the 1970s that is the PMKT program or called by locals as the *kampung pemerintah* (the government's village). However, the PMKT program is hardly

accepted by Dayak Meratus tribes, and most residents resettled in PMKT were back to their traditional dwelling or *balai-adat*.

In this study, from the 21 settlements or the research case found that there are eight settlements received resettlement assistance program and built in five locations. Three settlements were united in a location, point A (called *titik* A), two settlements united at point B (*titik* B), and one settlements at point C (*titik* C). The three of PKAT locations are far from the *balai-adat*. While existing settlements at point 19 and point 21 to be located around of *balai-adat*.

Based on the field observations, the data, and the analysis obtained, there are two characteristics of the policies implemented in the PKAT program that gained success, those are the location of resettlement around traditional dwelling (*balai-adat*) and maintenance of the system of kinship (concept of *bubuhan*) in the resettlements.

Location Was Nearby *Balai-adat*

As alluded earlier, to meet the need for housing, Dayak Meratus tribes have been adding extended space of *bilik* (chamber spaces) at the *balai-adat*, build huts around the *bilik* or *balai-adat*, and, currently, build separate houses outside the *balai-adat*. Effort to meet the needs for housing is centered on the *balai-adat*, so it can be understood if the dwelling always be around the *balai-adat*. This is an evident that the government assistance through the housing program for indigenous communities or PKAT programs can be accepted by Dayak Meratus tribes and keen to stay although far from the *balai-adat*. This phenomenon occurs in PKAT resettlements at Kamawakan village that includes locations in point 1, 2 and 3 (Figure 11).

Locations of houses most likely were built around the *balai-adat*, but in some settlements (i.e. Kukubal, Maabai, Cempaka, Siputan, Sungai Binti, and Janggar) the house is far from the *balai-adat*. It is likely due to the lack of ability or economic willingness to built houses. This case can be seen in the resettlement at Haratai village, which built not far from the *balai-adat*.

21. PKAT at balai-adat Landuyan   19. PKAT at balai-adat Haratai

Figure 10. Resettlement at Haratai Village
Source: documentation, 2011.

Bound by Kinship System

For people who live in groups in extensive kinship ties or *virilocal* extended family, the bound of kinship is always maintained. Although some Dayak Meratus people have no belief on *huma* religion, their settlements remain clustered based on ancestry or *bubuhan*. This also applies to PKAT resettlements program, people who come from some *balai-adat* will remain together in their new location. The case of PKAT resettlement away from the balai-adat (like PKAT at Kamawakan village) commonly used field site that belongs to the possession of their ancestors.

Any evidence that Dayak Meratus maintain their kinship can be seen at PKAT resettlement program at Kamawakan village. It is intended to resettle residents from the seven settlements or *balai-adat* on three locations or points (*titik*). People from *balai-adat* Mentaih, Kukubal, and Maabai united on one point (point 1) with totaling 17 units, while from *balai-adat* Cempaka and Siputan united at point 2 amounting to 28 units, and from *balai-adat* Sungai Binti located at point 3 amount to 25 units.

PKAT at point 1 (17 unit)   PKAT at point 2 (28 unit)

PKAT at point 3 (25 unit)
Figure 11 resettlement program at Kamawakan village
Source: documentation, 2011.

To this point, the term of *bubuhan* understood by Dayak Meratus tribes settled in the implementation, particularly in PKAT program, has a very important significance. Traditionally, the term *bubuhan* refers to the meaning of both of bound by kinship (family or marriage) or by conviction. However, from the analysis, it turns out of the existing implementation of PKAT entirely influenced by socio-civic system of kinship. Starting from the beginning of the tradition of living up to build houses in order fulfill the growing need for a place to stay, all reflect the meaning and nature of this kinship. Therefore, in the context of dwelling of Dayak Meratus tribes, terms and concepts of *bubuhan* have been meaningful more than just denotative attribute, but already understood as the connotative meaning. Meaning of the concept of *bubuhan* which is found in this study comes from the perspective of Dayak Meratus tribes.

Conclusion

There are two factors that determine the success of the PKAT resettlement program at Dayak Meratus tribes in South Kalimantan Province. The first is maintenance of the kinship system (concep of *bubuhan*) as a concept of the resettlements. The second is the selection of the resettlement locations base on the *balai-adat* or traditional dwelling of each group. Essentially, implementation the concept of *bubuhan* is a key to the PKAT resettlements program and an answer of why the Dayak Meratus tribes can receive and live in their new homes.

In general, although the resettlement program of traditional communities at Dayak Meratus tribes can be regarded as successful, if seen from the aspect of design architecture (or architectural design) it seems not yet according to

vernacularism. For that reason, this study recommended a research for design houses based on the culture and living tradition of Dayak Meratus.

Acknowledgements

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THE BUILT UP LIGHT OF GOD IN THE TRADITIONAL HOUSE[1]
A Case Study of *nDalem Pangeranan* in Baluwarti Kampong, Surakarta Palace

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ABSTRACT

N*Dalem Pangeranan* is a monumental architecture of the package object in the local wisdom. Symbol, sign, size and colours at *nDalem Pangeranan* show up microcosm replicas of the livelihood. Based on those visual sign, Prince/ess and their families have been bond of behavior and territorial value of Kasunanan Kingdom of Surakarta. This condition has influenced the atmosphere of the custom which are inherent within, and this turns out to create a space and a comfortable stay. The custom is bound in the form of eternal light on the physical and spirit of nobles, which can be seen distinctly. The light is a sign of the presence of God in the livelihood especially.in *nDalem Pangeranan*

This research was done using Naturalistic Qualitative method for 6 months. Sampling was used as the unit of exploration and the analysis consists of fifteen *nDalem Pangeranan* located at Baluwarti Kampong. This paper suggests that, generally the South direction become exclusive and perennial orientation, The Kejawen ritual become basic of light perennial religious , Wayang showed up in at light of face , accesories, dress in and behavior , and then Microcosmos power controlling macrocosmos cycle.

KEYWORDS: kingdom, perennial , light of god, microcosmos, south

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[1] Paper will presentation of INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES AND "THE PROJECTS OF MODERNITY " in The 4th International Graduate Student Conference on Indonesia, Graduate Scholl of Gadjah Mada University, 30-31 Oktober 2012

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Introduction

nDalem Pangeranan is the monumental architecture of the package object in the local wisdom. Symbol, sign, size and colors showed up at *nDalem Pangeranan* microcosmos replica in livehood. The facility is a miniature kingdom of physical and non-physical, the authority of a prince. While the facility is also a building complex consisting of main building (occupied by Princes/ess and his family), and building tenant (occupied by relatives, courtiers and guests). *nDalem Pangeranan* named after the prince who inhabits as well as a status symbol of nobility that is eternal.

Based on those visual sign, Prince / ess and their families have been the bond of behavior and territorial value of Kasunanan Kingdom Surakarta are balance of condition in *nDalem Pangeranan*. This condition influenced at atmosphere of the custom roomates are inherent within, turned out to be able to created a space and a comfortable stay. Mind if that must be done by the Princes/ess, a key to creating peace and dignity in *nDalem Pangeranan*. Ritual behavior has formed the heart and soul closeness with *Gusti Allah* (God)

The custom is bound in the form of eternal light on the physical and spirit of nobles, which can be seen distinctly. The light is a sign of the presence of God in the livehood especially at *nDalem Pangeranan*. Light is visually seen on the face of the prince and the family that exudes admiration, nobility and happiness significantly. Position the light turns carrying a significant influence in the glory of the past and the present downturn in the *nDalem Pangeranan*. In connection with these conditions, researchers interested in exploring more about the role of the light factor. Light of *Gusti Allah* (God) assumed is the prestige of noble values . In addition, also look for possible forms of relationship and the influence of light on the process and the existence of nobility *nDalem Pangeranan*.

Problem

How were the noble soul and characteristics (*Genius Loci*) of the *nDalem Pangeranan* built?

1. Sacred Orientation

nDalem Pangeranan is one of the facilities owned by Kraton Surakarta and functioned for the descent. Each *nDalem Pangeranan* be in court covered by tenant houses. Orientation of the building facing the same direction, namely towards the South. Based on survey data, the direction is based on the strength and power of the main sacred values *Kanjeng Ratu Kidul*. The figure is formed and bring a strong influence on the history of culture in Kraton Surakarta, among others on the value of philosophical, ritual supplies, decoration and cultural objects.

In addition, the South also viewed as media traffic imaginary *Kanjeng Ratu Kidul* and her soldiers. This is often evidenced by the sound lampor (accompaniment jingling horse-drawn carriage in the sky, as vehicle of *Kanjeng Ratu Kidul*) and the accompanying heavy rains. These events often occur as a marker would be evil or death in the family of the Princes/ess. While at the concert family events such as weddings, births and other life events, often attended by a woman with the appearance of a special beauty and full of authority and floral scent *Kanthil* (Cempaka Putih / Michelia alba) very sharp.

Therefore, the direction toward building a position *nDalem Pangeranan Krobongan / Petanen* as the main sacred space, are in a prime position to open the South and the North as the direction of balance. Direction is intended as a way of communication, interaction and a symbol of the presence of *Kanjeng Ratu Kidul.*

Regard to orientation, so as to form *nDalem Pangeranan* display, shown in the following figure 1

As for the position of *nDalem Pangeranan*, is shown in the following figure 2

Conclusion

South is the main direction when compared to the North, East and West. The presence and power of the imaginary *Kanjeng Ratu Kidul*, understood among the Princes and great family Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta as a major figure

Figure 1.
nDalem Pangeranan at Kampung Baluwarti Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta
Source: Document of Research, 2010
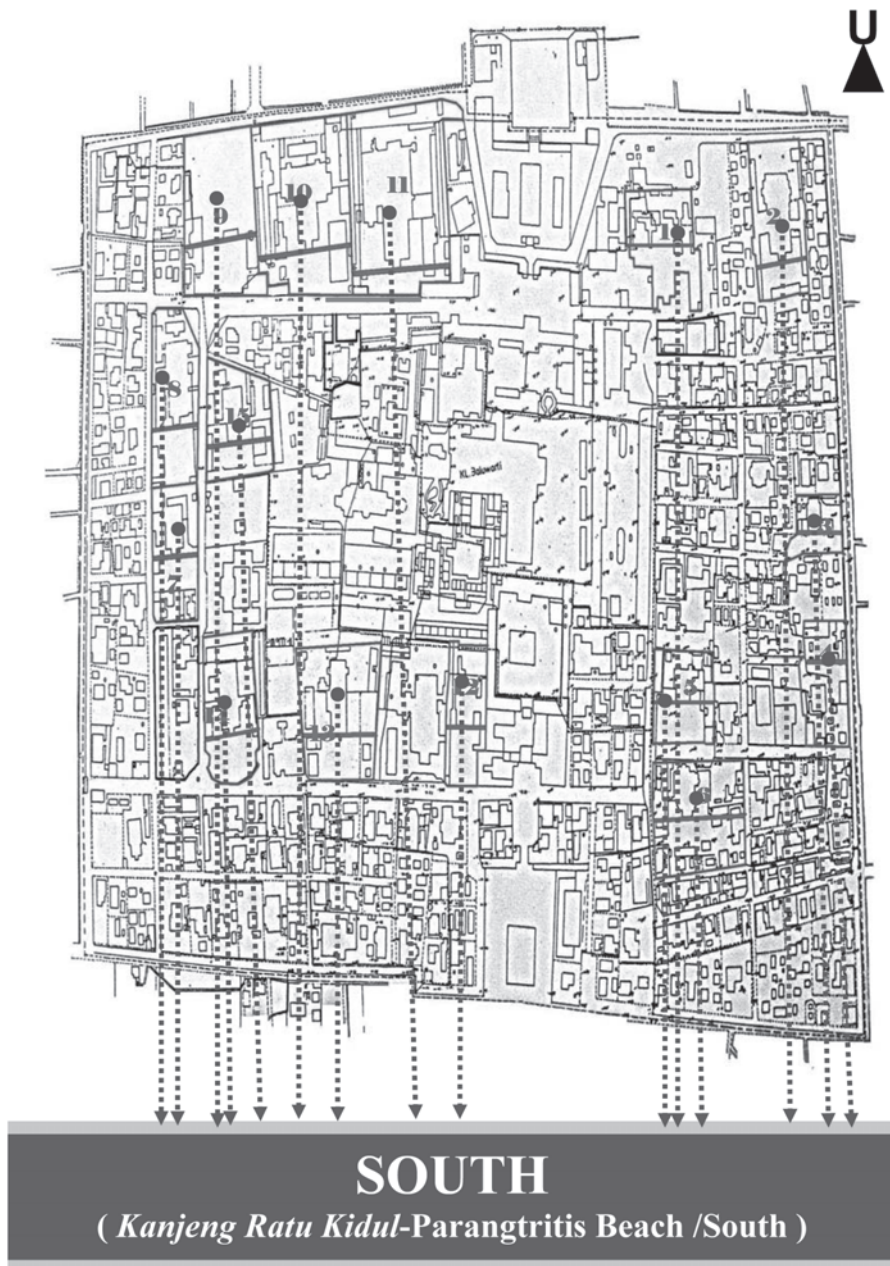
Figure 2.
Map of sacred orientation of *nDalem Pangeranan* at Kampung Baluwarti Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta
Source: Personal Document, 2012

and a noble one symbolic embodiment of God's messengers *Gusti Allah*. The presence of these figures can not be excluded from the embryo culture Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta, as has been stated in understanding symbols, decoration and building orientation *nDalem Pangeranan* also facing south. In addition, the light emitted by the Princes/ess and noble families as owner of *nDalem Pangeranan*, well shaped and influenced by the proximity of the inner relationship with *Kanjeng Ratu Kidul*.

In addition, the South is also a family-oriented activities throughout the nobility in Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta and *nDalem Pangeranan*. The location of the entrance and circulation flow of the Princes/ess were also in the North-South direction. As for family, relatives, courtiers and guests, directed to enter the door on the East and West. If a current circulation of residents and guests must pass through South-North direction, then it should do attitude of *laku dhodhok* . Attitude shows respect to the flow of circulation, the value of sacred space and *Kanjeng Ratu Kidul*.

In connection with the cycles of life, the foundation of strong *Kejawen* religious and sacred values towards the south, it has been demonstrated visually the light beam nobility. Light is a noble characteristic that distinguishes the physical appearance between the nobles and commoners, and radiates from the faces of the Princes/ess and his/her family. Light shaping and reflecting the inner atmosphere soothing and happy, in personal interactions and form the atmosphere in *nDalem Pangeranan*. Light of *Gusti Allah* (God) always be timeless, emotional and full of elegance radiate though the prince was having problems.

Thus, when the Princes/ess or his/her family has died or residing outside the scope *nDalem Pangeranan*, the gradation charm and atmosphere of nobility becomes less too. Because the atmosphere is focused on the light and atmosphere of inner nobility. Despite ornaments, fixtures and furnishings *nDalem Pangeranan* still hospitalized, but the atmosphere was demonstrated mental degradation.

2. Basic Identity

The life of the Princes/ess and his/her family are always based on the rules and sequences in the story of colossal puppets (*wayang*) . Behavior, ways of

Proceeding

The 4th International
Graduate Student Conference
on Indonesia

Theme
INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES AND
"THE PROJECTS OF MODERNITY"

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL UGM, 30-31 OKTOBER 2012

Keynote speakers

Dr. Pujo Semedi Hargo Yuwono
(Gadjah Mada University)

Dr. Suraya Afif
(University of Indonesia)

Mr. Amrih Widodo
(Australian National University)

Associate Professor Maribeth Erb
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Prof. Dr. Sudibyakto
Dr. Budiawan
Dr. Ratna Noviani
Dr. Samsul Ma'arif
Tri Kuntoro Priambodo

Editor
Dr. Budiawan

PROCEEDING
The 4ᵗʰ International Graduate Students Conference on Indonesia

T H E M E
INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES AND
"THE PROJECTS OF MODERNITY"

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL UGM, 30-31 OKTOBER 2012

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 2012, it is the fourth conference, entitled *Indigenous Communities and The Project of Modernity*, chaired by Dr. Budiawan, our lecturer from Cultural and Media Studies Department. The main objective of this conference is to provide a media for graduate students in disseminating their research results. The topic was adopted with at least three reasons: (1) modern project tend to explore natural resources in every district since regional autonomy era in 2004, (2) sustainable development has three consideration aspects namely , ecologic, economic, and social matters, and (3) cultural development of modern project has impact on local wisdom and also on indigenous communities. They are still isolated and far from modern facility, and hence they are underdeveloped and undergo far from modern activities.

Indonesian development has been based on sustainable development criteria. In ecological point of view, natural resources exploitation was intensively carried out in Sumatera, Kalimantan, and Papua covering forest and mining resources. Every district cut forest for their welfare which include more than 1 million hectare a year. Mining activities (petroleum, charcoal, silver, and gold) are running continuously. These industrial activities sometimes are done in the indigenous communities (Dayak, Banten, Sasak, Toraja, etc). They make suffer the people and create some conflicts in socio-economic consideration, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increasing is considerable (e" 6%), but it is still being questioned whether it cover the indigenous community socio-economic welfare or not. There is no research and accurate information talking about this delicate case. Normally, the underdeveloped society becomes the victim of the modernity.

Claim by Dayak people about land status in the river vicinity in Kalimantan (7 km) as well as Ondoafi claim in Papua are still in ambiguous position. They are not resolved yet.

The proceeding of fourth IGSC presents fifty seven papers that discuss about (1) Conflicts of land within indigenous narratives, (2) Indigenous enterprise engaging tourism, (3) Visualizing the indigenous culture, (4) The local survivals in global change challenges, (5) The local in global media discourses, (6) Cultural commodification within and without, etc. All of these try to present core figures of isolated and suffered people who are still underdeveloped and beyond the modernity. It would rise some hopes that they are involved and being centered in modernity.

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, Sari, etc). I really raise our apology for several inconveniences during the conference. I hope that the conference 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
Director of Graduate School
Gadjah Mada University

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INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES AND THE 'PROJECTS OF MODERNITY' IN POST-SUHARTO INDONESIA:
An Introduction

BUDIAWAN

In Jakarta in March 1999, participants in the First Congress of the Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago (*Kongres Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* I) brought the proceedings to a close with the resounding proclamation: 'If the state will not recognize us, then we will not recognize the state'. This statement, which was formulated by more than two hundred representatives of indigenous peoples nationwide, reflected their anger and frustration at the Indonesian state's inability to resolve long-running conflicts. Many of the conflicts have lasted decades (Moniaga, 2007: 275).

Since the resignation of President Suharto in 1998, the issue of 'adat', just like many other issues, gets its moment to revive. Communities and ethnic groups across Indonesia have indeed publicly, vocally, and sometimes violently, demanded the right to implement elements of a customary law (*hukum adat*) in their home territories. A number of examples can be mentioned as follows.

In the name of adat, Balinese villagers have rejected 'megatourism' development projects. In an atmosphere of mounting xenophobia, they revived customary regulations forbidding the sale of land to outsiders and denying residence in the village to anyone not participating in its Hindu religious life. In the name of adat as well, a cultural and political awakening among the long-marginalized Dayaks of West Kalimantan has spawned a self-empowerment movement and led to mass violence against migrants to the province. In the name of adat too, small-scale farmers in Sulawesi and Flores have challenged the legitimacy of national park boundaries, while local elites have hijacked the growing potency of adat for personal gain. In the name of adat, long-dormant sultanates, from Sumatra to the Moluccas, have suddenly been revived. It is also in the name of adat, Jakarta-based and regional activists have combined

forces to form Indonesia's first national indigenous peoples' lobby: AMAN or *Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* – literally, the 'Archipelagic Alliance of Adat Communities' (Henley and Davidson, 2007: 1), in which in their first Congress they declared a resounding proclamation as cited above. In short, 'adat' has been and is going to be a strategic site from which people – either individually or collectively – strive for their rights to self-determination, particularly on things related to 'tradition'.

Obviously that the term 'adat' or 'tradition', which carries connotations of calm order and consensus, has suddenly become associated with activism, protest, and even violent conflict. Perhaps it is not wrong to say that the years after the fall of Soeharto have been witnessing adat revivalism in its various manifestations. It is the concern of this Conference, organized by the Graduate School of Gadjah Mada University, to explore these manifestations in order to expose the complexity of the negotiating efforts of the indigineous communities for their rights to self-determinism in the whole aspects of life. This objective can be achieved only by contextualizing the issue in question in the globalized arena of conflicting interests. It is due to the fact that various actors, both local and global, national and inter-/trans-national, are involved in the arena of contestation. Therefore, multi-/inter-disciplinary perspectives are of a necessity to approach the issue in question.

***

This proceeding is a compilation of fifty seven [*sic*!] papers contributed by young scholars of various disciplines. Most papers, however, are concerned with the social, cultural and political dimensions of the issue in question, while some are concerned with the economic and legal ones. Only a few are dealing with the physical and technical aspects of the 'projects of modernity' for the indigenous communities. Hardly any paper is concerned with the global networking of advocating activism of the 'indigeneous' communities; and none of the papers is discussing the theoretical debate of the concept of 'indigenous' and 'indigenity' as such.

From such a rough mapping of the papers compiled here, it is obvious that social, cultural and political debates on the issue of indigenous community are of a major interest among scholars and activists. Without putting aside

other aspects, apparently that social, cultural and political debates are directly linked to the problem of identity among the indigenous communities *viz-a-viz* various forms of 'the projects of modernity' initiated by either the state, or trans-national capital, or institutionalized religions, or all of the three agencies at once. Take an example the paper of Ikwan Setiawan, which discusses complicated cultural appropriations and fluid-hybrid subjectivity in a local sphere, referring to the case of Tengger people of East Java. Following Bhabha's concept of *cultural in-betweenness* and *hybridity*, Setiawan explores the *cultural in-betweenness* and *hybridity* experienced by Tengger people as local subjects as a response to the advent of modern cultures, particularly consumption practice and profane narratives of media. Indeed, being modern in local sphere has become regime of truth and has made the local subjects identifying themselves with metropolitan life styles, although not completely. However, Setiawan contends, because of institutionalization of traditional cultures since their childhood, the local people are still practicing some important rituals communally, obeying some traditional taboos, and believing supernatural power. Bhabha calls such cultural condition as *vernacular cosmopolitanism* in which the local subjects desire modern progress of life without individualism.

Such a form of negotiation (with the 'projects of modernity') can also be found in the case of Boti tribe, East Nusa Tenggara, in maintaining the identity of their indigenous religion, *Atoin Pah Meto*, *viz-a-viz* Christianity, as written by Elisabeth Helen. In her paper, Helen brings various components of peoples' traditional ideas practices to look at from a different point of view on Indigenous Religion, not from the standpoint of world religions. From such an insight, one can see how they make sense of their 'self' and their strategies for survival.

On the contrary, the case of Bajo sea nomad people of Southeast Sulawesi, as written by Benny Baskara, shows its contrast. In his paper, Baskara poins out how the maritime life of Bajo people has been commodified for the sake of tourism by various agencies; and the Bajo people themselves seem to have a little interest in it. It does not necessarily mean that the Bajo people are willing to be objectified. What Baskara wants to contend is that there is a little and mutual connection between 'modernity' and 'living tradition'.

<div align="center">***</div>

From those samples of papers, it is clear that the academic spirit of most scholars contributing their works to this proceeding is exploring the issue in concern in order to build some emphatetic understanding of the problem in question. It is by such an emphaty a scholar turns to be an engaged individual, through which knowledge production would likely help the making of public welfare.

Hopefully the compilation of these fifty seven papers is taking a part in clearing a path to such a normative virtue.

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ON INDONESIA
"INDIGENEOUS COMMUNITIES AND THE PROJECT OF MODERNITY"

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Waktu   : 07.30 – 17.00 WIB
Tempat   : University Club UGM, Jln. Pancasila No. 2 Bulaksumur
Pakaian   : Batik bebas
Perihal   : Daftar panitia sekaligus sebagai surat tugas No. 2738/H1.SPs/KP/2012

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Cultural Night	:	Dr. Paramitha Dyah Fitriasari
Moderator	:	

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2. Dr. Pramono Hadi
3. Dr. Budiawan
4. Dr. Dewi Haryani Susilastuti
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16. Drs. Kris Budiman, M.Hum
17. Emil Karmila, M.Dev

Perlengkapan, Dekorasi, dan seminar kit	:	Pardiana ,Sri Suhardjo, Suberono, Ngadiman
Konsumsi	:	Asri Supeni Riwayanti R., SIP, Ambar Ismoyowati, Paidi
Dokumentasi video, TI, spanduk, backdrop, poster, co-card	:	Pudji Widodo, M.Kom., Feri Wibowo, ST Latif Nuryawan
Humas dan dokumentasi foto	:	Arni Wistriatun,SIP, Latif Nuryawan Pri Juwandi (informasi)
Cetak Sertifikat dan daftar hadir	:	Winahyuning Cahyani, Feri Wibowo, ST Latif Nuryawan
Transportasi	:	Samsuri, Ali Chaedori
MC	:	Ana Zahida
Pendamping MC	:	Indri Sugiarti
Penerima Tamu	:	Sugiyarso, SE, Bagus Sri Widodo, SE, Indri Sugiarti, S.Kom Sutarno
Penjaga daftar hadir	:	M. Eko Erwanto (Pendaftaran sertifikat dan SPPD) Indah Yuli R. (pembayaran seminar) Sudilah (pembayaran seminar) Fitria Nur Rochmah (daftar hadir presenter) Ambar Ismoyowati (daftar hadir peserta) Sugiharno (daftar hadir tamu undangan)

Penjaga daftar hadir panel
Selasa, 30 Oktober 2012 (Pukul 10.00 – 12.00 WIB)
1. Bagus Sri Widodo (Panel 1 Sesi I Ruang Humaniora)
2. Fitria Nur Rocmah (Panel 2 Sesi I Ruang Resto Timur)
3. Indah Yuli R. (Panel 3 Sesi I Ruang Yustisia)
4. Sugiharno (Panel 4 Sesi I Ruang Grafika)
5. Indri Sugiarti (Panel 5 Sesi I Ruang Bulaksumur)

Selasa, 30 Oktober 2012 (Pukul 13.00 – 15.15 WIB)
6. Sugeng Budi (Panel 6 Sesi II Ruang Humaniora)
7. Maulida Khusni B (Panel 7 Sesi II Ruang Grafika)
8. Latif Nuryawan (Panel 8 Sesi II Ruang Yustisia)
9. Winahyuning Cahyani (Panel 9 Sesi II Ruang Bulaksumur)
10. Ana Anggraini (Panel 10 Sesi II Ruang Resto Timur)

Rabu, 31 Oktober 2012 (Pukul 10.00 – 12.00 WIB)
11. Arni Wistriatun (Panel 11 Sesi III Ruang Humaniora)
12. Feri Wibowo (Panel 12 Sesi III Ruang Grafika)
13. Sudilah (Panel 13 Sesi III Ruang Resto Timur)
14. Sito Hapsari (Panel 14 Sesi III Ruang Yustisia)
15. Siti Nur Hidayah (Panel 15 Sesi III Ruang Bulaksumur)

Rabu, 31 Oktober 2012 (Pukul 13.00 – 15.15)
16. Ambar Ismoyowati (Panel 16 Sesi IV Ruang Yustisia)
17. Sutarno (Panel 17 Sesi IV Ruang Resto Timur)
18. Fitria Nur Rochmah (Panel 18 Sesi IV Ruang Bulaksumur)
19. Eko Erwanto (Panel 19 Sesi IV Ruang Grafika)

Pengantar surat	:	Aris Suhardi
Seksi stand buku, leaflet SPs	:	Pradiastuti Purwitorosari, SS.

speaking and thinking shaped by the teachings of puppetry. Advice and way of life was packed with visualization puppet (*wayang*) characters that grow beyond the grip grooves puppet (*wayang*). Although the grooves grip the Mahabharata and Ramayana came from India, but the teachings of the religious *Kejawen* hereditary in Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta has created different versions for teaching media.

The existence of puppets (*wayang*) as a learning media daily, applied to the spatial in *nDalem Pangeranan*. Various ornaments, ritual paraphernalia and a Javanese wayang designed on the *Pringgitan*. So when the family of the prince was about to hold a puppet show, then *Pringgitan* became a sacred space. Meanwhile, when the puppet will hold, then the *Pendhapa* became a sacred space.

In addition, how to dress the Princes/ess, family, relatives, courtiers and guests, who met in the implementation of a specific event, like a puppet underwear anyway. So that when examined, life puppets (*wayang*) are also used as a pattern of daily life. With regard to the relationship puppet (*wayang*) media in the lives of the inhabitants *nDalem Pangeranan*, it is described in the following figure 3

Conclusion

Kejawen is a summary of the various religions predecessors and traditional understanding of the kings and the descendants in Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta. The nobility (the Princes/ess and his/her families) who do mind though according to the *Kejawen* teachings in depth, often obtaining the grace light as a symbol of God's presence in personal *Gusti Allah* (God). Light noble identical with light *Gusti Allah* (God), regarded as the revelation that sticks to one's life. Often the light is also attached to the descendants of *Kejawen* ritual though not in depth. Blessing has a noble light, a tremendous boon and always sought. The light is at certain people, and can be observed by the family and the public. Light of *Gusti Allah* (God) the application of power and nobility especially in *nDalem Pangeranan* and Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta.

In addition, the puppet (*wayang*) is also a tangible reality and diwujudnyatakan the real face of the nobles. Faces such as carved in the form

Figure 3 . The prince, the owner and kindred of *nDalem Pangeranan*
Source: Document of Research, 2010

of puppets (*wayang*), who became immortal and sacred values   symbolize the nobility and reflects the close relationship with *Gusti Allah (God)*. specials. Thus, the puppet (*wayang*) is not only a result of culture but set the pattern of life and the physical appearance and behavior for life. *nDalem Pangeranan* was also a real puppet stage and nuanced heaven. Related about that, above some pictures showed basic identity, namely:

Figure 4.
The prince, and kindred of Kraton Kasunann Surakarta and *nDalem Pangeranan*
Source: Personal Document, 2010

3.   Internal Prime Power

The nobility were to do penance / concerned / penance in order to get closer to *Gusti Allah* (God). Determine if the inner depth of the authority of the nobles, especially Prince. However, not all of the Princes/ess nor nobility able and diligent perform religious rituals *Kejawen*. If the inner perfection also affect the whole life of the physical and non-physical. These capabilities make the words of the Lord as *idu geni* / spit fire, which means whatever is said will occur and the *Sabda Pandhita Ratu* meaning of words spoken is the word of *Gusti Allah* (God). With inner strength based on a near-perfect, then the condition is under control of the natural surroundings of the Princes/ess. Even the family, relatives, courtiers and guests did not dare take action, if the Princes/

ess did not tell or give example. Based on of inner strength though, it can be described by the following picture:
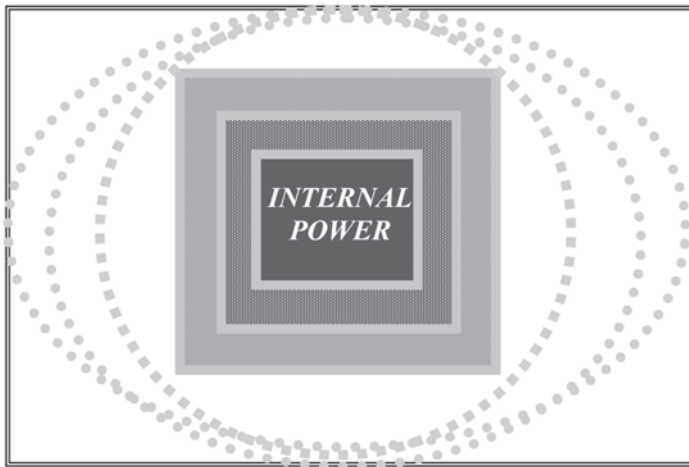

Figure 5.
The The power and strength of moods influence the prince at nDalem Pangeranan
Source: Personal Document , 2012

While the plan of *nDalem Pangeranan* design , described in the following figure:
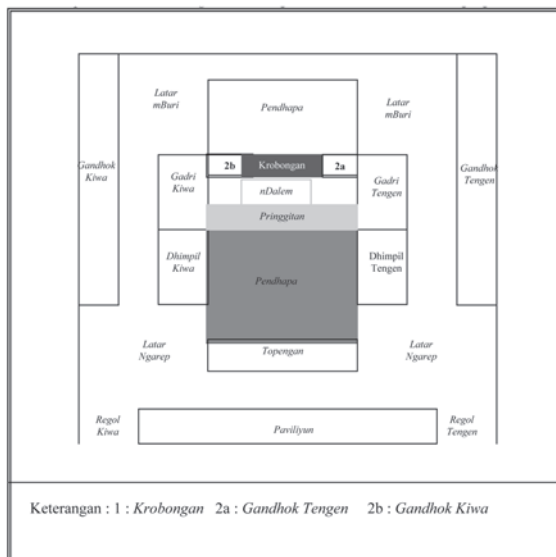

Figure 3.
The power and strength of fisik of the prince at *nDalem Pangeranan*
Source : Paper of workshop at PSSAT-UGM,, 2012

Conclusion

Among the Prince/ess and his/her families who have a level of near-perfect *Kejawen* religious, can control the natural conditions through the power of Gusti Allah permits. Religious level *Kejawen* studied and practiced in private so that the levels of each personal deity different microcosmos power is on the self (the existence of the Prince/ess), so that the center of government to control natural cycles.

The strength and clarity of mind will emit light *Gusti Allah* (God) the eternal charm and bringing a positive influence to the environment around especially *nDalem Pangeranan*. But if there is a family dispute over the Prince/ess, it will form a negative aura in *nDalem Pangeranan*. Aura is directly or indirectly affect the activity and thinking *nDalem Pangeranan* occupants.

Therefore, the maturity of the soul of the prince who recognize the obligation as policy makers and the atmosphere *nDalem Pangeranan*, so define sustainability atmoshpere nobility. Due to the existence of more *nDalem Pangeranan* constituted by non-physical factors rather than physical factors building. So that a wide range of ornamental and building design serves to visualize the result of a non-physical mind.

Conclusion of Themes

✤ The South direction become exclusive and perennial orientation
✤ The *Kejawen* ritual become basic of light perennial religious
✤ *Wayang* showed up in on face , accesories, dress in and behavior
✤ Microcosmos power controlling macrocosmos cyclus

Recommendation

✤ Accept and respect the position of non-physical factors (folklore) in the historical process of development *nDalem Pangeranan* at Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta
✤ Imitate the works of the ancient architecture
✤ Consider and if it is more focused on the inner side before producing architectural masterpiece

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