

SUSTAINING AND DEVELOPING SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE IR 4.0 ERA

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COMPILED AND EDITED BY

HANAFI HUSSIN
MALA RAJO SATHIAN
CHONG WU LING
THIRUNAUKARASU
HANIZAH IDRIS
MUHAMMAD RIZA NURDIN
MUHAMMAD RAMZAN

DEPARTMENT OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES,
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES,
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¹AMRI DUNAN, ²BAMBANG MUDJIANTO

^{1,2}Human Research Resources & Development Agency, The Ministry of Communication
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¹Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIP), Andalas
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²Faculty of Economics, Andalas University - Indonesia

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^{1,2}Department of South East Asian Studies,
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Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya.

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²History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

³Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

⁴Department of Malay Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore

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Universitas Islam Riau, Pekanbaru, Indonesia ¹Department of Development and
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Malaysia, Malaysia ²Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Science, Padang,
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ELVANA PERMATASWARI

Linguistics Program, Faculty of Humanities, Airlangga University, Surabaya 60286 Indonesia

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Departement of Tourism, Ambarukmo Tourism Institute, Yogyakarta

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Legal Studies Department, Faculty of Law
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YUNADI RAMLAN & ABDURAKHMAN
Department of History/Faculty of Humanities/Universitas Indonesia

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⁽¹⁾Corporate HSE Department Head – Indonesian Aerospace

⁽²⁾Department Head of Detail Part Manufacturing - Indonesian Aerospace

⁽³⁾HSE Department Head of Operational Engineering – Indonesian Aerospace

⁽⁴⁾Division Head of Detail Part Manufacturing - Indonesian Aerospace

⁽⁵⁾Division Head Corporate HR & GA - Indonesian Aerospace

⁽⁶⁾Director of Human Resources - Indonesian Aerospace

⁽⁷⁾ Environmental Professional – Renewable and Non-Renewable Energy

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ROBERT TUA SIREGAR¹, DEMITA NATALITA PERANGIN-ANGIN²,
STIE Sultan Agung Pematangsiantar, tuasir@gmail.com ²Hery Pandapotan
Silitonga STIE Sultan Agung Pematangsiantar, herysilitonga@gmail.com

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DINI TIARA SASMI
International Relation Study Department / Faculty of Social and Political Sciences /
Islamic University of Riau
(dinitiarasasmi@soc.uir.ac.id)

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Emy Ruth D. Gianan, Instructor
Polytechnic University of the Philippines

ROUNDTABLE: ANTHROPOLOGIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

ERIC C. THOMPSON, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR

Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore (**Organizer**)

Participants:

SHAMSUL A.B., DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR & DIRECTOR, Institute of Ethnic Studies, University Kebangsaan Malaysia

SHANTHI TAMBIAH, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR & HEAD OF GENDER STUDIES, Department of Gender Studies, University of Malaya

VILASHINI SOMIAH, SENIOR LECTURER, Department of Gender Studies, University of Malaya

WELYNE JEFFREY JEHOM, SENIOR LECTURER & HEAD OF CIMS, Department of Sociology & Anthropology and Centre for Malaysian Indigenous Studies (CMIS), University of Malaya

SYED FARID ALATAS, PROFESSOR, Departments of Sociology & Malay Studies, National University of Singapore

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SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES IN THE ERA OF FOURTH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

PROFESSOR DR ARNDT GRAF

Chair, Dept. of Southeast Asian Studies
Goethe-University of Frankfurt Senckenberganlage, Germany

“Industry 4.0” or the “Fourth Industrial Revolution” is a concept first floated by Lukas/Kagermann/Wahlster in a non-scholarly article in a German online engineering magazine a few weeks before the Hanover Fair 2011. It was adopted as a slogan by the German government, then the World Economic Forum, and then it has become the signifier of numerous strategies in support of the digital economy around the world, including in Southeast Asia, examples of which are “Making Indonesia 4.0”, “Thailand 4.0”, or “Industry 4WRD” (Malaysia). We may say that, “the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution” has become an important phenomenon in Southeast Asia, and hence of Southeast Asian Studies. This keynote analyzes recent scholarly contributions on “IR4” in Southeast Asia, including in the fields of politics, government, economics, business administration, Industry 4.0 and religion, education versus Higher Education, wider social and cultural implications of IR4 in Southeast Asia, law and in the field of taxation.

TOWARDS DECOLONIAL SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES

PROFESSOR DR. SYED FARID ALATAS

Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
National University of Singapore

The effort to decolonise knowledge in the Asian context began in the nineteenth century with the thought of the Filipino thinker and activist, José Rizal (1861-1896). A tradition of counter-Eurocentric and anti-Orientalist thought subsequently developed in India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, and elsewhere in Asia. This paper defines Eurocentric and counter-Eurocentric knowledge and also details some problems faced by efforts to produce non-Eurocentric, decolonised knowledge, namely nativism, impersonation and silencing. The paper concludes with a discussion on exemplars for alternative, decolonial discourses from the Malay world.

**EVIDENCE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL ELEMENTS AND BENGAL'S
CONTACT IN THE PROCESS OF 'INDIANIZATION' IN EARLY
SOUTHEAST ASIA (400 BCE – 800 CE)
ISSUES RELATED TO SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES**

¹Sharmin Akhtar and ² Dr. Hanizah Idris

¹Ph.D. Student, Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya

²Associate Professor, Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya
(ava180005@siswa.um.edu.my, sharmin419@gmail.com)

Abstract

Some archeological evidence from early Bengal (the eastern coastal region of India) found in Southeast Asia is an important source for grasping the historical study of the 'Indianization' process. This issue has drawn the attention of scholars for the last few generations. In the passage of 'Indianization' found some cultural materials of Bengal from various archaeological sites in mainland-maritime Southeast Asia. Among these valuable archaeological elements, Kharoshtri-Brahmi inscriptions, Buddhagupta's inscription, Northern Black polished wares, Rouletted wares, beads, finest clothes and the concept of Buddhist Architecture from Bengal are notable. Sometimes it is a matter of debate among the scholars whether these elements are originally from Bengal or not. By scraping this debate on the sources, this article is an endeavor to present these elements for proving the Bengal's connection behind the 'Indianization' process. Despite, 'Indianization' considered as the all-Indian perspective, in the initial stage (400 BCE to 800 CE) Bengal kept a vital role in this immense process along with other Indian regions like Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, etc. The communication of ancient India with the Southeast Asian region massively carried out via this entity (Bengal). The paucity of sources is a common concern in reconstructing the history of the ancient period. In this regard, the present attempt is also not the case of exception. Nevertheless, by analyzing and cross-examining the literary sources, archaeological findings, and secondary sources, it is not impossible to proceed. Finally, the most striking evaluation would come out from the analysis of the material found up to the recent time that will indicate the role of the above-mentioned elements behind the 'Indianization' process.

Keywords: *Bengal, Southeast Asia, Indianization, Ancient, Archaeological elements*

Introduction

In ancient Southeast Asian History, Indianization is a significant term for understanding the massive connection and migration of the Indian people. Within this enduring passage of 'Indianization,' found some cultural materials of Bengal from various archaeological sites in mainland-maritime Southeast Asia. Among these valuable archaeological elements, Kharoshtri-Brahmi inscriptions, Buddhagupta's inscription, Northern Black polished Wares, Rouletted Wares, beads, prove of finest clothes and the concept of temple architecture from Bengal are notable. Despite, 'Indianization' considered as the all-Indian perspective, in the initial stage (400 BCE to 800 CE), Bengal kept a vital role in this immense process along with other Indian regions like Arikamedu, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, etc. The communication and maritime trade of ancient India with Southeast Asian region massively carried out via this entity (Bengal). It is worthless to quote, that the paucity of sources is a common concern in reconstructing the history of the ancient period. In this regard, the present attempt is also not the case of exception.

Nevertheless, by analyzing and cross-examining the literary sources, archaeological findings, and secondary literature, it is not impossible to proceed. Hence, it is hoped that most striking evaluation would come out from the analysis of the materials found up to recent time and might indicate the role of Bengal's trading and cultural connection behind the 'Indianization' process that would be proved by the existing above-mentioned elements.

Bengal, Southeast Asia, and Indianization

Before going to the central discussion, it should define the regions covered by 'Bengal'. Bengal was a British colonial province called in this name from the Muslim conquest of this territory since the 13th century and used this term up to the partition of India in 1947. In the ancient period, Bengal's territory divided into some geographical entities (Janapadas) or the ancient Indian township of Vanga, Samatata, Harikela, Vangala, Gauda, Radha, Pundra, Varendra, Suhmma, etc. that covered the area of present West Bengal (India) and Bangladesh. The period covered in this essay is 400 BCE to 800 C.E. that comprised the age of Maurya, Gupta and Pala rule in history of ancient Bengal. It is also important to note the Gangetic Valley that frequently referred in this essay along with Bengal as a core area of it. B.N. Mukherjee, this area defined as, "the parts of lower West Bengal (including its littoral area) and western sections of coastal Bangladesh were included in the early centuries of Christian Era in a country called Ganges (Ganga) in foreign sources, and Vanga in Indian text" (Mukherjee, 1987, p. 65).

It is also important to delineate the regions included in Southeast Asia in the ancient time. Southeast Asia is a modern term used from the Second World War. However, for easy understanding and expressing this big area with a short form, scholars used this name in their writing about ancient times. In the early period "Greater India" or "Further India" or "India beyond the Ganges" also used for explaining the whole. Areas include in this territory are the mainland-maritime Malay Peninsula, Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia. Southeast Asia situated in between the south of China and east of India. There was a huge similarity in language, religion, nature life and believes people exercised in the territory that mostly related to the geographical position of early regions.

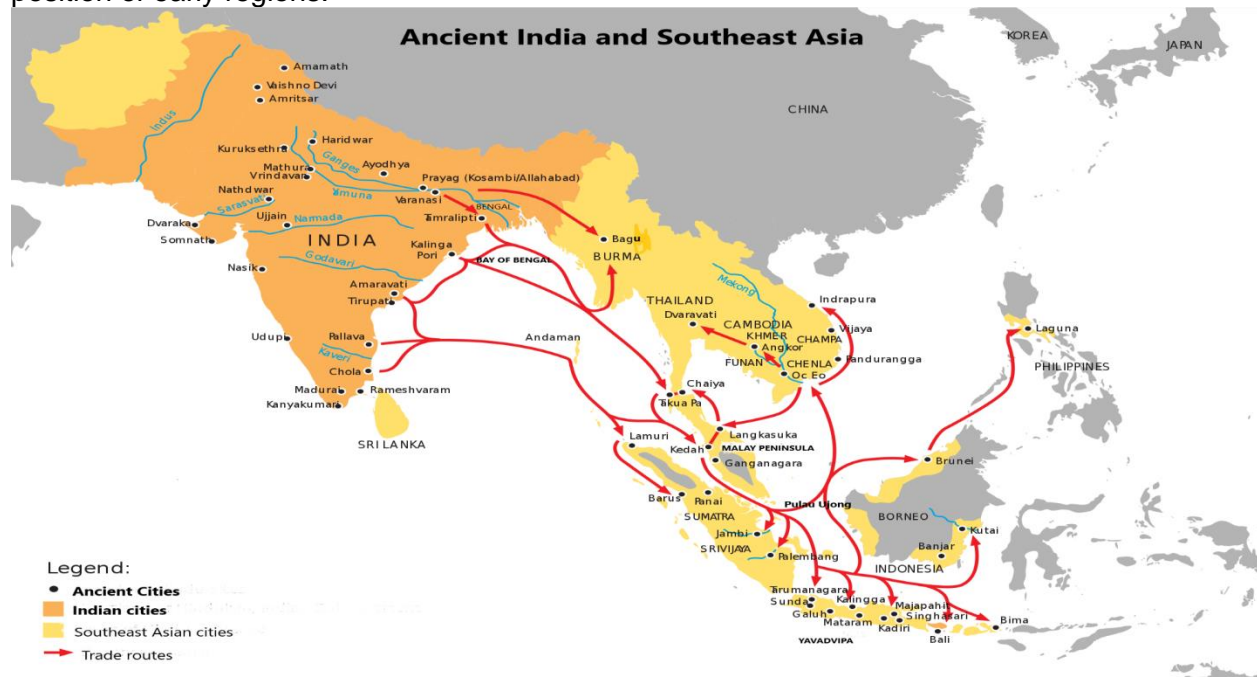


Figure 1: Ancient cities of India and Southeast Asia, and trade routes.

Source: www.wikipedia.org

It is worthless to mention that Indianization is a domineering academic discourse in the field of ancient Southeast Asian History. From the early time of Buddha, Indian traders, originally from Northwest India, later from Bengal and South India, could sail through the Indian Ocean to distant lands in various countries of Southeast Asia that built a bilateral trade relation among these two regions. For this, Indian peoples frequently traveled to this region and started to live in several regions of South East Asia that gradually increased the influence of Indian culture in South East Asia since before the Christian era. Through this trade relation, Indian culture, economy, and political influence gradually penetrated to the entities of South East Asia. As a result, there perceived an organized cultural expansion that stands on the Indian conception of royalty and characterized by Hindu-Buddhist cults. This early Indian people also believed in the mythology of *Purans* that demonstrated through the Sanskrit language in this region, which may call "Sanskritization" as well (Coeds, 1968, pp.15-16). In such a way, in ancient period, there built various Indianized states from early days that influenced profoundly the overall life of the Inhabitants of Southeast Asia.

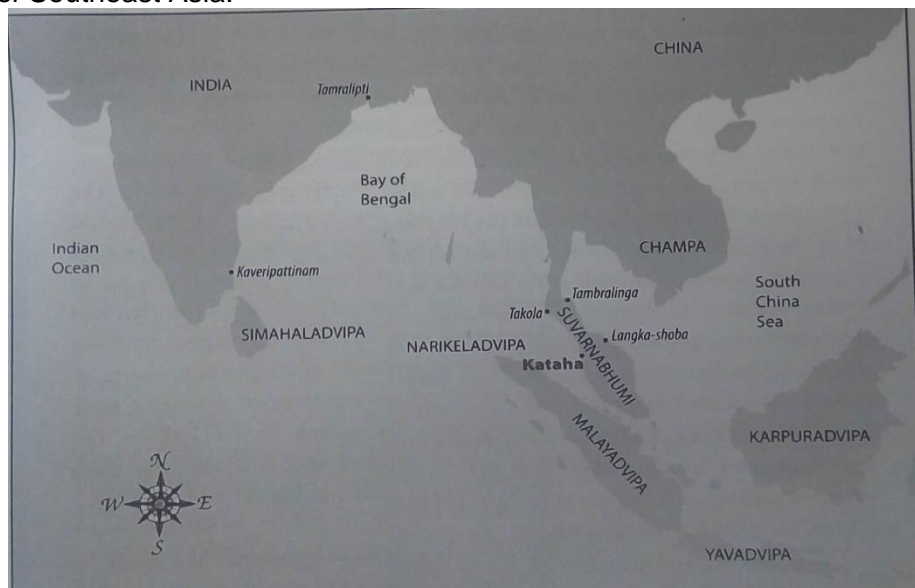


Figure 2: Southeast Asia as known to the Indian traders from 3rd century BCE to 1st century CE.
Source: Nadaranjan, V. *Bujang Valley : The Wonder that was Ancient Kedah*

Scholars referred to Southeast Asia as Greater India or Farther India or Dwipantara Bharat and so on. The consequence of this process was that various Southeast Asian territory took Indian names such as Suvarnadwipa (Malay Peninsula), Balidwipa (Bali), Karpuradwipa (Borneo, land of Camphor), Indradwipa (Myanmar), Yavawipa (Java), Kataha (Kedha), Srivijaya (Sumatra), Yudhya (Siam or Thailand), etc. In ancient Indian epic *Ramayana* and other ancient literature like *Kathasaritsagar* (Somadeva) mentioned Malay peninsula as Suvarnadwipa, and *Arthashastra* of Kautilya and *Milinda-Panha* identified this area as Suvarnabhumi. In this way, most of the areas of South East Asia came under the adaptation of Indian culture. This assimilation called 'osomiss' (Coades, p.16), (the process of gradual or unconscious assimilation of ideas, knowledge, etc.) and was spread by sea and land route from India to Southeast Asian country.

As an integral part of India, Bengal was a significant component because of facilitating this assimilation and expansion by her geographical location. It is situated on the east coast of India and on the Bay of Bengal, which was one of the maritime trade routes of India for voyaging towards South East Asia. It is necessary to say; in that time, Bengal was a wealthy geopolitical entity under the ancient Indian rule. It had two international ports; Tamralipti and Gange as well as many other internal ports with the connectivity of rivers and Bay of Bengal. Ptolemy's *Geography*, *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* also mentioned the importance of these two port's

activities concerning the commercial and cultural relationship with Southeast Asian countries. They also played a vital role in Indian connection with the global economy from 3rd or 4th century B.C.E. that scholars sometimes mentioned this Indian shifting of commercial and cultural purpose as 'look towards east' policy (Roy & Chatterjee ed., 2007, p.15). In such a way, early Indian globalization process controlled by Bengal and it can be said that Bengal was not only in the pioneer position but also played a leadership role in reaching to the peak of the commercial sector of India in the early period.

Hence, it is important to explain some other special factors that made Bengal enrich and worked as the driving force behind the Indianization process. Firstly, Bengal is a Deltaic region and a resourceful alluvial plain (specially Ganges Valley) from the ancient period to till today. Secondly, the geographical position of Bengal covered a frontier zone in the Indian geographic entity that situated between India and Southeast Asia. Thirdly, Indian communication from Bengal to ancient Southeast Asian regions was easy because of the maritime route through the Bay of Bengal and comparatively short distance. Fourthly, the two international ports (Tamralipti and Chandraketurgh) were powerful and active at that time and Tamralipti used as a transit port for the trading activity of Indian subcontinent to Southeast Asia.

Literature Review and Methodology

Literature concerning Indianization is substantial in the present day since researchers of the last few generations have been studying this issue on a broad scale as an important academic field. Indian contact with Southeast Asia in the early period got immense attention from the scholars and the researchers produced piles of related literature as well. Regarding the direct connection of Bengal and its maritime and cultural contact based on archaeological finds failed to draw the attention in many cases and merely pictured in their writings. Most of the scholars included Bengal but not narrating the role of archaeological finds in their writing in terms of demonstrating the Indian connection with South East Asia in the early period, while they virtually emphasized on the other parts of India mainly. However, in some cases, scholars put the Bengal's distinction in a scattered way at the time of describing India's role. The following are some important pieces of literature that possess the worth of recitation.

Among the scholarly and pioneer works, *The Indianized State of Southeast Asia* written by G. Coedes (1968) is noteworthy. In this book, the author defined and explained the term 'Indianization', the period Indianization happened, areas covered in this process, as well as its effect on the socio-cultural life of South East Asia. The writer emphasized the beginning of the political contact and Indianized state formation in the later period mainly with petite mentioning of the previous cultural contact that happened before the Christian era. However, Bengal's role in this process envisaged occasionally not prominently that Bengal deserves in his learned writing and even the issues of Bengal's archaeological elements failed to get its room(.

History of Early Bengal in Regional Perspectives (up to c. 1200 CE), vol.1- 2, edited by Abdul Momin Chowdhury & Ranabir Chakravarti (2018) is another very recent publication recounted the issues of the connectivity between Bengal and Southeast Asia. It proves the scholar authorships in terms of resourceful narration on Bengal's connection with the Southeast Asian region but with merely denoting the Bengal's artifacts found in South East Asia.

A History of Southeast Asia of D. G. E. Hall ed. (1966) covered the Southeast Asian history from early time to contemporary period. Only first few chapters cover the historical issues of ancient period. Here, the writers discussed the Indian influence in Southeast Asia. More discussion found on the early Funan, Srivijaya and Java, but most other ancient cities of Southeast Asia did not get the attention. Hence, this scholarly book provides a concrete history of Southeast Asia as whole, not have any details, especially on the ancient part of time span.

South East Asia: An Introductory History by Milton E. Osborne (2013) is one of the important contributions in terms of getting information regarding ancient as well as modern issues. Here

writer describe various aspects of the history of the ancient Southeast Asia, including Indian influence, especially centered on ancient Srivijaya. The empirical trade activities of Srivijaya got much attention. However, writer mentioned the Indian connection of maritime trade in his book. Regarding this, the Bengal issues are ignored here.

Two depend-worthy texts for getting the ancient Bengal's contact with South East Asia are *A History of Early Southeast Asia: Maritime Trade and Societal Development 100- 1500* (2011) and *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia* (1985) by Hall R.K. In these academic books, authors described the various aspects of maritime trade connection of Southeast Asian regions with the overseas including India that sometimes recited the Bengal presence along with India.

Excavation at Wari-Bateshwar: A preliminary Study by Haq. E. (2001), *The Early History of Southeast Bengal in the Light of Archaeological materials* by Rasihd, H (2008), *Mainamati-Devaparvata* edited by Hussain, A.B.M. & Chowdhury, A.M.(1998), *Chandraketugarh: Enigmatic Entrepot of ancient Bengal* edited by Pal, P. & Haq, E. (2003), *Suvarnavdipa: Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East* by Majumder, R. C. (1986), *A Record of Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and Malay Archipelago AD 671-695* by I-tsing written by Takaksu, J. (trn) (1982) and *From Lineage to State: Social Formations in the Mid-First Millennium B.C. in the Ganga Valley* by Thapar, R. (1984) are significant works covered several issues on the contact between early Bengal and South East Asia.

Concerning the study and interpretation of ceramics, the publication titled *A Sourcebook of Indian Civilization* (Chattapadyaya,2000) is also significant. A very recent publication titled *Cultural and Civilisational links between India and Southeast Asia* (Saran, S. ed. 2018) also deserves citation in regards to different issues on historical and cultural relations between India and Southeast Asia with various new concepts of emerging cultural.

Besides, some academic articles justify the reference in the discussion of the role of Bengal's archaeological elements behind the Indianization process and reliable enough for grabbing information. Some of the notable works are 'Kharoshti and Kharoshti-Brhami Inscriptions in West Bengal (India)' by Mukherjee, B.N. (1990), 'Early trade between India and South-East Asia: a link in the development of a world trading system' by Glover, I. C. (1990), 'Seafaring Archaeology of the East Coast of India and Southeast Asia during the Early Historical Period' by Tripathi, S (2017), "Indianization" from the Indian Point of View: 'Trade and Cultural Contacts with Southeast Asia in the Early First Millennium' C.E. by Monica, L. S. (1999), 'The Archaeology of Bengal: Trading Networks, Cultural Identities' by Roy, H. P. (2006), 'Crossing the Boundaries of the Archaeology of Sompura Mahavihara: Alternative Approaches and Propositions' by Sen, S (2014) etc.

Here, it has been consulted some primary literature like archaeological reports of various excavations, collected some pictures of artifacts from the museum, foreign traveler's accounts and some of the ancient texts.

Secondary literature also used for producing this paper. The up to date publications of books and articles reviewed through library research. Though the lack of source materials is the prime concern, this essay has portrayed by the combination of first-hand data and examining secondary literature related to the subject matter. It is true that reconstructing ancient history, in most cases, is incomplete and conflicting for its sketchy nature. Bengal and South East Asia is the case in this discussion. However, the archaeological remains, traveler's accounts and some important epics (Ramayana, Mahabharata), Buddhist religious literature related information like *Jataka* and others such as *Arthasastra* of Kautilya, etc. contributed in making this paper.

Hence, the observation and discussions of this study will present in three stages. Firstly, an overall discussion regarding Bengal and Indianization in Southeast Asia will summarize. Secondly, this paper will include some analysis of archaeological remains and cultural concepts from Bengal as well as the places where they found in Southeast Asia. Lastly, it will conclude with the discussion of how they were active behind the 'Indianisation' process.

Analysis and Findings

Archaeological Remains from Bengal Found in Southeast Asia

Archaeological remains originated and related in Bengal and found in various sites of ancient Southeast Asia will discuss that reflect the Bengal's connection and role behind the Indianization process. For this purpose, few selective archaeological finds will include that has the claim of Bengal origin or somehow related to Bengal, though numerous artifacts originated from other parts of India that prove the Indianization in Southeast Asia. Hence, what is the origin of the artifacts, in Southeast Asia where they found and how they related to the Indianization process will be the issues of analysis.

Kharoshti and Kkaroshti-Brahmi Inscriptions

Kharoshti and Kharoshti-Brahmi inscriptions are a kind of script that is a combination of the form of writing in lower Gangetic West Bengal (Bhattacharyya:1998, 333), which had been used for writing Prakrit. From the North-west side of the Indian subcontinent, a good number of financially solvent merchants (mainly horse traders) migrated to Gangetic valley and they introduced the Kharoshti scripts and North-Western Prakrit in Vanga (territory of ancient Bengal). It also evolved with a mixed form of script in this region. Usually, these scripts used and scribed on the seals, potteries and terracotta plaques. This valuable archaeological finds discovered by excavation in various sites of Southeast Asia and Chandraketugarh (Gange) in Bengal that interestingly related to the horse trade occurred between India and Southeast Asia as well as China in the period of 4th and 5th century AD.



Figure 3.1: Bengal's seal impression from U Thong, Thailand.

Source: Saran, S. Cultural and Civilizational links Between India and Southeast Asia



Figure 3.2: Seal impression, Chandraketugarh, Bengal.

Source: Chowdhury, A. M. & Chakravarti, R. (Edited) (2018), *History of Bangladesh Early Bengal in Regional Perspectives (Up to c. 1200 CE)*, vol 1&2

The merchants-family chose Gangetic Valley because Gange was an important international port and was enriched in terms of agriculture, industrial products as well as the local craftsmanship of the artisan class. Reasons behind this Valley's flourish were alluvial plain, comparatively easy riverine communication for long-distance traveling. Additionally, the second urbanization phase of ancient India occurred in Bengal by the orbit of Gangetic Valley. As a result, it established as the emporium of geo-political, socio-cultural and economic aspects.

However, the seals, potteries and terracotta plaques of Kharoshti and Kharoshti-Brahmi scripts used as personal badges, royal and administrative seals, traders identification tickets, transport documents or seal licenses, religious tokens, ornaments, items of fine arts displaying picture and descriptive labels, etc. This Bengal originated item found in various sites of Southeast Asia like Thailand, Vietnam, Bali, by the archaeological excavation. On the other hand, Chinese sources showed the horse business connection between ancient Bengal and Southeast Asia in the 4th and 5th centuries CE. Therefore, it is clear that these two aspects have the correlation by which it can say without hesitation that in respect of horse trade these scripts-bearing items were essentially used. Since Indianization is the matter of that period and Bengal was an integral part of India, this horse trade connection of Bengal with Southeast Asia is one of the vital components behind this immense process.

At the same time, these scripts bearing seals and items found from Chandraketugarh, Tamluk in Bengal. Scholars mentioned that these seals also used in horse trade with Bengal and Southeast Asia in the 4th and 5th century CE. The cumulative evidence of certain Chinese sources proved that the export of horses from the area of Tamralipti to Southeast Asia in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Northern Black Polished Ware

Among the Bengal originated artifacts found in various archaeological sites in Southeast Asia, Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW) was a leading one. It is aristocratic pottery; produced in the middle Ganga Plain of Bengal in a period of 700 BCE and 100 CE. (Lal, 1984, 94). This ware produced by highly arisen clay of Gange Plain that sometimes moderated slightly with other ingredients and advanced technique used for firing this pottery. (Chowdhury & Chakrabarti Edt; 2019, p.116). Some remarkable features of this pottery were its thin fabrication, mirror-like thin-film polished, produced in diverse colored (jet black, brownish-black to steel blue, pink, silver, golden, brown, chocolate, violet and deep red) and variety in core's colour like blackish, gray and red. Considering luxury item this pottery used by the elites in the society as well as in the royal houses just because of its fineness and durability. The variety of these potteries were dishes, jars, spouted jars, dishes- on stands and bowls-on stands, vases and miniature vessels that had been available in various sizes and shapes.

This valuable commercial product produced at the end of the last century BCE and first century CE in Bengal and exported to South East Asia (Roy, 1986 and Ghose, 1989) from the Wari-Bateshwar, Gange and Tamralipti port of ancient Bengal. In the regions, Black Polished Ware found, were the Tham Sua in La Un district, Kapoe in Kapoe district, Phu Khao in Suk Samran district in Ranong province, Khao Sam Kaeo in Muang district and Tham Thuay in Thung Tako district of Chumphon province in Thailand (Jahan,2002, p209). This type of pottery found from Sri Lanka, Odisha, Andhra Pradesh and various areas of Bengal such as Wari- Bateshwar, Mahasthangarh, Chandraketugarh, and Tamluk. Another aspect is that sometimes this pottery found along with punch-marked coins that indicate the currency-based economy (Tripathi, S.2017. p.5). At the same time, this BPW related to Buddhism since the regions BPW originated was the center of Buddhism or influenced by Buddhism somehow and Buddhism did spread to South East Asia from Bengal in almost the same period that also transported this prestigious item to South East Asia as a cultural product. Hence, it can say that both the wide-scale merchant's activities and the spread of Buddhism were vital behind the Indianization process. Therefore, this item was

one of the prominent commercial products as well as cultural item carried by the stream of Buddhism at the period Indianization happened that indicate the role of Bengal or connection of Bengal behind Indianization as part of ancient India.

Ruled Ware

Ruled Ware was a kind of pottery similar to NBPW and produced in Gange-plain including Chandraketugrah, Tamralipti, Mahasthan, and Wari-Bateshwar region of Bengal with very much ascended clay of Gange Plain in 3rd century BCE to 3rd century CE. The production process of this pottery was technically sound and produced by the skilled artisans of the lower Gange Valley. This product transported to various regions of ancient India like Chandrabali in Karnataka, Brhmahgiri in Andhra province as well as Sri Lanka. This pottery also found in various regions of South East Asia like Kobak Kendal in Buni Cultural Sites and Cibutak of Java, Sembiran and Pacung of Bali, Tra Kieu, Go Cam in Vietnam, Palembang in Sumatra (Schen, 2015, P. 143-181). The other regions of South East Asia were the Pak Chan in Kra Buri, Kapoe, Phu Khao Thong (Chaisuwan and Naiyawat, 2009) in Suk, Samran in Ranong province, Khao Sam Kaeo in Muang district (Bouvet, 2010 p. 129) and Chansen in Thailand (Bronson, 1976). This ware also found from Oc-Eo of Vietnam.



Figure 4: Impression of Ruled Ware from Tamralipti

Source: Chowdhury, A. M. & Chakravarti, R. (Edited) (2018), *History of Bangladesh Early Bengal in Regional Perspectives (Up to c. 1200 CE)*, vol 1

Like NBPW, this item also closely related to Buddhism. In comparison to easy and regular communication between Bengal and South East Asia, this cultural and commercial product was quite familiar and did spread throughout Southeast Asia. Though some variation in terms of design and shape is noticeable, it is worthless to say that this item shows the artisanship and effective skill of the pottery manufacturers in the long-early period.

Therefore, transaction and spread of this pottery item across South East Asian regions through merchants and the Buddhist culture at the period when the Indianization process was its highest position that undoubtedly demonstrates the direct involvement of Bengal with the movement of Indianization.

Knobbed Ware

Ancient Bengal's connection behind the Indianization process also reported and authenticated with the finding of Bengal's patented knobbed ware in various archaeological sites in Southeast

Asia. The knobbed ware is a kind of pottery with having a centre of the inner surface of the base stands a conical knob. This knob circumscribed by a series of concentric grooves or incisions. Materials used in producing this pottery are argillaceous, bronze, high-tin bronze, granite, and silver. This knobbed with adequate numbers unearthed principally from the site of Wari-Bateshwar in Bangladesh, Harinarayanpur in West Bengal, India and both the regions were under ancient Bengal. Moreover, later Knobbed ware discovered from more than dozen of archaeological sites in Bengal and Orissa (India) and especially from Gange Valley. (Glover, 1990). In India, this pottery found with little modification like the Nilgiri high-tin bronze bowl that is now preserved in the British Museum and the silver dish from Taxila (Marshall, 1960).



Figure 5: Knobbed Ware from Wari-Bhateshwar, Bengal

Source: Chowdhury, A. M. & Chakravarti, R. (Edited) (2018), *History of Bangladesh Early Bengal in Regional Perspectives (Up to c. 1200 CE)*, vol 1

Than Hao Province of North Vietnam, Ban Don Ta Phet in West-Central Thailand, Khao Sam Kaeo in Southern Thailand, Ban Chiang and Ban Nadi in north-east Thailand were the places where knobbed potties resemble the same features of Bengal's one discovered. The pottery found from Than Hao Province of North Vietnam is now conserved in Gomet Museum collection, Paris. This ware also made of high tin bronze and with having a knob. (Marshall, 1960).

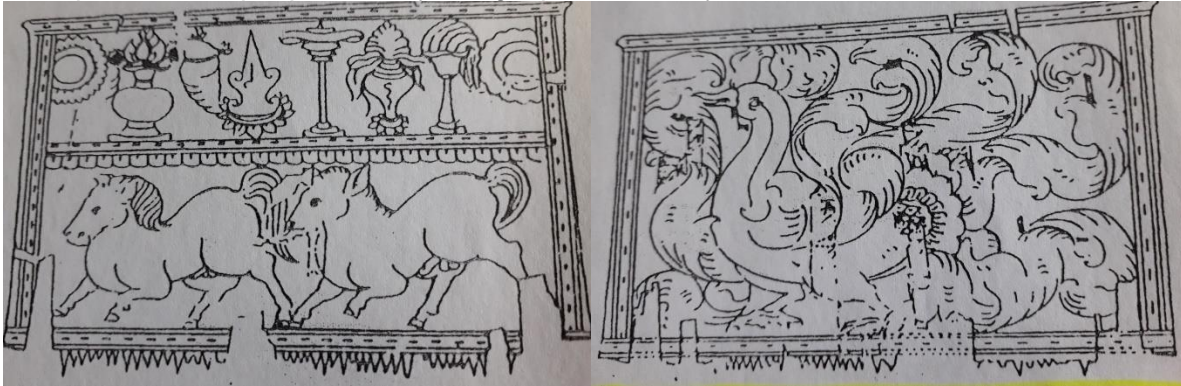
Though the direct indication of usage of the Knobbed Ware is ambiguous, most of the archaeological excavators opined that this pottery principally used in burial practice. Such pottery found in Southeast Asia with the human skeleton in the archaeological sites that are directly related to the Buddhist burial practice in South East Asia.

Therefore, Glover's statement about the connection between early Bengal and South East Asia through the Bay of Bengal is really authenticated by the discovery of Knobbed Ware in both the regions. This contact was, of course, the religious movement of Buddhism and the transaction of commercial products of the merchants which definitely simultaneous with Indianization or happened in the age close to the immense process of spreading Indian culture in Southeast Asia in 1st century BCE and immediate after beginning of the Christian era (Glover, 1990). Hence, this is another vital evidence of Bengal's role or Bengal's connection behind the Indianization process in the early period that proved by the finding of the Knobbed Ware in South East Asia.

Ivory Comb

In the context of proving the Bengal's connection to South East Asia from before the Christian era, a tiny and only artifact namely Ivory Comb can be presented. This Bengal instigated artisan item found in the second phase of the Chansen archaeological site in Thailand that is now

preserved and has been exhibiting in the National Museum of Bangkok. Ancient Bengal was a hub of Ivory Comb producing area, as because Bengal was famous for enormous elephants that have the frequent reference in the Bhatara Copper Plate of Govinda-Kesava and Edilpur Plate of Viswarupasena. So, people of early Bengal professionally manufactured this aristocrat item.



Figur 7.1: Ivory comb from Chansen (Phase II), Thailand
Source: Bronson, B. and Dales, G. F. (1978), Excavations at Chansen , Thailand. 1968 & 1969: A Preliminary Report, *Asian Perspectives*. XV,

The period of producing this item assumed as 1st to 4th century CE that researchers narrated as the Indian style of product and as an integral part of India, Bengal can claim the patent of this product without any uncertainty (Bronson & Dale, 1978). Another important indication was that the producers engraved the image of horses along with goose, Buddhist symbol and other motifs on this comb. Most interestingly, the early Bengal's horse trade with South East Asia happened at the same period or in the period close to that time and artists portrayed the horses on the comb, since the horse trade activity is quite known to them. It needs to mention that engraving goose on any art elements was a tradition of Bengal's artists and mostly related to the Buddhist rituals. Moreover, the artwork of this comb is also referred to as the Amravavati (the east coast of India) style of reproduction that is indigenous and vibrant artisanship of India and related to the Buddha's tales narrated in *Jataka*, the Buddhist Literature. Therefore, the image of horses and Buddhist symbol on the comb, contemporary horse trade, Buddha's tales in *Jataka* concerning Amravati style of artwork and finally discovering this unique comb item from Thailand clearly and confidently shows the Bengal's contribution both in early trade, especially the horse trade and perceiving the massive process of Indianization.



Figure 7.2: Ivory comb from Chandraketugarh, Bengal. Source: weart.com, pinterest.com

Cloth and Textile

Ancient Bengal's prominence in producing finest-quality cloth was well blowout across the globe. Textile produced in Bengal and made of hemp, cotton and silk as well as the cotton fragments and threads found from the burial site in Ban Don Ta Phet and Khao Sam Kaeo of Thailand (Glover and Bellina, p.29, Glover, 1998, pp.93-121, Tripati,2017, p.11) the indicate the trade of

this product with Southeast Asian region. Besides, the resemble textile found in the Ban Chiang in Thailand (Sri Suchat, 1996, pp.237-274) as well.

Vanga and Pundra, the territories of ancient Bengal coined in several classical works of literature for their manufacturing of excellent-quality cotton and especially for the production of the cloth 'Muslin'. *Arthasastra*, a sourcebook for the history of Maurya period, mentioned the Bengal's fabrics of diverse variety and delicacy (Islam, 1984, p.20). It was the finest quality cloth found in various designs and colours (flowered, spotted and stripped). *Periplus* also referred about the production of best quality cotton cloth in ancient Gangetic country (Wild and Wild, 2005, 11-16) and the *cannabis sativa* fiber, kind of fiber for making clothes, found in the cotton plant in South Asia (Jahan,2002, 198-207) that might have Bengal.

A huge amount of coarse and fine cotton textiles (painted and printed), muslin cloth, carpets, and cushions merchandized in the different Southeast Asia country and the Bengal's Muslin even had the great demand in the Roman world and beyond (Glover, 1998, pp.93-121).

Inscription of Buddhagupta

The northern part of the province Wellesley in Malay Peninsula is a place for discovering a group of four inscriptions that inscribed on a part of a stone block in 1834 (Wheatly, 1961. p.272). The origin of these inscriptions was ancient Indian, particularly the ancient Gauda that resembled Vanga (another ancient territory of Bengal) in the Maurya and Gupta period of ancient Bengal. The transcript of these inscriptions was the Sanskrit with Pallava scripts that were ancient Indian local in the period 4th and 5th centuries CE. The researchers validate them as Indian, specifically the Bengal's originality of these inscriptions. They stated that among these inscriptions one is scribed with a stupa bearing performance of prayer by Mahanavika Buddhagupta who hailed from Raktamrttika (R.C. Majumder, *Suvarndvipa*, pp. 82-83 and N. R. Roy, B. I. p.192) that Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese Traveler, narrated as Lo-to-mo-chih (or Raktamrttika) and situated to twelve miles south of the modern Murshidabad district of West Bengal. In his description, Hiuen Tsang stated Karnasuvarna, the capital of Gauda, is located nearby the monastery Raktamrttika, which identified under Gauda Janapad (territory) of Bengal.

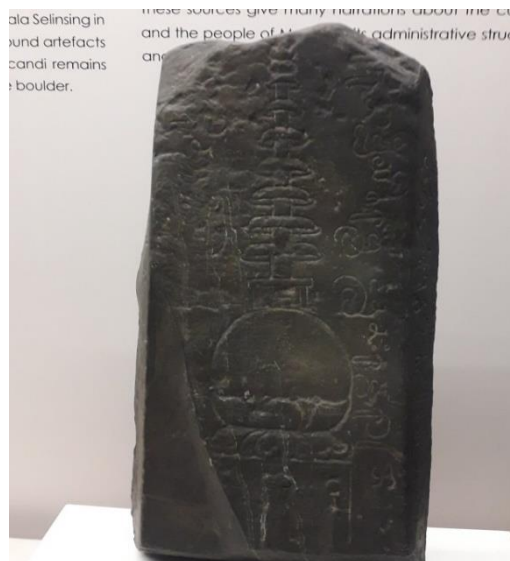


Figure 8: Buddhagupta stone inscription from Bujang Valley, 5th century CE
Source: National Museum of Malaysia (personal collection)

Buddhagupta, the ancient Indian mariner traveled to the province Wellesley of Malay Peninsula in the early century of the Christian era that was the high time for happening Indianization in South

East Asia. Moreover, the inscription made before his return journey, in other words, whether Province Wellesly was his port of departure or his destination. In the eve of Buddhagupta's travel to the east a write up with wishing for successful trade voyage and protection from evil-power has noted in this stone slab as well inscribed some Buddha symbols on it. Researchers stated that this was the stone-evidence of sea trade of Bengal with Southeast Asia in the 5th century BCE (Roy, 1990, pp.158-59). Although Buddhagupta's originality regarding from Bengal questioned by leveling his inscription written in scripts from South India (Wheetly, p.274), the above reference of determination and the Buddhist dominance in Bengal at that period accredit the Bengal's origin of Buddhagupta as well as his inscription.

Beads

The archaeological site of Wari-Bateshwar of 4th century B.C.E. in Bangladesh was prominent as beads manufacturing hub. Various precious, semi-precious, well-shaped and unevenly shaped, with and without perforation beads as well as chips and flakes made of stone like a jasper, agate, chalcedony, and amethyst, etc. found in Wari-Bathswar. Besides, a huge amount of etched beads, carnelian, and agate, diverse amulet and pendants also unearthed from the site that may be used as ornaments and sometimes a symbol of beliefs. The large volume of production and their findings indicate the establishment of the beads industry there and the variety, design, and color shows the artisanship of the local artists. Since Arikamedu and Orissha of India well famous in beads supplying, it sometimes assumes that the raw materials of beads for Wari came from there and manufactured beads and beads related products locally in Wari-Bateshwar.

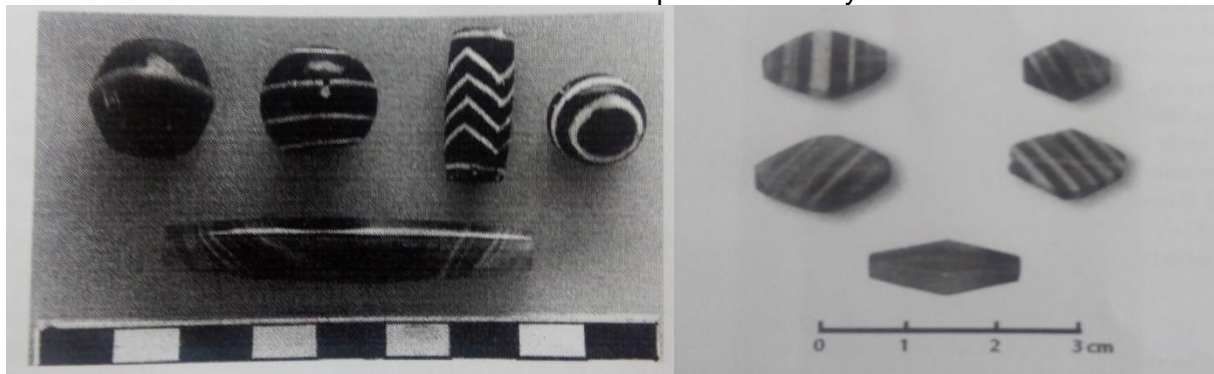


Figure 10.1: Etched agate (white on black) and Carnelian (white on red) beads from KSK, BDTP, Thailand

Source: Glover, I. C. and Bellina, B. (2011), "Ban don Ta Phet and Khao Sam Kaeo: The Earliest Indian Contacts Re-assessed," In Manguin, P.Y. Many, A & Wade, G. (Ed.), *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections of Cross-Cultural Exchange*.

An adequate number of diverse stone beads found in various archaeological sites and areas of South East Asia in ancient times that produced in ancient India and Bengal. The two most common categories of beads were oblate and spherical. This opaque black in color and inlaid with white stripes found in Chandraketurgarh and Harinarayanpur in West Bengal and Mahasthan in Bangladesh (Rahman, 1999, p.213) that all were under the region of ancient Bengal, and these type of beads also found from Kausambi and Narhan of North India in Gupta period. Alike to these beads, especially opaque black round beads with inlaid spiral grooves, found in various sites from South East Asia like Prasat Muang Sing, Ban Chi Nam Lai, Kao Sam Kaeo, Khlong Thom in various sides of Thailand (Basa 1999, p.32).

The resemble beads of opaque brownish-red and opaque orange-red with South Indian tradition (also known as Indo-pacific beads) and dateable from 3rd-2nd found with the huge number from Ridiyagama and Mantmi in SriLanka, Khuan Luk Pat in Thailand, Oc-Eo in Vietnam, Kuala

Selinsing in Malaysia (Francis, 1996, pp.139-160). Precious and semi-precious glass beads found by excavation at Sembiran (Ardika, 1991) and *Mutisalah* (Bellina, and Glover, 2004, 68-89) and also reported from North-Eastern Bali and other regions of Southeast Asia that common enough in Wari- Bateshwar and Arikamedu (South India) and assumed imported from India to South East Asia. (Basa, 1994-95, 357-375). Some other beads produced by South Indians like raw materials in Arikamedu of India are similar to the beads from Wari-Bateshwar.



Figure 10.2: Etched agate, Carnelian, glass beads from Wari-Bateshwar, Bengal
 Source: Chowdhury, A. M. & Chakravarti, R. (Edited) (2018), *History of Bangladesh Early Bengal in Regional Perspectives (Up to c. 1200 CE)*, vol 1

Concepts of Architecture

The long standing-commercial activity between Bengal and South East Asia it observed that some religious architectural concept of Bengal penetrated to the various country of Southeast Asia through the Hindu-Buddhist religious architectural ideas. After the period of highest-level of business connection, in the 7th century CE the Bengal’s architectural concept visible in Southeast Asian sites. In that time, inspiration for commercial relationships works behind the expansion of these ideas of structural sharing. Among the monastic idea of enormous cruciform structural types likes Mahaviharas of Mainamati (in Southeast Bengal) and Paharpur (known as Shampura Vihara in the northeastern part of Bengal) in Bengal have been two most remarkable illustrations that transmitted into the concept of Southeast Asian style of architecture. The size, uniformity, arrangement, rising in receding verandas to a central temple, and the huge central yard enclosed by a line of the monastic cell is the principal features developed in Southeast Asian religious architecture from Bengal. (Chakrabarti, ancient Bangladesh, p.115). This type is associated with the well-known Hindu-Buddhist “Sarvatobhadra” temple type. This type of temple not appeared in the Indian subcontinent, except in Bengal. Paharpur is the oldest example of it.

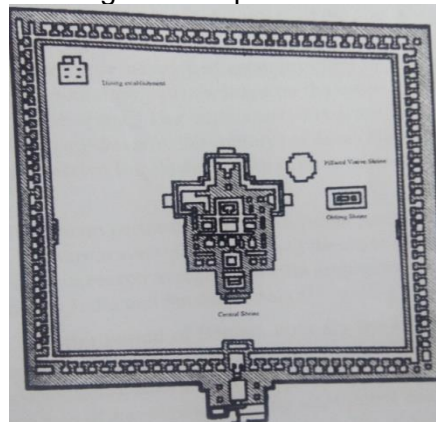


Figure 11.1: Layout of temple architecture, Mainamati, Bengal
 Source: Haque, E. (1998) “Maritime Activities and the Indigenous Traditions of Boat-Building in Ancient and Mediaeval Bengal,” In *Bengal Art*, pp.243-262. Dhaka: International Centre for Study of Bengal Art.

The earliest inception of monastic establishing happened in the first half of the 7th century CE in Mainamati, South East Bengal with the cruciform building structure of Rupban Mura Vihara, Salbon Vihara, Ananda Vihara, Bhoja Vihara, etc. (History of Bangladesh, vol . I, p.272). The latter established built-in Paharpur in 780 CE to 820 CE at the period Pala dynasty and by the Pala king Dharmapala or his son Devapala with the huge cruciform structure of 111.5m North-South by 96 m. East-West founded in the center (Diksit, Excavations, 3. P.7-14) as well as a huge courtyard encircled by a massive rectangular wall with a row of 177 monks cell opening to a verandah. (The Mandala Temples in Paharpur, p.113. Bengal Art, Vol, 17, 2012).

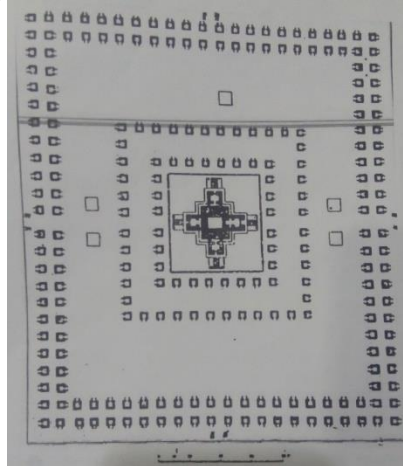


Figure 11.2: Layout of temple architecture, Chandi Sevu, Java

Source: Haque, E. (1998) "Maritime Activities and the Indigenous Traditions of Boat-Building in Ancient and Mediaeval Bengal," In *Bengal Art*, Pp.243-262. Dhaka: International Centre for Study of Bengal Art.

In Southeast Asian countries, it is found the same conceptual establishment as Ananda Temple, at Pagan, Burma, present Myanmar, Candi Kalsan at Prambanan in Central Java, Indonesia that has a range of resemblance to the architectural style of the Salbon Vihara at Mainamati and Pharpur. They also plagiarized the "Sarvatobhadra" art style from Bengal in their architecture. The ideas from Paharpur and Mainamati have considerably influenced the Candi Sevu and Borobudur temple in Java 9th century CE (Haque, p253).

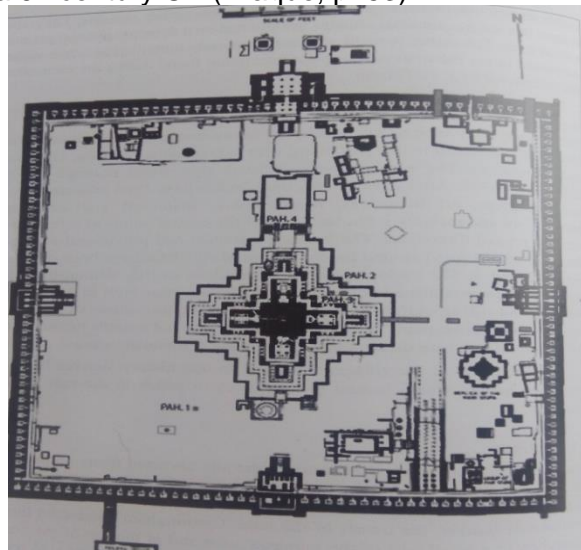


Figure 11.3: Layout of temple architecture of Paharpur, Bengal

Source: Chowdhury, A. M. & Chakravarti, R. (Edited) (2018), *History of Bangladesh Early Bengal in Regional Perspectives (Up to c. 1200 CE)*, vol 1

Discussion and Conclusion

Indianization is a massive concept related to the transmission of Indian culture into the Southeast Asian region in the early historical period whereas as a small but key role-playing region of ancient India, Bengal was active and directly or indirectly involved in this vast course by functioning commercial and cultural transaction. In the course of Indianization, three major regions of India involved and interlinked; North-India, South-India and East Coast of India (under North India). Interestingly, as a region of East coast India, Bengal was able to bridge the commercial and cultural connection between India and South East Asia since this communication mostly happened through its nearest route of Bay of Bengal. For this, it also has played its role independently in terms of contact with Southeast Asia, though the South Indian connection was prominent who sometimes used the route of Bay of Bengal and sometimes the route of Indian Ocean. Because of the suitable location of Bengal, its overseas connection towards the east was easy and less time consuming as well as the transmission of cultural norms was much visible with the east. By using the opportunity of its geographical position, Bengal played the role individually meant its direct connection with South East Asia as well as used by the Indian traders as their transit point in this context, Tamralipti, and Gange ports were the prime place for embarkation or stopover. Hence, Bengal was the earliest and important communicating Gate-way of Indian subcontinent to the Southeast Asian country.

The political, cultural and economic aspects directly related to the Indianization process as well as the transaction of cultural and commercial products were usual. In terms of dealing with material goods and cultural ideas and beliefs, there was somehow the principal contact with Bengal that was merely inscribed in the writing of the scholars may be because of the well-established political and wide-ranging geographical familiarity of India where Bengal not came out in the light separately. However, it is clear that above mentioned Bengal's originated archaeological remains, norms of traditional and religious believes; cultural and architectural conceptions invented and appeared in the daily life of ancient Southeast Asian peoples for the sake of Indianization. Most of the products entered in to by the traders as part of their trading goods as well as traditional and religious believe by the movement of Hindu-Buddhists ideas.

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WHEN JUAN DE LA CRUZ SHOOK HANDS WITH KARL MARX: INCEPTION OF PHILIPPINE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES: 1972-1986.

Archie B. Resos, PhD
University of Santo Tomas
Faculty of Arts and Letters
Department of History
España, Manila
(archieresos@yahoo.com)

Abstract

The foreign policy of the Republic of the Philippines from the declaration of independence on July 4, 1946 remained in close cooperation with the United States of America. The United States has colonized the Philippines since 1898 until 1946. Filipinos whose common monicker as Juan dela Cruz has been taught by American democracy to distance themselves from countries influenced by the communist teaching of Karl Marx. This reflects the neocolonial status of the country whose foreign policy, according to Senator Claro M. Recto, has assumed a “mendicant” posture characterized by a patron-client relationship. He exposed the bankruptcy of such a relationship and espoused the independence of the country’s foreign policy anchored on the realistic pursuit of national interest. Claro M. Recto said the closeness of the country’s foreign policy to that of the United States was evident from President Manuel Roxas’ term of office in 1946 to President Diosdado Macapagal’s. However, the 1970s proved to be significant in the diplomatic history of the Philippines because the country established friendly relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, People’s Republic of China, and Eastern European nations. It is in this context that this paper will discuss the various factors that prompted the Philippines to establish close diplomatic ties with the Cold War rivals of the US in spite of the close affinity of the Republic of the Philippines with its former colonizer. The research will answer the main question: How did the Republic of the Philippines reshape the country’s foreign policy by realistically promoting the interest of the nation through the conclusion of diplomatic ties with USSR, Peoples Republic of China and Eastern European Socialist Countries? In doing so, the Theory on Realism espoused by former Philippine Senator Claro M. Recto, a foremost nationalist and the Mendicant-Patriarchalism Theory of political scientist Anthony Woodiwiss will be utilized in the analysis of the paper.

Keywords: diplomacy, diplomatic history, foreign affairs, Philippine foreign relations, Communist countries.

Introduction

The foreign policy of a country dictates the conduct of foreign relations it pursues with other countries. Dictating such relations is the promotion of national interests between and among sovereign national states, which altogether makes diplomacy a veritable servant of nation-states. Their behavior is governed by the fact that each country is a national sovereign state. Historically speaking, the study of international relations has largely been concerned with the study of states and the effects of anarchy on their foreign policies, the pattern of their interaction, and the organization of world politics. (Barnett, 2008) The history of these international relations among

states is popularly known as diplomatic history. It is one of the most established fields of historical study.

George F. Kennan says: Diplomatic history is, of course, only one phase of political history generally. It is a part of the study of man in his behavior as a political animal; and it concerns itself with what occurs at that particular point of friction where the activity of one sovereign political authority rubs and grates that of another. (Kennan, 1956)

The embodiment of national interest in a country's foreign policy is aptly described by former President Ferdinand Marcos: The foreign policy of a nation is the articulation of its fondest needs and aspirations, and in international affairs, it is its sole weapon for the promotion of national interest. (Digest of the Philippine Foreign Policy, 1980)

Since its attainment of independence in 1946, the Philippines has conducted its foreign policy in close alliance with the United States of America. This reflects the neocolonial status of the country whose foreign policy, according to Senator Claro M. Recto, has assumed a "mendicant" posture characterized by a patron-client relationship. He exposed the bankruptcy of such a relationship and espoused the independence of the country's foreign policy anchored on the realistic pursuit of national interest. Recto said that the closeness of the country's foreign policy with that of the United States was evident from President Manuel Roxas' term of office in 1946 to President Diosdado Macapagal's.

Among the presidents of the Republic of the Philippines, Ferdinand E. Marcos had the longest term of office – 21 years, from 1965 until his eventual downfall through the EDSA People Power I Revolution in 1986. He played a decisive role in shaping Philippine diplomatic history to assume an independent posture, veering away from traditionalism to realism. As president, he commanded immense powers as he was in charge of the courses of action that foreign policy should undertake in pursuant of the national interest. He thus directed the country's foreign policy to enhance economic and socio-cultural aspects of national life with great independence. The Philippines under President Marcos then attained a foreign policy that reflected developmental goals. Such diplomacy was referred to as "Developmental Diplomacy," which became the main foreign policy thrust after the declaration of martial law on September 21, 1972.

President Marcos went beyond traditional diplomacy solely characterized by diplomatic dependence on the United States as he vigorously pursued diplomatic relations with the USSR, the People's Republic of China and the Eastern European Socialist Bloc – all in pursuit of the country's national interest.

This paper is focused on the foreign policy of President Marcos conducted during his term with the socialist countries, the USSR, the PRC and the Eastern European Socialist Bloc. Marcos was elected President of the Republic of the Philippines in 1965 and was subsequently reelected in 1969. When he declared Martial Law in 1972, he held on to power until he was ousted in 1986 through the EDSA People Power I Revolution. Marcos' foreign policy was unique, compared to those of other Philippine presidents. He gradually reduced the dependency of the Philippines on the United States.

The country's diplomatic relations with USSR was established on June 2, 1976, while that with the PRC was established earlier on June 9, 1975. The countries comprising the Eastern European Socialist Bloc and the years when diplomatic relations were forged are: Bulgaria, November 16, 1973; Czechoslovakia, October 5, 1973; German Democratic Republic, September 21, 1973; Hungary, September 28, 1973; Poland, September 22, 1973; Romania, February 28, 1972, and lastly, Yugoslavia, March 1, 1972.

Statement of the Problem:

This paper therefore attempts to answer the main question: How did the Philippines reshape the country's foreign policy by realistically promoting the interest of the country through the conclusion of diplomatic ties with the above-mentioned socialist countries?

To answer this main question, the following sub questions are raised:

1. How and why did the Republic of the Philippines reform the country's foreign policy by discarding its traditional posture and assuming a realistic outlook?
2. What were the prevailing international realities at the time and how did the Philippines respond to them to evolve a realistic foreign policy?
3. How was diplomacy pursued with USSR, PROC and the Eastern European Socialist bloc?
4. How significant was the impact on Philippine national life of such diplomatic ties with the socialist countries?

Review of Related Literature:

A compendium of resources includes the following: Ronald P. Barston's **Modern Diplomacy** (2006), provides a comprehensive exploration of the evolution and concepts of the institution of diplomacy. This book equips students with a detailed analysis of important international issues that impact upon diplomacy and its relationship with international politics. The subject is brought 'to life' through the use of case studies and examples which highlight the working of contemporary diplomacy within the international political arena.

Looking at the historical perspective of Philippine diplomacy, Milton Walter Meyer's **A Diplomatic History of the Philippine Republic: The First Years, 1946-1961** (2003), inquires into the origins and development of Philippine diplomacy over the first two decades of the Philippine Republic. (Meyer, 2003) Reiterating that the Philippine Chief Executive is the top foreign policy maker, Meyer has made a successful analysis of the Philippine foreign relations from 1946 to 1961 under the presidency of Manuel Roxas, Elpidio Quirino, Ramon Magsaysay and Carlos P. Garcia.

According to Bonifacio S. Salamanca's **Toward a Diplomatic History of the Philippines** (1995), the diplomatic history of the Philippines has yet to be vigorously written. He calls on an interpretation of the country's diplomatic history from the point of view of the Filipino, as most of the accounts are written by foreign experts. Thus he says, "Behind this call is the obvious, albeit ethnocentric assumption that we should be in a better position to understand – and write about – our country's diplomatic history more than anyone else." (Salamanca, 1995) His book is a pioneering work on the matter.

The study also includes sources on traditional diplomacy and how it was used by the country's presidents before Ferdinand Marcos. Teodoro A. Agoncillo's **Filipino Nationalism: 1872-1970** (1974), departed from the common practice of looking at Philippine history from the European viewpoint and maintained that the Filipino, and Asian nationalism, for that matter, rose out of a situation different from that which gave birth to European or American nationalism. Thus, Agoncillo has shown that Philippine foreign policy follows closely that of the US, disclosing a dependence that characterizes a patron-client relationship with the latter.

Renato Constantino's **Recto Reader: Excerpts from the Speeches of Claro M. Recto** (1965), highlights Claro M. Recto's views on nationalism, among which is foreign policy. According to Recto it was conducted from the very beginning and pursued on the erroneous assumption of an identity of American and Filipino interests, or more correctly, of the desirability, and even the necessity, of subordinating our interests to those of America. The study of Renato Constantino has been reinforced by Rene de Castro's article entitled "**Historical Review of the Concept, Issues and Proposals on an Independent Foreign Policy: 1955-1988**" (1989). |

In **Globalisation, Human Rights, and Labour Law in Pacific Asia** (1998), opines that the Philippine government's acquiescing to US foreign policy, as well as its rush to be identified as a member of the Coalition of the Willing, may be partially understood through the lens of mendicant patriarchalism. Benjamin B. Domingo's **Marcos Foreign Policy** (2007), maybe regarded as a pioneering work on the Marcos foreign policy. A career diplomat who was an eyewitness to the hammering out of diplomatic relations with different countries, his work is impeccably reliable. He points out the necessity of studying how President Marcos utilized the instrumentalities of foreign policy and diplomacy as a tool of governance and noting how effective they have been in preserving and promoting the interest of the Republic of the Philippines. (Domingo, 2007) The course of action which a state follows brings about the pattern of relations to other states in order to achieve its goals and national interest.

In this context, Richard John Kessler's **Development Diplomacy: The Making of Philippine Foreign Policy Under Ferdinand E. Marcos** (1985) has stressed that President Marcos's foreign policy was developmental in nature and was appropriated to be part of the New Society, following 1972, setting new directions in Philippine foreign policy and placing the Philippine national interests at its helm. Another book of Benjamin B. Domingo, **Marcos Diplomacy: Guide to Philippine Bilateral Relations** (1983), is intended as a guide on the 158 countries with which the Philippines has bilateral relations. Data on the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Philippines, status of relations in terms of the socio-cultural, scientific, technical, economic, consular, military, political, tourism, air services and state visits are included.

Theoretical Framework:

Gordon Scott said that a theory by itself does not cognitively work. Neither can data alone do. Theory and data must go together and serve as an instrument of cognition. The elegance of a theory, said Alvin Scaff, is measured by its simplicity, which means that the best theory is one which explains the most with the fewest assumptions. (Scaff, 1982) In analyzing the foreign policy of President Ferdinand Marcos, the theory on diplomatic realism vis-à-vis "mendicant patriarchalism" shall be used in the study. According to Senator Claro M. Recto, realism in diplomacy is the promotion of the interest of nations that enter into diplomatic relations. It destroys the myth that national interests are identical. The much-quoted Bismarckian phrase, "There are no national friends, only national interests," gives substance to what realism is. The incipient political relationship of the US and the Philippines was invested with a patron-client relationship and is best characterized with Anthony Woodiwiss' phrase, "mendicant patriarchalism." The Philippines is the mendicant, and the United States of America is the patriarch.

Methodology:

History is both descriptive and analytical. This paper subscribes to this definition aptly expressed in the phrase "descriptive-analytical." The facts will be culled from primary sources strengthened by secondary sources which will provide the context. The descriptive aspect will focus on the phenomenon as it unfolded. On the other hand, the analytical aspect will go beyond mere description or narration but will define the perspective upon which the study is anchored. Leaving the facts alone will render the narration at best a naïve depiction of reality that follows a positivist outlook.

Events require explanation and lend themselves to analysis, said Michael C. Lemon. (Lemon, 2003) Narration of events is therefore informed by the theory of "particularized logic" that is used to explain them.

Analysis and Findings:

Direction toward Developmental Diplomacy: Catalyst for Neutralism and Self-reliance

The first innovative approach done by President Marcos in 1969 was dubbed the "New Developmental Diplomacy." After the declaration of Martial Law on September 21, 1972, President Marcos further articulated this foreign policy approach that would reflect the development goals of the Philippines. Undersecretary Manuel Collantes of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said: Philippine foreign policy under his leadership has begun to take into account the hard realities of international politics. It is a policy based on the domestic policy of securing peace, prosperity and well-being of the people. It is a policy that seeks to advance Philippine relations with other countries on the basis of national interest and of mutual respect and understanding, while at the same time avoiding dependence on anyone country. (Collantes, 1970)

Collantes called it a "diplomacy for development." On his first term of office, President Marcos was closely associated with the United States of America. In fact, he apparently relied heavily upon American support and increased foreign investment. (Grossholtz, 1968) However, after the proclamation of martial law, Marcos would steer Philippine foreign policy toward the promotion of national development. This would entail the protection of our national interest by opening the country to other states, whether they were aligned with the Communist or with the democratic powers to further enhance Philippine economy through trade, tourism, and investment.

The Philippine foreign policy trajectory would then follow the path of economics rather than ideological orientation with its relations with various countries. The Marcos administration's significant accomplishments included the intensified Philippine participation in ASEAN affairs, and an active search for new friends and markets among the Communist nations of Eastern Europe, more frequent consultation with Third World nations on problems of mutual concerns, and the establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in June 1975 and with the Soviet Union in June 1976. (New York Times, 1975 and 1976)

For the first time in Philippine history, the traditional posture of aligning our foreign policy with that of the US and its democratic allies was redirected to accommodate economic and trade relations with the Eastern Socialist countries of Europe, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the People's Republic of China, and even some Middle Eastern countries all envisioned for the promotion of the country's rational socio-economic interest.

As a concrete manifestation of the "developmental diplomacy" the Philippines opened diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China on June 9, 1975 and with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on June 2, 1976.

Diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia and Romania were established in 1972. This was followed in 1973 by the normalization of relations with the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the People's Republic of Mongolia... In 1976, the Philippines opened herself to ties with Algeria, Cuba, Libya and the new Socialist Republic of Vietnam. By 1982, ranking officials of the socialist countries had become regular state visitors or callers in Manila. (Marcos, 1983)

In his pursuit of "development diplomacy" Marcos also emphasized the importance of self-determination and self-reliance. In 1976, the concept of national priorities and geopolitical realities would be indicated in Marcos' foreign policy agenda:

The first and the most fundamental of these, stressed the supremacy of national interest in the conduct of foreign affairs. Second, we stressed the need for flexibility and pragmatism in our diplomacy to encompass not merely our hopes for peace and security, but our very aspirations to

development. And third, we stressed the need for contacts with all nations desiring our friendship on the basis of mutual respect and mutual benefit. (Marcos, 1976)

President Marcos thus ushered in an era of self-determination and self-reliance by removing the ideological barrier for the promotion of the country's national interest. The primary issue at that time was the increase in food production and the development of the economy. Politics and ideology did not hinder the thrust of the nation toward self-reliance.

Diplomatic Relations Between the Republic of the Philippines and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Post-war Relations Between the Philippines and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

At the start of World War II in 1939, an anti-German coalition was formed consisting of France, Poland and the United Kingdom, including its British Commonwealth. The Soviet Union joined the Allied powers in mid-1941 because Germany attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Operation Barbarossa, as the Germans called the Russian invasion, got underway when Hitler launched 145 divisions into Soviet territory. (Greaves, 1994) The United States joined the Allied powers after the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 8, 1941. The Americans and the Soviets fought side by side in preventing the surge of fascism in Europe and the Pacific region. When the Germany and Japan surrendered in 1945, the ideological rivalry started to prevail between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Cold War began at the end of World War II with the defeat of Germany. The division of Europe that resulted from the defeat of Germany led the Soviet Army to advance from the east, and the USA, the UK and their allies to push forward from the west. (Heywood, 2002) This division quickly became permanent: in Winston Churchill's words, an "iron curtain: descended between East and West. The Cold War became global in scope after World War II. In Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria, Communist ideology and rule had been imposed by the Soviet Union. (Huntington, 1991) With the support of its allies, the United States imposed democracy on West Germany, Austria, Italy, Japan, South Korea and the Philippines. (Huntington, 1984)

The declaration of Philippine independence on July 4, 1946 propelled the new republic to have an American-dependent government because of the common interests and orientation of the two countries. Since the Soviet Union professed a different ideological structure, the United States cautioned the Philippine government to be wary of the propagation of the ideology in Philippine jurisdiction. The Philippines then developed an adversarial attitude towards the Soviet Union. From President Manuel Roxas to President Diosdado Macapagal, the country's foreign policy was against forming alliance with the Soviet Union.

Beginning of the Formal Diplomatic Ties Between the Philippines and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

A turning point in Philippine diplomatic history was the opening of the Philippine-USSR relations which became the hallmark of the foreign policy of Ferdinand Marcos, the tenth President of the Republic of the Philippines.

The political situation in the 1970s was marked by a détente or an increasing co-existence between the United States and the Communist countries. In 1972, Nixon visited the People's Republic of China for a possible opening of diplomatic ties and in 1973 Chairman Leonid Brezhnev of USSR visited the United States for a possible thawing out of ideological difference.

The economic situation of the Philippines was another consideration in the opening of diplomatic relations with Communist countries. Philippine foreign policy was reoriented to a non-

ideological character to focus on trade and investment rather than on political considerations. The Philippines sought new outlets of products to lessen our dependence on traditional markets. Trade with the Soviet Union became successful with the Philippines having positive balance of trade.

Formal diplomatic relations between the Philippines and USSR were established on June 2, 1976 with the signing of a joint communique. President Marcos made it a fundamental direction in the course of Philippine diplomacy to establish close linkage with communist nations:

And so upon assuming the presidency of the Third Republic in 1966, I immediately moved to open the Philippines to normal contact with the Socialist States. Exploratory talks and exchanges of trade missions and cultural groups followed and in 1968 the Philippines announced the readiness to open trade relations with Eastern European countries. (Marcos, 1983)

The foreign minister of the Philippines and the foreign counsellor of USSR initially represented their respective countries at the signing of the formal agreement. Before the formal agreement was signed, Imelda Marcos exchanged views with Moscow City Mayor Vladimir Feodorovich on city administration.

On May 31, 1976, President Ferdinand Marcos began his talks with the Soviet officials led by Nikolai Podgorny. The historic diplomatic meeting was conducted at the Eakaterinsky Hall inside the Kremlin Palace. President Podgorny was the only Soviet ranking official present, and he was assisted by Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and Kyril Masarov, Deputy Prime Minister (Bulletin Today, 1976).

Economic Implications of Philippines-USSR Relations: Trade and Tourism

The initiative of President Marcos to open trade partnership with the Soviet Union proved to be very fruitful. Since the opening of the diplomatic ties in 1976, there were substantial gains in the balance of trade, as shown on Table 1.

Year	Imports from USSR	Exports to USSR	Total Trade	Balance of Trade
1971	None	6,345	6,345	6,345+
1972	3724	1,164,490	1,168,214	1,160,766+
1973	944,336	7,877,293	8,821,629	6,923,957+
1974	4,280	4,892,250	4,896,530	4,887,970+
1975	151,242	10,277,907	10,429,149	10,126,665+
1976	1,851,000	87,230,000	89,801,000	85,379,000+
1977	3,697,000	130,080,000	133,777,000	126,383,000+
1978	5,538,000	40,365,000	45,903,000	34,827,000+
1979	7,739,000	83,280,000	91,019,000	75,541,000+
1980	21,586,000	189,291,000	210,877,000	167,705,000+
1981	1,809,000	171,007,000	172,816,000	169,198,000+
1982	11,130,000	115,159,000	126,289,000	104,029,000+
1983	15,811,000	86,994,000	102,805,000	71,183,000+
1984	3,348,000	54,402,000	57,750,000	51,054,000+

1985	11,363,000	3,270,000	14,633,000	8,093,000-
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Source: Collated from the Central Bank Statistical Bulletin and Philippine Statistical Yearbook 1975, 1976, 1984, 1985 and 1986.

The summary of the trends in Philippine-Soviet Union trade from 1971 to 1984 shows that the Philippine exports had the leverage over our imports of products from the Soviet Union. Total trade between the two countries increased after the diplomatic relations were established in 1976. Strengthening Cultural Relations between the Philippines and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Philippine-USSR cultural relations have been very productive since 1976. On July 4, 1982, the First Lady left for Moscow on the invitation of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. (Castro, 1985) Accompanied by Deputy Prime Minister Jose Roño, she attended the 7th International Tchaikovsky Contest where pianist Rowena Arrieta competed. At only 18, Arrieta made history by winning fifth place and a special prize for being the youngest and most promising contestant among 82 pianists from all over the world (Philippine Daily Inquirer, 2010).

In the 1980s, cultural exchanges became very common between the two nations. In 1982, several Filipino artists were encouraged to visit the Soviet Union and exhibit their works or stage performances. (Jocano, 1988) The spirit of friendship and mutual understanding was encouraged with constant cultural exchanges. Closer ties between the Philippines and the Soviet Union was forged by such contacts. The Bayanihan, Filipinescas, Madrigal Singers, Fiesta Filipina and other performing arts groups visited the Soviet Union and gave many performances (Jocano, 1988).

In turn, the famous Moscow's Bolshoi Ballet, the Kirov Ballet of Leningrad, and the Chronomoret's Dance Company, among others, visited the Philippines on various occasions and performed in Manila, Baguio and Cebu. (Soviet News, 1986) Individual musicians like pianists Rudolfo Kerer, Lyubov Timofeyeva, Nikolai Petrove, and Viktor Yeresko, and violinists like Leonid Kogan, Valerie Kilmov, Igor Oistrakh, among others, also came to give concerts to Filipino audiences (Olenin and Makarenko, 1982).

Diplomatic Relations Between the Republic of the Philippines and the People's Republic of China

Philippine-Chinese Relations During the Third Philippine Republic

The Americans made the Philippines its bastion of democracy in Southeast Asia. When the Third Philippine Republic was established under President Manuel Roxas, the foreign policy of the country was quickly aligned with that of its former colonial master. From the 1950s to the early 1970s, China was branded as a menace to Asia following the Communist victory in 1949, and the Philippines, in turn, was seen by the Chinese revolutionaries as a pawn of American imperialism. (Baviera, 1990)

Formal Diplomatic Ties Between the Philippines and the People's Republic of China

The term of President Ferdinand Marcos marked another milestone in Philippine foreign policy. At the start of the Third Philippine Republic, from President Roxas' term to that of President Macapagal, our foreign policy had always been pro-American and anti-Communist.

It was not until the time of President Ferdinand Marcos that a new direction was initiated. It was steered towards establishing diplomatic linkages with the Socialist countries. The People's Republic of China was one of them. This diplomatic vision of the President was highlighted in his second inaugural address on December 30, 1969 when he said:

In Asia we must now forge a constructive unity and co-exists in purposeful peace, not on terms that must yet be drawn by a conquering ideology, but on bonds that now exists. For in the years of this difficult deeds, Asia must decide whether in this vast region of one of the greatest of the world's peoples, it will build a sanctuary, or set up a continental prison. (Zaide, 1990)

President Marcos' goal was to forge peace in the Asia Pacific realm by charting a new diplomatic policy directed towards mutual co-existence devoid of ideological bias. The President's aim of uniting Asia regardless of ideological influence was stressed in his third inaugural address under the Fourth Philippine Republic on June 30, 1981. He said:

It is unthinkable that we should approach this task as partisans to warring interests, creeds and ideologies. Our goal is to unite, not divide. (Zaide, 1990)

President Marcos and the First Lady went to the People's Republic of China on June 7 to 11, 1975 to officially sign a diplomatic agreement. In a state dinner at the Great Hall of the People, President Marcos said:

China and its leaders enshrine as a basic guiding principle of international relations not only co-existence but also equality of all nations, irrespective of wealth, size and most important of all – of differences in social systems. (Manila Bulletin, 1975)

On June 9, 1975, President Marcos and Premier Chou En-lai signed a joint communique providing for mutual recognition of their respective governments and the established diplomatic relations between the two countries. A trade agreement was also included in the communique. Signing in behalf of the Philippines was Secretary of Industry Vicente Paterno while Minister for Foreign Trade Li Chiang signed for the People's Republic of China. (Manila Bulletin, 1975)

The signing of the joint communique between the two leaders reestablished the ancient ties that both countries had. More than one thousand years ago, the ancestors of our two countries, braving the waves and defying hardships, established contacts and traded with each other, and had thus forged a deep traditional friendship. (Yu, 1990)

Economic Implications of the Republic of the Philippines-People's Republic of China Relations: Trade and Tourism

During the Marcos era, the diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China paved the way for the Philippines to have prolific trading partnership with mainland China. The People's Republic of China supplied crude oil to the Philippines, particularly when the country was in crisis because of the oil embargo from Middle East countries.

The crisis was due to our close tie-up with the United States which supported Israel during their war with Arab countries in the 1970s. Oil refineries owned by the Americans in the Philippine territory met substantial losses because of the oil embargo.

The Philippines' only option was to import crude oil from the People's Republic of China. The Philippines was thus able to survive the effects of the oil embargo because of its diplomatic and commercial tie-up with mainland China. The top twenty exports of the Philippines to the People's Republic of China from 1981 to 1985 is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Pace and Pattern of Philippines-People's Republic of China Trade from 1981-1985 (in US dollars)
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Top 20 Exports of the Philippines to the PRC	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Centrifugal Sugar	37,387,000	56,829,000	X	7,992,000	23,473,000
Bars, rods & slobes neither polished nor coated, unworked of copper	X	X	X	9,859,000	11,838,000
Minerals or chemical fertilizers, phosphatic	X	X	X	X	6,124,000
Coconut oil, crude	13,580,000	7,397,000	10,498,000	21,813,000	5,812,000
Gold from copper ores and concentrates	3,346,000	8,365,000	7,947,000	2,046,000	5,107,000
Bananas, fresh	X	X	X	X	4,586,000
Copper concentrates	11,830,000	16,572,000	7,554,000	6,098,000	4,475,000
Plywood, ordinary	X	X	X	X	4,244,000
Refined sugar & other products of refining beet or cane sugar, solid	X	4,440,000	X	2,691,000	4,513,000
Fertilizers, nes containing the three fertilizing substances: nitrogen, phosphorous, and potassium	X	X	X	X	3,479,000
Portland cement	X	X	X	223,000	2,792,000
Chromium ores	1,105,000	1,810,000	568,000	1,445,000	1,319,000
Other medicinal and pharmaceutical products, nes	X	X	X	151,000	500,000
"Lauan" white in the rough	X	X	X	X	319,000

When Juan de la Cruz shook hands with Karl Marx: inception of Philippine diplomatic relations with communist countries: 1972-1986.

Flashbulbs, photographic, electrically ignited	X	X	X	X	275,000
Monochrome television picture tubes of all sizes	1,481,000	3,544,000	440,000	X	215,000
Other yarns of continuous synthetic fibers, not put up to retail sale	X	X	X	105,000	176,000
Glycerin, refined	X	X	X	X	149,000
Aluminum structure and fabricated parts	X	X	X	X	123,000
Yarn, textured of continuous polyester without prior joint authorization of the TC and BOI	X	212,000	1,128,000	3,362,000	156,000

Note: n.e.s. – not elsewhere specified.

Source: Philippine Foreign Trade: 1980-1981, 1981-1982, 1983-1985, Planning Service, Ministry of Trade and Industry.

The top ten export of the Philippines to PRC from 1981 to 1985 included centrifugal sugar, coconut oil, copper concentrates, gold from copper ore and concentrates, bars, refined sugar, chromium ores, chemical fertilizers, monochrome television picture tubes, and yarn. Other export that made substantial earnings for the Philippines include bananas, plywood, fertilizers, Portland cement, pharmaceutical products, "lauan," synthetic fibers, flashbulbs, glycerin and aluminum structures.

On the other hand, the top twenty import of the Philippines from the PRC from 1981 to 1985 is shown in Table 3.

Table 3.

Top 20 Import of the Philippines from the PRC	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Petroleum oil, crude	138,165,000	134,983,000	95,273,000	156,743,000	191,085,000
Rice, non-glutinous	X	X	X	17,434,000	16,222,000
Maize (corn) unmilled	X	X	X	X	13,076,000
Coal	X	X	X	1,645,000	9,203,000

Oil cake and other residues of soya beans	X	5,865,000	X	X	8,681,000
Soya beans (excluding flours & meals)	X	20,000	X	X	5,422,000
Fabrics imported on consignment basis for embroidery or manufacture of outer garments	4,111,000	3,938,000	3,750,000	5,789,000	4,532,000
Gas oil (bunker fuel)	X	X	X	X	3,894,000
Paraffin wax	74,000	14,000	40,000	X	3,402,000
Machine and mechanical appliances and parts	2,640,000	2,373,000	2,076,000	1,543,000	2,082,000
Cotton (other than linters) not carded or combed	9800	8820	7600	X	1,906,000
Crude oil imported for further refining	X	X	115,000	2,074,000	1,564,000
Generators, alternating current (AC)	X	1,950,000	10,024,000	299,000	1,313,000
Parts, nes of the power units & engines	X	X	X	X	643,000
Parts, nes of the machinery	X	X	X	X	620,000
Macaroni, spaghetti, macaroni noodles and vermicelli	X	X	X	X	487,000
Dentifrices	X	X	4,000	5,000	478,000

When Juan de la Cruz shook hands with Karl Marx: inception of Philippine diplomatic relations with communist countries: 1972-1986.

Groundnuts (peanuts) green, whether or not shelled (excluding flours and meals)	X	X	X	X	403,000
Sodium sulfate (glauber's salt), sodium hydrogen sulphate and sodium pyrosulphate	245,000	706,000	836,000	152,000	363,000

Note: n.e.s. – not elsewhere specified.

Source: Philippine Foreign Trade: 1980-1981, 1981-1982, 1983-1985, Planning Service, Ministry of Trade and Industry.

Petroleum oil, rice, fabrics, residues of soya beans, generators, maize, coal, machine, soya beans flour, gas oil were the top ten imports of the Philippines from the PRC. Other imports of our country from the PRC include crude oil for refining, paraffin wax, sodium sulfate, cotton, engine parts, machinery parts, dentifrices, noodles and peanuts.

PRC extended loans to the Philippines. On October 13, 1980 the US\$30 million loan from the People's Republic of China for the purchase of 500 mini-hydro power plants was signed by President Marcos and Ambassador Chen Hsin Jen. (Lim, 1998) Mrs. Marcos proved very effective in securing trade concessions and continuous oil supply for the Philippines. During a 1984 visit of Imelda Marcos, the Chinese agreed to increase its trade volume with the Philippines from the targets of US\$20 million in 1974 and US\$30 million in 1978 to US\$500 million. (Lim, 1998) The Chinese also promised to buy more Philippine products to balance the trade deficit with the Philippines. Mrs. Marcos also negotiated an agreement for China to supply US\$60 million worth of oil on deferred payment basis. (Lim, 1998)

Strengthening of Cultural Relations between the Philippines and the People's Republic of China

China has had profound impact on its neighbors since the early times. The Philippines and China are separated only by the South China Sea. From the start it can be easily stated that the flow of cultural transmission came primarily from China to the Philippines, from a country with a vast territory, a tremendously large population even from the last hundred years BCE, and one of the oldest civilizations in the world. (Roxas-Lim, 1990)

When mainland China became Communist in 1949, the Philippines severed diplomatic relations with it. The only means by which the Filipinos could reach out to China and other Socialist countries at that time was through friendly organizations and associations. Prior to the inking of diplomatic relations in 1975, the Association for Philippine-China Understanding (APCU) was able to organize and send delegations to the People's Republic of China. Such delegations were composed of writers, journalists, civic leaders, and social analysts – among whom were Carmen Guerrero-Nakpil, Teodoro Locsin, Max Soliven, Poratio Planas, Alejandro Roces, and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo – who brought back glowing reports about that country. (Roxas-Lim, 2000)

Activists from the University of the Philippines, workers, farmers, journalists, writers and academicians were interested in the social and cultural transformation staged by their Chinese counterparts. As part of the First-Quarter Storm in the 1970s, the Beijing operas "The Red Detachment of Women" and "The White-Haired Girl" were shown in a film at the University of the Philippines. The Filipinos were able to witness not only the ideological struggles of the Communist Chinese but also the artistic skills of the dancers, musicians and filmmakers in China.

Diplomatic Relations Between the Republic of the Philippines and Eastern European Socialist Bloc

Formal Diplomatic Relations Between the Philippines and the Eastern European Socialist Bloc.

The Eastern European Socialist Bloc did not have any official relations with the Philippines until after World War II. The iron curtain in Europe limited Philippine relations with European countries, so that the Philippines focused only on relations with Western Europe. (Ocampo-Salvador, 1998) From President Roxas to President Macapagal, the idea of opening formal diplomatic relations with Communist countries was practically non-existent. These included the Eastern European Socialist Bloc.

Marcos opened diplomatic relations with Romania as a testing ground on February 28, 1972, and with Yugoslavia on March 1, 1972. This was done through exchange of letters from Manila. Ambassador Luis Moreno Salcedo was designated the Philippine non-resident envoy to these two countries. (Jocano, 1988) In turn, Romania appointed its ambassador to Japan, Nicolae Finantu, as non-resident envoy to the Philippines, while Yugoslavia designated its ambassador to Japan, Josef Smole, as a non-resident envoy to our country. (Philippine Diplomacy, 1981)

Likewise, Yugoslavia's diplomatic relations with the Philippines was prolific after the signing of diplomatic relations on March 1, 1972. On June 6, 1976, Yugoslav Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lazar Majsov, who was later to become President of the United Nations General Assembly, visited Manila. (Philippine Diplomacy, 1981) From June 28 to July 2, 1979 Vice President Hadilj Hodza of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia paid a state visit, resulting in the signing of a joint statement with Ferdinand Marcos.

On September 21 1973, the Philippines and the German Democratic Republic established formal diplomatic relations, (Domingo, 1983) and exchanges were immediately carried out. On September 2, 1977, Ambassador Leticia Ramos-Shahani submitted her credentials to President Erich Honecker, while on June 8, 1978, Ambassador Eberhard Feisher submitted his credentials to President Marcos.

The Polish People's Republic and the Republic of the Philippines established diplomatic relations on September 22, 1973. Foreign Affairs Secretary Romulo and Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski signed a letter of agreement at the office of the Philippine Mission to the United Nations in New York. Next target was the Hungarian People's Republic. On September 28, 1973, the Philippine government directed Secretary Romulo to forge diplomatic ties with Hungary led by Foreign Minister Janos Peter. The diplomatic agreement was signed in the Philippine Mission office in New York. Erni Horvath was assigned as non-resident ambassador in Manila, while Leticia Ramos-Shahani became his counterpart in Budapest.

On October 5, 1973, the Philippines signed an agreement with Czechoslovakia for formal diplomatic relations. Secretary Romulo signed the formal accord with Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek of Czechoslovakia at the Philippine Mission office in New York. (Castro, 1985) A month after the diplomatic accord with Czechoslovakia, the Philippines signed a joint communique with the People's Republic of Bulgaria on November 16, 1973. Signing in behalf of the Philippines was Secretary Romulo, while his Bulgarian counterpart was Deputy Foreign Minister Guero Grozev. The joint communique was signed in the Philippine Mission office in New York.

Economic Implications of the Philippine-Eastern European Socialist Bloc Relations: Trade and Tourism

The Philippines' forging of diplomatic and trading relationships with Eastern European Socialist Bloc was a milestone in the country's search for a market for its products. The opening of the diplomatic and trade relations with the Eastern European countries bolstered efforts to establish diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The foreign policy of President Marcos proved effective in dealing with smaller eastern European countries first. It took the form of an active search for new friends and markets among the Socialist countries in Eastern Europe. (Domingo, 1993) The Philippine exports to the Eastern European Socialist Bloc from 1972 to 1982 is shown in Table 4.

Products	Romania	Yugoslavia	G.D.R.	Poland	Bulgaria	Czech.	Hungary	Total
Primary								
Copper	10,262,200	16,442,800	299,400	X	X	X	X	27,004,400
Sawlogs and Venfer Logs	X	X	X	X	236,400	X	X	236,400
Chromium	X	1,200,600	X	X	5,500	X	X	1,206,100
Abaca, Handstripped	312,000	129,000	X	554,400	X	X	X	995,400
Gold	1,004,100	1,856,000	X	X	118,700	219,900	67,600	3,266,300
Buntal Fiber	X	X	800	X	X	X	X	800
Vegetable Material for Plait.	X	200	X	X	X	X	37,600	37,800
Tobacco	X	X	X	X	X	3,200	X	3,200
Centrifugal Sugar	25,682,000	X	4,743,200	1,271,500	X	X	X	31,696,700
Copra	X	X	3,049,600	X	X	X	15,700	3,065,300
Coconut oil, crude	X	X	X	371,700	314,200	669,400	X	1,355,300
Non-coniferous wood	X	1,606,000	4,789,300	X	X	X	X	6,395,300
Fruits and Vegetables	X	X	700	10,800	X	X	430,000	441,500
Semi-Manufactured								
Abaca Rope/Cordage	X	X	X	56,100	347,500	X	69,500	473,100
Veneer Sheets	X	X	X	55,300	348,200	X	X	348,200
Silver, Semi-Manufactured	4,413,200	4,424,400	X	X	X	123,100	X	8,960,700

Chlorites and Hypochlorites	X	X	X	123,800	321,700	X	X	445,500
Ferro-Manganese	2,614,400	12,100	178,300	X	X	38,600	X	2,843,400
Manufactured								
Desiccated Coconut	X	1,378,300	722,400	593,500	231,400	961,100	X	3,886,700
Refined Petroleum Product	114,100	318,500	X	367,100	132,600	X	129,500	1,061,800
Petrol. Prod. For Int'l Del.	1,228,200	X	X	739,800	X	X	X	1,968,000
Household Wood Utensils	X	158,100	X	X	161,300	X	X	319,400
Cinematograph Films	X	X	237,200	455,800	X	X		693,000
Basket Work	X	X	8,900	X	X	X	X	8,900
Samples	X	X	X	X		1,300	11,612	12,192
Articles	X	X	X	500	23,600	X	X	24,100
Personal Effects	13,700	1,200	X	4,500	13,500	700	X	33,600
Replacements	X	X	X	59,100	X	X	X	59,100
Dresses/Breches or Crocheted	7,900	6,300	2,647,300	X	X	186,400	X	2,847,900
Coffee	X	X	1,021,900	X	X	123,100	X	1,145,000
TOTAL EXPORT	45,651,800	27,533,500	17,699,000	4,664,900	2,254,600	2,326,800	761,512	100,892,112

Source: Central Bank Statistics, Annual Report for the year 1982.

Primary, semi-manufactured, and manufactured products were the main export of the Philippines to the Eastern European Socialist Bloc from 1972 to 1982. The top ten export of the Philippines to the Eastern European Socialist Bloc include centrifugal sugar, copper, silver, non-coniferous wood, desiccated coconut, gold, copra, dresses, ferro-manganese, and petroleum product for international delivery. Other substantial export of the Philippines include coconut oil, chromium, coffee, refined petroleum product, abaca, cinematograph films, chlorites, cordage, fruits and vegetables and others.

Romania remains the Philippines top export destination with \$45,651,800. Other export destinations in Eastern Europe were Yugoslavia, \$27,533,500; German Democratic Republic, \$17,699,000; Poland, \$4,664,900; Czechoslovakia, \$2,325,800; Bulgaria, \$2,254,600 and Hungary, \$761,512. The total export of the Philippines to the Eastern European Socialist Bloc was \$100,892,112.

Strengthening Cultural Relations between the Philippines and the Eastern European Socialist Bloc

Cultural exchanges became very fruitful between the Philippines and the Eastern European Socialist Bloc. Since the signing of diplomatic agreements in the 1970s, various cultural performances were staged in the Philippines by Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Poland, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia.

Romania sent its finest violinists namely Petru Csaba, the first Romanian concert artist to set foot on Philippine soil on December 12, 1977 and Lenuta Ciulei on December 6, 1982. (Performance Program of the Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1977 and 1982) Finest Romanian conductors Ilarion Ionesu-Galati and Christian Brancussi visited the country on November 10, 1980 and April 30, 1984, respectively.

Hungary participated in the cultural exchange with the performance of the Hungarian State Folk Ensemble under the direction of Zoltan Vereb on September 3, 1977. (Performance Program of the Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1977) Hungarian musicians also performed in the country like pianists Bela Siki in 1978, 1981 and 1983 and Gyorgy Sandor on June 19, 1981. The greatest Hungarian conductor, Gyorgy Gulyas also performed on April 25, 1982.

Czechoslovakian leading musicians Bozena Steinerova, a pianist, staged a performance on October 16, 1979 and Vladimir Mikulka, guitarist performed on March 20, 1982. Slovak Folklore Artistic Ensemble, composed of five Czechoslovakian musicians namely Jan Berky-Mrenica, Ondrej Kurucz, Bertok Alexander, Alojz Rigo, Juraj Helcmanovsky rendered their local music to Filipino audiences on October 18, 1982.

The German Democratic Republic also had their share of cultural performances in the Philippines. Horst Forster, leading conductor of the German Democratic Republic visited the Philippines on November 19, 1979 and Werner Taube, soloist cellist of the German Democratic Republic performed on September 24, 1980. (Performance Program of the Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1980)

Top caliber pianist from Poland rendered outstanding performances. Ruth Slenczynska, known as "The First Lady of the Piano" was in Manila on March 5, 1980. Mona Golabek, who won the Chopin International Competition in Warsaw in 1970, performed in the Philippines on June 6, 1981. (Performance Program of the Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1981)

Bulgaria also made its presence felt in the Philippines by staging a performance of Youlia Radounova, a dramatic soprano on September 18, 1981. To expose the Filipinos to local music and dance performances, the Pirin Folk and Dance State Company (Blagoevgrad), a music and dance cultural group performed on October 4, 1981 at the Cultural Center of the Philippines.

From 1970s to 1980s, Filipino cultural performers were also sent to various countries in the Eastern European Socialist Bloc. Among these Filipino performers were the Ballet Philippines founded by Alice Reyes in 1969, Bayanihan Philippine Dance Company, Dance Concert Company founded by Eric Cruz in 1973, Filipinesca Dance Company founded by Leonor Orosa-Goquinco in 1958, and the Hariraya Ballet Company. In 1983 Toni Lopez Gonzales, a Filipino choreographer and dancer became a semifinalist in the 11th International Ballet Competition in Bulgaria.

Conclusion

In crafting a foreign policy, the promotion of national interest is always considered the paramount concern of every nation-state. Philippine foreign policy had generally shown subservience to the United States of America since the granting of independence on July 4, 1946. The Philippines thus assumed a mendicant posture, in what is referred to as a patron-client set-up to the detriment of its national interest.

President Marcos' directed our foreign policy to be less dependent on the United States. This was to avoid the ire of the United States' ideological antagonists, namely, the Soviet Union, the

People's Republic of China and other Socialist countries. The diplomatic tie-up between the Philippines and the USSR was unprecedented and momentous in Philippine diplomatic history.

On June 2, 1975, President Ferdinand Marcos and Secretary General Leonid Brezhnev signed a joint communique formally establishing diplomatic ties between the two countries. It is a known fact that the ideological adversary of the United States is the USSR. The uncertain status of the United States of America as a regional power after the Vietnam War led President Marcos to reconsider opening relationships with other powers. This was done after careful evaluation so as not to accept Communism as an ideological framework of governance but only to secure new markets for Philippine products.

At the end of the preferential trade agreement between the Philippines and the United States in 1974, Philippine products successfully entered the Soviet markets. Billions of dollars from the Soviet Union revitalized Philippine economy as a result of this prolific trading partnership. The tourism industry was also boosted with the influx of Russian visitors.

The cultural exchanges also benefited the economy. Exchanges of writers, painters, sculptors, composers, musicians and other cultural representatives were encouraged by the Marcos administration. For the first time, Filipinos saw that the Russians are not despicable, strict and militaristic people, but friendly and artistically inclined. Cooperation and exchanges of scientists, technical know-how, and research, science and technology contributed immensely to the development of the Philippines.

When President Marcos decided to ink diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China, many Philippine government officials had reservations because of its possible impact on the Communist insurgency, China being geographically close to the Philippine archipelago. Philippine military intelligence had gathered concrete evidence pointing to mainland China's logistic support for the indoctrination of students, workers, and farmers.

The suspicion and threat was ruled out by President Marcos. He knew that befriending the People's Republic of China would mitigate the growth of the Communist movement in the Philippines. When US President Richard Nixon visited the People's Republic of China in 1972 and Soviet Secretary General Leonid Brezhnev visited the United States in 1973, the era of détente convinced President Marcos that it was high time for the Philippines to forge friendly relations with the Soviet Union. The mutual co-existence between the Western democracies and Communist countries assured the Marcos administration that official ties with Communist countries would not serve as a threat to the national security of the Philippines, but would greatly enhance the political, economic and socio-cultural life of the nation.

As early as 1972, the Philippines had been contacting Romanian and Yugoslavian representatives in the United Nations for possible diplomatic ties. Prior to the opening of formal ties with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, President Marcos wanted to test the waters first. An exchange of letters was initiated to open diplomatic ties with Romania and Yugoslavia. The result was favorable and trade and cultural relations were formed between the Philippines and these countries. In 1973, other nations belonging to Eastern European Socialist Bloc followed suit, the Philippines initiating the move to have official diplomatic relations. The German Democratic Republic, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria inked official agreements with the Republic of the Philippines in 1973.

All told, President Ferdinand Marcos' policy of opening diplomatic ties with Socialist countries enhanced the economic and socio-cultural aspects of Philippine national life. This was done in a flexible, pragmatic and development-oriented manner. Among Filipino presidents, no one dared and succeeded in forging diplomatic ties with Communist countries except President Ferdinand Marcos. Indeed, President Marcos steered Philippine foreign policy from its traditional thrust to one of pragmatism in the face of the realities of the time. He accomplished this by inking diplomatic agreements with Socialist countries, i.e. the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, People's Republic of China and the Eastern European Socialist Bloc.

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FROM AGUINALDO TO DUTERTE: DYNAMICS OF PHILIPPINE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (1897-2016)

Archie B. Resos, PhD and Emmanuel Jeric A. Albela, MA
UNIVERSITY OF SANTO TOMAS
Faculty of Arts and Letters
Department of History
España, Manila
(abresos@ust.edu.ph, eaalbela@ust.edu.ph)

Abstract

Elections have always been a vanguard of procedural democracy in the Philippines. From the time of the first presidential election in the Tejeros Convention in 1897 until the 2016 Presidential derby, the voice of the people has been instrumental in catapulting the chief executive to the seat of power in Malacañang Palace. It is interesting to note that the dynamics of Philippine presidential elections has been written by only a few scholars. This study attempts to provide the mechanism of elections including its results in determining the occupant of the highest position of the land which is held by the Office of the President.

Since the first presidential election in 1897 with Emilio Aguinaldo as president, the outcome has always been marred with influence peddling and electioneering. The maturity of presidential election was further enhanced with the 1935 and 1941 Commonwealth election with Manuel L. Quezon at the helm of power. However, mudslinging and rumour-mongering became pronounced during this democratic exercise. After the death of Quezon, the Philippines witnessed its first presidential succession under Sergio Osmeña Sr. During the outbreak of World War II and the Japanese occupation in 1941, Jose P. Laurel was installed as president by the National Assembly controlled by the imperial government of Japan.

After World War II, the election of Manuel Roxas, Elpidio Quirino, Ramon Magsaysay, Carlos Garcia, Diosdado Macapagal, Ferdinand Marcos, Corazon Aquino, Fidel Ramos, Joseph Estrada, Benigno Simeon Aquino III and Rodrigo Duterte provided strength in the procedural aspect of democracy. It is in this context of the process of presidential electoral procedure that the following questions will be answered: what was the context of the presidential election of each chief executive?, what were the political parties involved and how they contend each other?, what were the significant election issues?, how was the presidential election conducted?, and what were the results?

Keywords: Philippine elections, democracy, political culture, political parties, president.

Introduction

When the United States of America crafted the framework for the Philippines to become a showcase of democracy in Asia, little did they know that there is certain political culture inherent among the Filipinos which hampers the growth of American based democracy in the country. Strong regionalism, debt of gratitude, strong camaraderie, close family affinity and political patronage forms part of the political culture of the Filipinos. Democracy is defined as a system of rule that secures the right and interests of minorities by placing checks upon the power of the majority. (Heywood, 2002) Philippine democracy has always followed the procedural definition. If

there is an election, constitution and basic human rights, then it goes to show that the country is democratic.

However, more important than the illiberal democratic framework, the substantive democracy instills accountability, transparency and social justice in every government. Modern, liberal democracy has an elected government, to be sure, but also constitutional laws and rights, an independent judiciary, strong political parties, churches, businesses, private associations and professional elites. (Zakaria, 2003) In the case of the Philippines, democracy has always been procedural and strong inherent political culture dampens its maturity. From the election of Emilio Aguinaldo as the first president of the Philippine Republic until the ascendancy of Rodrigo Duterte as head of the Philippine government there has always been distortion in the direction of Philippine democracy.

Statement of the Problem:

The paper will answer the major question: How are the dynamics of Philippine presidential elections carried from the first President Emilio Aguinaldo to the current President Rodrigo Duterte? In answering the primary question, it is necessary to address the following sub-questions, namely:

1. **What was the historical context of the presidential election of each Philippine chief executive?**
2. **What were the political parties involved and how they contend each other?**
3. **What were the significant election issues and how did Filipino political culture influence the course of Presidential electoral results?**
4. **How was the presidential election conducted?**
5. **What were the results of these presidential elections in the country?**
6. **What lessons can be learned from these political experiences?**

Review of Related Literature:

Joy Aceron's *Infusing reform in Elections: The Partisan Electoral Engagement of Reform Movements in Post Martial Law Philippines*. (2012) this book points out the importance of civil society groups in engaging into partisan politics. These would include the considerations and implications; the results and the outcomes. The book would focus on how forces from social movements made use of limited democratic space that became available when the country transitioned to democracy in order to advance an alternative government and development agenda. The work would center on the process of presidential elections and delve on how actors and groups from social movements influenced the outcome of the presidential elections in line with the realities of traditional politics and political culture as mainstream players in contesting for state power.

Geraldine Marie Alumit's *Church-Press Interaction in the Philippines: The Case of the 1986, 1992 and 1998 Presidential Elections*. (2000) provides the connection between the influence of the Catholic Church, Mass media and Filipino political culture which affects the behavior, psychology and personality of the electorate. Case study of the 1986, 1992 and 1998 presidential elections in the Philippines shows the significant impact of the Catholic Church, local Philippine protestant churches and the mass media and its role in shaping the outcome of the elections.

Rommel Banlaoi, *Political Parties in the Philippines: From 1900 to the Present*. (1996) chronicled the development of Philippine political parties from 1900 to the present. The author used various sources to provide a broad historical telescope of Philippine political parties but as well as the brief political history of the Philippines from pre-colonial period to the present.

Clarita R. Carlos' *Handbook of Political Parties and Elections in the Philippines*. (1997) presented various documents from diverse sources including the Philippine Commission of elections, national headquarters of political parties, and libraries from various parts of the Philippines. This literature aims to primarily explain the contents of party documents and ideologies which includes the election laws and regulations in the Philippines. Another work, *Elections in the Philippines: From Pre-colonial to the Present* represents an important contribution to the understanding of Philippine political life because it narrates Philippine elections from the earliest times to the present.

Rosario M. Cortes, *Philippine Presidents: 100 Years*. (1999) more than a historical account of the country's leaders, the account follows a narration of the various contributions of Philippine presidents. This is done from the First Philippine Republic, American Period, Commonwealth Period, and the Post War Period. The numbering of the presidents has been done in consecutive fashion following the sequence of the period each president served.

Theoretical framework:

Sigmund Neumann underscores the sociological examination of political parties and elections. According to Neumann, one of the most important prerequisites for a more accurate appraisal of the intricate web of social relations within modern parties is an exacting theoretical framework. He cited that the variations in the character of those who were led matters most. Neumann argues that the variation in the character of those who are led are as important as those who lead specially as the concept of the masses presents an even more elastic term.

He argues that a sharp distinction should be made between the social variations of rural and urban groups of scattered crowds and congregated mobs, of the latent and aroused masses, of the illiterate, numb and untried and the educated, alert, skilled people. According to him, different social classes invite a variety of stimuli and reactions. He says that political parties find an uneven appeal in various social strata, in accordance with their specific social experiences and historical conditions.

Methodology:

History is both descriptive and analytical. The study will delve on the historical method subscribes to both descriptive and analytical techniques. Election data, campaign strategy, role of political parties will be derived from primary sources. This will be analyzed in the international and local events culled from secondary sources which will provide the context of the study.

The descriptive part of the study will deal with the unfolding of the presidential electoral events. The analytical aspect will therefore provide the context of the presidential elections in the Philippines.

Analysis and Findings:

Inception of first Filipino Political Parties: Magdalo vs. Magdiwang

The rise of political parties that catered for an independent Philippines can be traced from the vantage point of history during the Tejeros convention of 1897. This merged out of the desire of the members of the KKK (Kataastaasan Kagalang-galang na Katipunan nang mga Anak ng Bayan) to either continue revolutionary cause under the old organization or establish a revolutionary government under a president. The KKK was founded on July 7, 1892 by Andres Bonifacio, Valentin Diaz, Teodoro Plata, Ladislao Diwa, Deodato Arellano, and a few others. (Agoncillo, 2012) The primary aim of the Katipunan was to liberate the Philippine from the colonial

bondage of Spain. The motivating force of the revolution was simply a common grievance of all social strata against a common enemy, they sought to strengthen national unity by emphasizing the need for brotherhood. (Constantino, 1978)

The contention between the rival faction of the Katipunan resulted in the weakening of the revolutionary cause of the organization. A Magna Asamblea was hosted by on December 31, 1896 to settle the difference. The two political parties the Magdalo under Baldomero Aguinaldo in Imus, Cavite advocated the replacement of the Katipunan with a new revolutionary government led by a president while the Magdiwang under Mariano Alvarez in Noveleta, Cavite expressed confidence in the continuation of the Katipunan as a governing organization to carry out the revolution. The meeting done in Tejeros on March 22, 1897, a barrio in San Francisco de Malabon (now General Trias, Cavite) resulted in a secret balloting to decide the fate of a revolutionary government since most of the members present embraced the necessity to create a new governing body. Emilio Aguinaldo and Andres Bonifacio became the major contenders for the presidency.

Aguinaldo joined the freemasonry and joined the Katipunan and became a member of the Magdalo headed by his cousin Baldomero Aguinaldo. (de Viana, 2019) Emilio Aguinaldo won the secret balloting with 146 votes, followed by Andres Bonifacio with 80 votes and Mariano Trias with 30 votes. (Banlaoi, 1996) The elected members of the revolutionary government includes: Emilio Aguinaldo (Magdalo) as President; Mariano Trias (Magdiwang) as Vice President; Artemio Ricarte (Magdiwang) as Captain General; Emiliano Riego de Dios (Magdiwang) as Director of War and Andres Bonifacio (Magdiwang) as Director of Interior. However, the dissention of Daniel Tirona on the grounds that Bonifacio doesn't have any legal background for being a non-lawyer. The outrage of the Supremo resulted in the creation of the Acta de Tejeros were Bonifacio vehemently denied to accept the result of the election. As a consequence, Bonifacio opted to establish a military government in Naic, Cavite with himself as president. This prompted the newly elected chief executive, to issue the capture and execution order of the rebellious Andres Bonifacio that finally led to his death on May 10, 1897. Clearly, the members of the two factions voted in favor of the achievement of the leaders. Aguinaldo's continuous victories are considered primary factor in his election while Bonifacio's lackluster performance as Supremo led to his political demise. However, certain controversy still hounds the Filipinos including the idea that the presidency of the revolutionary government was a gift since it was held on March 22, 1897, the birthday of Miong. Others claim that this election was rigged with cheating and influence peddling.

Manuel L. Quezon: Continued Prominence of the Nacionalista Party

Manuel Quezon became visible in the political arena when he became the Speaker pro-tempore in 1907, Resident Commissioner in 1909, Senate President in 1916 and finally President of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935 and 1941 respectively. Quezon's prime consideration was to secure the independence bill for the granting of Filipino liberation from American control. Thus, the Tydings-Mcduffie law was secured by Quezon to strengthen his position as leader of the Filipinos and get the much-coveted independence of the nation.

The Commonwealth provided a ten-year transition period with which the rudiments of constitutional mechanism and democratic framework will be laid down to train Filipino leaders in handling an independent nation later on. A constitution (1935) was created and subsequently the first presidential election was conducted. Filipinos for the first time in their national political experience was given a chance to choose their leader. On November 15, 1935, Manuel L. Quezon (Nacionalista Party) won the presidential derby with 695,332 votes followed by Emilio Aguinaldo (National Socialist Party) with 179,349 and Gregorio Aglipay (Republican Party) with 148,010. (Lande, 1965) In the vice presidential race, Sergio Osmeña (Nacionalista Party) won with 812,352 votes, followed by Raymundo Melliza (National Socialist Party) with 70,899 votes and Norberto Nabong (Republican Party). (Lande, 1965)

It is noteworthy to say that during the 1907 to 1916, Sergio Osmeña Sr. was the undisputed Filipino leader in the political arena. However, in 1916, Manuel L. Quezon was elected Senate President while Osmeña settled in the lower house as Speaker. The saying “No permanent friends and enemies, only ambition is lasting” applied to them. In the 1922 Senatorial election, Quezon and Osmeña, headed for political collision specially for the Senate Presidency. Quezon prevailed in his post as Senate President.

Quezon’s Re-election and first Presidential Succession: The Case of Vice President Sergio Osmeña during the Commonwealth government in Exile

The Japanese occupation of east, southeast Asia and the Pacific region augurs the looming Japanese aggression in the Philippines. The bombing of Pearl Harbor, a naval installation base of the United States in 1941, precipitated the Quezon government to prepare for the war. Although November, 1941 was the schedule of the Commonwealth election for the presidential derby, the Philippines faced its toughest challenge, the defense of the nation against the Japanese imperial forces. In spite of all these lamentable situation, on December 30, 1941, the Philippines witnessed the inauguration of Manuel Quezon (Nationalista Party) winning the 2nd Commonwealth election with 1,340,320 votes, followed by Juan Sumulong (Popular Front) with 289,608 vote and Hilario Moncado with 0 vote. (The Tribune, 1941) In the Vice Presidential race, Sergio Osmeña (Nacionalista Party) won with 1,445,897 votes and Emilio Javier (Popular Front) with 124,035 votes. (Carlos, 1996)

The Commonwealth government was put to exile because of the Japanese occupation of the entire country. With this development, the Quezon administration continued to monitor the events in the Philippines while in exile in the United States. President Quezon’s presidency would have expired on November 15, 1943. However, Vice President Osmeña, a man of genuine patriotism, humanity, honor and sincerity, wrote to Quezon and President Roosevelt nobly renouncing his constitutional right to assume the Philippine Presidency on November 15, 1943. (Zaide, 1994) In doing so, the United States Congress issued Joint Resolution No. 95 signed by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt which extended the term of office of Manuel L. Quezon until the restoration of the normal functions of democratic processes in the Philippines. Be that as it may, the selfless act is worthy of emulation since Osmeña’s ascension to power was disregarded for the sake of the nation’s welfare. In 1944, Quezon died of a lingering tuberculosis. As a litmus test of the provision on the constitutional succession enshrined in the 1935 constitution, Vice President Sergio Osmeña was sworn in as the new Commonwealth president.

KALIBAPI and MAKAPILI: Japanese sponsored Political Parties

Under the Japanese high imperial command, the Filipino leaders were forced to accept the terms given to them by the new colonizers. The Commonwealth government was forced in US exile in 1942. The propaganda initiated by the Japanese colonizers boasted of a Philippines free from western control, a government managed by the Filipinos and utilization of raw materials solely by the Filipino themselves. In 1942, the KALIBAPI (Kapisanan ng Paglilingkod sa Bagong Pilipinas) was created as the chief organ of the Japanese propaganda. To build the close ties of the Japanese to the Filipinos, a constitution was crafted on September 4, 1943 providing for a Japanese sponsored Republic of the Philippines. (Zaide, 1994)

The MAKAPILI (Makabayang Katipunan ng mga Pilipino) on the other hand was a military group established by the Japanese to support their police and martial powers in the archipelago. The KALIBAPI conventions elected the members of the National Assembly in 1943. This National Assembly elected Jose P. Laurel as president of the Second Philippine Republic on October 14, 1943. (Zaide, 1994) For fear of execution and incarceration, most Filipino leaders collaborated with the Japanese command. However, some Filipino officials assumed power for the sake of

preventing bloodshed while some directly defied the Japanese authorities resulting in their execution. Jose Abad Santos was executed for his defiance to head the Philippine government under the tutelage of the Japanese administration.

From Sergio Osmeña to Manuel Roxas: Post war Philippines and the Rise of the Liberal Party

The devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, signaled the end of the Japanese military expansionism in the Asia-Pacific region. Among the liberated Japanese colony, the Philippines was perhaps the most devastated after the war. It was a tall order for President Sergio Osmeña, Sr. to lead the country. As provided in the 1935 constitution, the presidential election is scheduled in 1946. The Commonwealth government would also end and an independent Philippine government would assume responsibility in 1946. Since the previous government of Osmeña was beleaguered by the issue of collaboration, the basic and fundamental task of nation building was put aside.

The next chief executive had the gargantuan task to reconstruct and rehabilitate the nation facing political, economic, and cultural debasement. The 1946 presidential election was a test of either the people's trust was still with the old, experienced commonwealth leader or the Filipinos are now craving for a new, vibrant chief executive. Political accusations were pronounced between the Nacionalista and the Liberal Party camps. Riding on the crest of popularity, the issue at hand was the no compromise declaration of independence on July 4, 1946 on the part of Osmeña, while Roxas opted for an "open minded" and possible "reexamination" of the issues before the declaration of independence. Roxas attacked the Osmeña administration regarding collaboration and fascism issues.

On April 23, 1946, the people have spoken. Manuel Roxas (Liberal Party) won with 1,333,392 votes, next was Sergio Osmeña (Nacionalista Party), with 1,129,996 votes and lastly Hilario Moncada (Modernist Party) with 8,538. (Cortes, 1999) In the Vice Presidential race, Elpidio Quirino (Liberal Party) won with 1,161,725, second was Eulogio Rodriguez (Nacionalista Party) with 1,051,243 votes and lastly, Luis Salvador (Modernist Party) with 5879 votes. (Commission of Election Yearbook, 1968) The work of rebuilding and rehabilitating the country was too much for President Roxas. He was lured to adopt close ties with the US specially with the adoption of the Treaty on General Relations (1946), Bell Trade Act (1946) Military Bases Agreement (1947), Military Assistance Agreement (1947), and Parity Amendment (1947). President Roxas succumb to heart attack on April 16, 1948 in Clark field, Pampanga. The following day, Vice President Elpidio Quirino took his oath as the new President of the Republic. This was the second time, the presidential succession was put in action.

Quirino Administration: Political Patronage and Peace and Order Issues

With the succession of Vice President Elpidio Quirino as new head of the Philippine government, he was mandated to finish the six months unexpired term of former President Roxas. The primary problem of the Quirino administration was the expanding insurgency in the rural areas including the continuous effort to rehabilitate the entire nation from the ashes of the war. On November 8, 1949, the second presidential election under the 3rd Philippine Republic took place. The Liberal Party was accused of electioneering and fraud including manipulation of the result of the election since Quirino had the advantage of being the incumbent president. Mudslinging became apparent when Jose P. Laurel, the standard bearer for Presidency of the Nacionalista Party hurled graft and corruption attacks as part of the campaign propaganda against Quirino. On the other hand, Quirino accused Laurel of collaborating with the Japanese during his presidency.

In the presidential election of 1949, Elpidio Quirino, (Liberal Party) the incumbent president, won handily with 1,803,808 votes while his closest opponent Jose P. Laurel (Nacionalista Party) had 1,318,330 votes. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1950) The Vice Presidential race shows that Fernando Lopez (Liberal Party) had 1,341,284, followed by Manuel Briones (Nacionalista Party) with 1,184,215 and Vicente Francisco (Liberal Party- Avelino Wing) with 44,510 votes. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1950) In 1949, the HUKS became very conspicuous in Central and Southern Luzon. The rise of the communist insurgents were precipitated by the rampant corruption of the Quirino government including the lack of agrarian program for the poor farmers in the countryside. The appointment of Congressman Ramon Magsaysay as defense henchman of the government became the nail in the coffin of Quirino's political career but subsequently became the catalyst of change aspired by every poverty ridden Filipinos.

Ramon Magsaysay and the Rise of Political Campaign Jingle to carry Government Platform

The deterioration of the peace and order situation became apparent during the Quirino administration. Although efforts of the government to address the rising communist insurgency was put in place, the situation turned worse. As defense secretary of the Quirino presidency, Magsaysay utilized every available means to reach out the remotest provinces and municipalities to gain network and connection to the common people.

In this election, the use of presidential jingle (song and dance) were used to make the democratic exercise of suffrage more appealing and colorful to the masses. Because of pressing issue of saving Philippine democracy as his main battle cry, Defense Secretary Ramon Magsaysay (Nacionalista Party) won with a wide margin of 2,912,992 votes then followed by President Elpidio Quirino with 1,313,991 votes and Gaudencio Bueno (Independent) with 736 votes. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1954) The Vice presidential election resulted in the win of Carlos P. Garcia (Nacionalista Party) with 2,515,265 votes with Jose Yulo (Liberal Party) in second with 1,483,802 votes. Eventually, the Nacionalista Party regained their political control in this presidential election. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1954)

The promise of President Magsaysay to empower the hoi polloi became clear as he opened Malacañang palace for the grievances of the people. As chief executive, his unusual closeness to the masses and simplicity of life strengthened his legitimacy as president. Unfortunately the unexpected demise of Magsaysay in a plane crash ended his political career on March 17, 1957. Filipino association with a leader who had sympathy for the ordinary people catapulted Magsaysay to power. Political culture of "mass appeal" became instrumental for winning the highest position of the land in the succeeding elections.

Carlos P. Garcia Administration: Two opposing Political Parties for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency

For the third time in the political history of the Philippines, Vice President Garcia, succeeded the office of President Ramon Magsaysay because of his sudden death. The newly installed President Carlos Garcia completed the eight months unexpired term of the former president. The Filipino nation faced the task of concentrating economic power in the hands of the local businessmen. Thus, the campaign of 1957 presidential election beacons the continuity of strengthening democracy and empowering Filipino industrialist in the economic sector. On November 12, 1957, the fourth presidential election was scheduled. The main contenders were: President Carlos Garcia (Nacionalista Party) who won the election with 2,072,257 votes, followed by Jose Yulo (Liberal Party) with 1,386,829, Manuel Manahan (Progressive Party) with 1,049,420, Claro M. Recto (Nationalist Citizen's Party) with 429,226 and Antonio Quirino (Liberal Party,

Quirino Wing) with 60,328. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1958) The Vice Presidential election yielded favorable results for the Liberal Party. Diosdado Macapagal won with 2,189,197 votes, second is Jose Laurel Jr. (Nacionalista Party) with 1,783,012, third, Vicente Araneta (Progressive Party) with 375,090, Lorenzo Tañada, with 344,865 votes and lastly, Restituto Fresto (Lapiang Malaya) with 10,494. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1958)

The election scenario was interesting because for the first time, the political landscape differed from the previous configuration. President Carlos Garcia came from the Nacionalista Party but the elected Vice President Diosdado Macapagal was from the opposition Liberal Party. The Garcia administration focused on providing preferential treatment for Filipino businessmen over the foreign counterpart in his "Filipino first policy" However, the opposing views of President and Vice President led to disunity and polarization in the government.

Diosdado Macapagal: The Broken Promise to a fellow Party mate and future President

Since Vice president Diosdado Macapagal was from the opposition Liberal Party, he was never given any government position perhaps to prevent him from becoming a future president of the nation. As voice of the opposition, Macapagal capitalized on the weaknesses of the Garcia administration which includes the failed agrarian reform package and the robust increase of insurgency in the provinces. Most of Macapagal's time was devoted in reaching the far flung areas of the countryside thus, making him accessible to the various municipalities. This catapulted him to become ripe and popular for the presidency. On November 14, 1961, the Philippines was scheduled for another round of presidential election. Vice President Diosdado Macapagal (Liberal Party) wrestled power from the incumbent with 3,554,840 votes, Carlos Garcia (Nacionalista Party) had 2,902,996, and Alfredo Abcede (Federal Party) with 8. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1962) In the Vice Presidential election, Emmanuel Pelaez (Liberal Party) garnered 2,394,400 votes, followed by Sergio Osmeña, Jr. (Independent) with 2,190,424 votes and Gil Puyat (Nacionalista Party) with 1,787,987 votes. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1962)

Carrying the promise of his campaign, Macapagal implemented the Agricultural Agrarian Reform Code for the distribution of land to the poor but deserving farmers. His strong advocacy in the usage of Filipino language became pronounced and his ardent desire to commemorate Philippine independence on June 12 instead the neocolonial celebration on July 4 was implemented. One of his closest ally in the Liberal Party was Senate President Ferdinand Marcos. Marcos who has forgone his bid for the presidency in 1961 supported Macapagal to his dream of occupying the highest office in Malacañang was in fact deprived of his ardent desire to become the standard bearer of the Liberal Party in the 1965 presidential derby. This political culture of mistrust and dishonesty resulted in the political demise of the Macapagal administration.

Ferdinand Marcos: Political Turncoatism, Mail-fist Policy and Constitutional Authoritarianism

Ferdinand Marcos dream to be president of the Philippines was shattered by stalwarts of the Liberal Party when he lost the nomination bid for the 1965 presidential election. However, the surmounting problems of the Macapagal presidency became the target of attack of the Nacionalista Party. Senate President Ferdinand Marcos suddenly turned his back against the Liberal Party and was welcomed with open hands in the Nacionalista Party even accepting the nomination as the official candidate for the presidency in 1965. Carrying on the budget deficit, decontrol and devaluation of the pesos as potent political issues against the previous administration, Marcos was able to gain momentum in the presidential race. Unable to secure the nomination bid of the Liberal Party, Marcos and other members of the ruling party defected to the Nacionalista Party as part of the political turncoatism to secure a more viable position in the election. On November 9, 1965, the election for the chief executive was held. The Presidential

contenders were: Senate President Ferdinand Marcos (Nacionalista Party) who won the election with 3,861,324, followed by the incumbent President Diosdado Macapagal (Liberal Party) with 3,187,752 votes and Raul Manglapus (Party for Philippine Progress) with 384,564 votes. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1966) In the Vice Presidential election, Fernando Lopez (Nacionalista Party) won with 3,531,550 votes, second was Gerardo Roxas (Liberal Party), with 3,505,826 votes lastly, Manuel Manahan (Progressive Party) with 247,426 votes. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1966) The first term of President Marcos was successfully able to hurdle the problems of tax collection, food shortage was addressed and the peace and order situation stabilized.

However, the latter part of the 1960s, was hounded by serious and threatening problems. The efficiency of the Marcos administration gave the Nacionalista Party majority control of the Senate in 1967. Only Senator Benigno Aquino Jr. was able to make it in the senate. However, the rise to prominence of the young senator signaled the birth of the opposition against the leadership of Marcos. On November 11, 1969, Ferdinand Marcos (Nacionalista Party) won a reelection bid with 5,017,343 votes followed by Sergio Ormeña Jr. 3,143,122 votes and Pascual Racuyal (Independent) with 778 votes. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1970) In the Vice Presidential bid, Fernando Lopez (Nacionalista Party) won with 5,001,737 votes, second Genaro Magsaysay (Liberal Party) with 2,968,526 votes and Victoriano Mallari (Partido ng Bansa) with 229. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1970)

The second term of Marcos in 1969 was looming with a lot of problems. The formation of the Communist Party of the Philippines under Jose Maria Sison and its merging with the New People's Army of Bernabe "Ka Dante" Buscayno strengthened insurgency in the country. The issue of a separate Mindanao became the battle cry of the newly formed Moro National Liberation Front under Nur Misuari. Wanton terrorist activities like bombings proliferated in Metro Manila. The surging prices of crude oil coupled with agrarian problems and soaring cost of prime commodities led in the worst street activism. Students, laborers, religious leaders, women groups and academicians staged rallies that rocked and paralyze normal operations of government in the metropolis. With the widespread decline of the peace and order situation, Martial Law was declared on September 21, 1972. Thus, the presidential election scheduled in 1973 was suspended to paved the way for military rule until 1981. This mail-first policy enabled Marcos to extend his term of office almost in perpetuity had it not for the assassination of his top opponent, Senator Benigno Aquino Jr in 1983.

Martial law became a catalyst of oppression to pacify the nemesis of the Marcos administration. Thousand of students, laborers and church leaders were rounded up and placed under incarceration. Those who opposed the Marcos administration were either executed or liquidated extrajudicially. However, President Marcos was forced to lift martial rule in the country because of the visit of Pope John Paul II in 1981. Marcos would declare the creation of a fourth Philippine Republic immediately after martial law was lifted.

On June 16, 1981, President Ferdinand Marcos (Kilusang Bagong Lipunan) won the election with 18,309,360 votes, Alejo Santo (Nacionalista Party) was second, with 1,716,449 and Bartolome Cabangbang (Federalist Party) with 749,845 votes. (Carlos, 1996) There are no position for the Vice President with the amendment done in the 1973 constitution. As leader of the opposition based in the US, Benigno Aquino Jr. decided to go home and reconcile with Marcos. Unfortunately on August 21, 1983, he was assassinated at the Manila International Airport. The nation was rocked by widespread protest from different sectors of society. In 1984, the Batasang Pambansa elected 70 opposition assemblymen as a sign of protest among the Filipino people. Because of the widespread chaos, Marcos opted to push thru with a snap presidential election on February 7, 1986. In this aspect, constitutional authoritarianism was used by Marcos to legitimized laws, directive and letter-of-instruction to abuse his discretion of power that is within the scope of a constitution he manipulated.

Cory Aquino: Brief Restoration and Immediate Reversal of democracy in the Philippines

The death of Senator Benigno Aquino Jr. in the tarmac of the Manila International Airport on August 21, 1983 signaled the downfall of the Marcos leadership. With external and internal pressures, President Marcos announced the holding of a snap presidential election on February 7, 1986. This would vindicate his government actions that the people still continuously show their trust in his administration by giving him a fresh mandate in Malacañang.

The opposition party Partido Demokratiko ng Pilipinas(PDP)- Lakas ng Bansa (LABAN) and United Nationalist Opposition (UNIDO) fielded the widow of Benigno Aquino Jr, Corazon Aquino to run for the presidency with Salvador Laurel. On February 7, 1986, the snap presidential election started throughout the country in one of the dirtiest and violent suffrage in Philippine political history. It was on February 15, 1986 that Ferdinand Marcos (Kilusang Bagong Lipunan) was proclaimed as winner with 10,807,197 votes, followed by Corazon Aquino (PDP-LABAN-UNIDO) with 9,291,716 votes, Reuben Canoy (Social Democratic Party) got 34,041 votes and Narciso Padilla (Movement for Truth, Order and Righteousness) had 23,652 votes. (Cortes, 1999) In the Vice Presidential race, Arturo Tolentino (Kilusang Bagong Lipunan) won with 10,134,130 votes, second was Salvador Laurel (PDP-LABAN-UNIDO) with 9,173, 105 votes, Eva Estrada Kalaw (Liberal Party, Kalaw Wing) 662,185 and Roger Arienda (Movement for Truth, Order and Righteousness) with 35,974. (Cortes, 1999) The Namfrel (National Movement for Free Election) results showed otherwise. It was a case of regionalistic strength as the “solid north” consisting of the Ilocos Region, Cagayan Valley Region and Central Luzon (except for Tarlac) has shown strong preference for Marcos and his political party, the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan.

Slowly losing the mandate to govern exacerbated by United States lost of confidence in the conduct of election and the withdrawal of support of the military led by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Vice Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos, the people grew in numbers in EDSA (a major thoroughfare in Manila) which led to the People Power Revolution from February 22 to 26, 1986. Corazon Aquino was catapulted in power with the promise of strengthening democracy, initiate land reform programs and confiscate the ill-gotten wealth of the Marcos's.

However several problems beset her administration including issues of insurgency, coup attempts and power outages in addition natural disasters like earthquakes and volcanic eruptions also emerged. In the political arena, one thing that hampered the growth of democracy was the rise of political dynasties which continue to escalate during her term of office and the widespread poverty which was prevalent that curtail the rebirth of Philippine democracy. Close family affiliations of the Cojuangco and Sumulong to the Aquino administration led in nepotism and the growth of local politics affiliated with the affluent and influential families.

The Aquino administration immediate banked on the restoration of democracy. It was however short-lived because of the rampant human rights violation, widespread corruption and red tape in the bureaucracy. Aquino's presidency should have been the transition in democracy but was subsequently thwarted. There have been three attempts to establish democracy in the Philippines, the first was during the Philippine Revolution of liberation from Spain in the late nineteenth century, culminating in the inauguration of the democratic albeit short-lived Philippine Republic; a second try took place with the gradual buildup of “colonial democracy” under the United States particularly in the 1930s which was thereafter abruptly halted when the country came under Japanese occupation and finally, the third attempt was the historic EDSA People Power uprising of February 1986 that put an end to the authoritarian regime of Ferdinand Marcos, and replaced it with a new democratic government. (Yu-Jose, 2010)

Fidel Ramos: Strong Military Backup and Issues of Vote shaving and Padding (Dagdag Bawas)

Secretary Fidel Ramos was the shield used by President Corazon Aquino to weather coup d' etat against her administration. The loyalty of Ramos paved the way for him to get the anointing for the presidential race in 1992. Although the ruling party at that time was Speaker Ramon Mitra's Laban ng Demokratikong Filipino (LDP), Secretary Ramos, formed his own political party the Lakas-NUCD (Lakas ng Bayan-National Union of Christian Democrats)

On May 11, 1992, Secretary Fidel V. Ramos won the elections with the backing of President Corazon Aquino. Fidel Ramos (LAKAS-NUCD or National Union of Christian Democrats) won with 5,342,421 votes followed by Miriam Defensor Santiago (People's Reform Party) with 4,468,173, Eduardo Cojuangco (Nationalist People's Coalition) with 4,116,376 votes, Ramon Mitra (Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino) with 3,316,661 and Imelda Marcos with 2,338,294 votes. (New York Times, 1992) In the Vice Presidential derby, Joseph Estrada (Nationalist People's Coalition) won with 6,739,738, second was Marcelo Fernan (Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino) with 4,438,494 votes, Emilio Osmeña, (LAKAS-NUCD) with 3,362,467 votes, Ramon Magsaysay Jr. (Peoples Reform Party) with 2,900,556 votes, Aquilino Pimentel (PDP-LABAN) with 2,023,289 and Vicente Magsaysay (KBL) with 699,895 votes. (New York Times, 1992) The military influence that backup the Ramos candidacy became conspicuous. During the election period, widespread brownouts became the reason for the static results of the election. Vote shaving and padding became rampant during this democratic exercise.

The primary government program of Ramos was the immediate restoration of power due to outages. He placed the Philippines in the line of globalization establishing a medium term development program (Philippines 2000) centering on economic sustainability, peace and prosperity, energy generation and conservation, environmental protection and cutting of bureaucracy.

Popularity and Power: Joseph Estrada Presidency

For the third time in Philippine political history, the President and Vice president belonged to opposing political parties. President Ramos is from Lakas-NUCD and Vice President Joseph Estrada is from Nationalist People's Coalition. Vice President Joseph Estrada gained popularity as a movie actor which he capitalized to earn him the mayoral post of San Juan in 1968, Senator in 1987, Vice President in 1992 and finally president in 1998. Appointed by President Ramos as head of the anti-crime bureau, the Presidential Anti-Crime Commission (PACC) in 1992. This position made him very popular among the masses.

On May 11, 1998, the voice of the masses catapulted Joseph Estrada (Lapian ng Makabayang Masang Pilipino) to the presidency with 10,722,295 votes, followed by Jose de Venecia (LAKAS-NUCD-UMPD) with 4,268,483 votes, Raul Roco (Aksyon Demokratiko) with 3,720,212 votes, Emilio Osmeña (PROMDI Muna) with 3,347,631 votes, Alfredo Lim (Liberal Party) 2,344,362 votes, Renato de Villa (Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma) with 1,308,352 and Miriam Defensor Santiago (PRP) with 797,206 votes. (Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/election.watch/asiapcf/philippines2.html>, 1998) In the Vice Presidential race, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (LAKAS-NUCD-UMDP) won with 12,667,252 votes, followed by Edgardo Angara (Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino) with 5,652,068 votes, Oscar Orbos (Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma) with 3,32,779 votes, Sergio Osmeña (Liberal Party) with 2,351,462 and Francisco Tatad (Peoples Reform Party) with 745,389. (Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/election.watch/asiapcf/philippines2.html>, 1998)

Political culture that catered to popularity rather than achievement characterized by the acting roles of Erap in the movies defending the poor created an image of savior and protector of the marginalized. Under the Estrada administration, he maintained peace in Mindanao by subduing the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. An increase in debt marked his administration that made life harder for the people. He was implicated in graft and corruption, culpable violation of the constitution and loss of public trust which led to his impeachment trial. The trial was suppressed by senators close to him but resulted in the EDSA People Power 2 revolt that placed Vice President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo as President of the Republic of the Philippines in 2001.

Gloria Macapagal Arroyo: Militarization of the government and Influence Peddling

President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo succeeded Joseph Estrada as chief executive when he was removed by the EDSA People Power 2 in 2001. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo immediately strengthened her grip to power by declaring a state of rebellion in 2001 against the supporters of Estrada who staged a counter EDSA People Power 3 in May of 2001. Military adventurism was also prominent during her first term of office as the Oakwood Mutiny in Makati was hatched by a few military rebels. Although the constitution explicitly provided that a president can only run for a single term, she became eligible because it was not more than four years. Thus, on May 10, 2004, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (LAKAS-Christian Muslim Democrats) won the presidency with 12,905,808 votes, Fernando Poe Jr. (Koalisyon ng Nagkakaisang Pilipino) with 11,782,232 votes, Panfilo Lacson (Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino) with 3,510,080 votes, Raul Roco (Aksyon Demokratiko) with 2,082,762 votes and Eddie Villanueva (Bangon Pilipinas Party) with 1,988,218 votes. (Quezon, 2005) In the Vice Presidential race, Noli de Castro (Independent) won with 15,100,431 votes, Loren Legarda (Koalisyon ng Nagkakaisang Pilipino) with 14,218,709 votes, Herminio Aquino (Aksyon Demokratiko) 981,500 votes. (Quezon, 2005)

It was noticeable that Arroyo would appoint loyal military officials in the government to create a blind following in her administration. The political culture of debt of gratitude (*utang na loob*) became obvious under her administration. The second term of President Macapagal-Arroyo was marred with a state of emergency because of military adventurism caused by her involvement in an election scandal. The expanded value added tax scheme was one of the centerpieces of her administration which met heavy opposition from many walks of lives. The low popularity of the Macapagal-Arroyo presidency led to the election of Benigno Simeon Aquino III as president in 2010.

Benigno Aquino III: Complacency and inaction of the government on Key issues

Corazon Aquino has been the icon of Philippine democracy since 1986. The unpopular government of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo marred with electioneering and pronounced graft and corruption made an impact to a lot of Filipinos. Side by side with the death of President Aquino in 2009, her son, Noynoy Aquino became a popular candidate in 2010. On May 10, 2010, Benigno Simeon Aquino III (Liberal Party) won the presidential elections with 15,208,678 votes, Joseph Estrada (Pwersa ng Masang Pilipino) with 9,487,837 votes, Manny Villar (Nacionalista Party) with 5,573,835 votes, Gilbert Teodoro (LAKAS-KAMPI-CMD) 4,095,839 votes and Eddie Villanueva with (Bangon Pilipinas Party) with 1,125,878. (Quezon, 2005) For the Vice Presidential election, Jejomar Binay (PDP-LABAN) was victorious with 14,645,574 votes, Mar Roxas (Liberal Party), 13,918,490 votes, Loren Legarda (NPC) with 4,294,664 votes, Bayani Fernando (Bagumbayan-Volunteers for a New Philippines) with 1,017,631 votes. (Quezon, 2005)

President Benigno Simeon Aquino III, championed to clean the government of graft and corruption through his "Straight Path" (*Daang Matuwid*) platform of governance. However, the hostage taking of Chinese tourists in Quirino Grandstand (2010), the Typhoon Yolanda fund scandal (2013) and Dengvaxia Dengue vaccine made President Pnoy very unpopular. His

accusing finger against the Arroyo administration promoted the political culture of fault-finding to masked the complacency and inefficiency of his administration.

Rodrigo Duterte: Extrajudicial Killings and Strong Government Control

Mayor Rodrigo Duterte from Davao City was in no way interested in the presidential derby of 2016. However, with the popular clamor of the people to solve the disarray in peace and order situation of the Philippines, he eventually gave it a shot for the race of the chief executive position. Banking on his anti-drug campaign, on May 9, 2016, Rodrigo Duterte (PDP-LABAN) won the presidency with 16,601,997 votes, followed by Mar Roxas (Liberal Party) with 9,978,175 votes, Grace Poe (Independent) with 9,100,991 votes, Jejomar Binay (United Nationalist Alliance) with 5,416,140 votes and Miriam Defensor-Santiago (People's Reform Party) with 5,416,140 votes. Retrieved from <https://ph.rappler.com/elections/2016/results/philippines/position/1/president-2016> In the Vice Presidency, Lenie Robredo (Liberal Party) won with 14,418,817 votes, followed by Ferdinand "Bongbong" Marcos (Independent) with 14,155,344 votes, Alan Peter Cayetano (PDP-LABAN) with 5,903,379 votes, Francis Escudero (Independent) with 4,931,962, Antonio Trillanes with

In the Vice Presidency, Lenie Robredo (Liberal Party) won with 14,418,817 votes, followed by Ferdinand "Bongbong" Marcos (Independent) with 14,155,344 votes, Alan Peter Cayetano (PDP-LABAN) with 5,903,379 votes, Francis Escudero (Independent) with 4,931,962 votes, Antonio Trillanes (Independent) with 868,501 votes and Gregorio Honasan (United Nationalist Alliance) with 788,881 votes. President Duterte's close foreign ties with the People's Republic of China became a primary protest issue in his administration including the widespread extra judicial killing to curb criminality. Duterte's administration, like Arroyo was also marked by militarization of the government with the appointment of former generals to promote strong government

CONCLUSION

Philippine political culture has been characterized by a strong regionalism, debt of gratitude (*utang na loob*), bickering, mudslinging, close family ties (political dynasty and nepotism) and turncoatism. These would characterize the kind of presidential elections in the Philippines including the growth and rise of political parties in the country. The United States of America initiated moves to make the Philippines as the showcase of democracy in Asia. From the election of the first Philippine President Emilio Aguinaldo, the democratic practice of selecting the ruler has been marred by controversy of electioneering and debt of gratitude. The election of Quezon during the Commonwealth period has shown how political bickering became the instrument of destroying the image of the opponent by focusing on the dark side of the past. (execution of Bonifacio as ordered by Aguinaldo.)

The election of Manuel Roxas in 1946 exhibited how black propaganda destroyed the credibility of Osmeña by pointing out in the campaign that he is tolerant of the issue of collaboration. The ascendancy of Elpidio Quirino has shown obviously that political machinery and money propelled the Liberal party to its success. However, Magsaysay would bank on his closeness to the masses in expounding about the deterioration of peace and order; cheating in the elections and graft and corruption as primary issues in his campaign. Riding on the crest as savior of democracy, he won easily against the incumbent. Carlos Garcia's election proved that there is no advancement in the development of the nation if political polarization would characterize the government.

Having the President and Vice President from two opposing party made the derailment of government progress. Diosdado Macapagal's administration which has not recognized the political potential of his close ally, Ferdinand Marcos resulted in the political turncoatism to emerged as Marcos jumped to the Nacionalista Party which gave him success as standard bearer

and President of the Republic. The twenty-one years of the Marcos administration was characterized by political disloyalty, mail-fist policy and constitutional authoritarianism. Corazon Aquino's administration became a haven for the growth of political dynasties. Family members became influential in government position including close friends and allies. Fidel Ramos presidency has been marred by cheating, vote padding and shaving (dagdag bawas) Strong government machinery catapulted Ramos to power with his anointing from the Aquino administration.

The political culture of popularity made Joseph Estrada as chief executive of the nation. Being a movie actor made him very popular among the masses thus catapulting him to Malacañang. However, his close affiliation with friends and cronies resulted in his eventual downfall in power. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo became president with pronouncement of influence-peddling and debt of gratitude. She became chief executive for nine years under the shadow of graft and corruption and shady deals. Benigno Simeon Aquino III became president but the political culture of blaming and inaction marked his administration. Finally, Rodrigo Duterte was elected president. Unfortunately, the political culture of violence, extrajudicial killings and vendetta marked his administration. Did American democracy worked perfectly in the Philippines? In terms of the methods employed, it did. Elections, constitutions and human rights made it procedurally work in the Philippines. However, substantially, we have not yet matured when it comes to accountability, transparency and the promotion of social justice.

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THE ROLE OF NEWSPAPER IN THE SUCCESS OF AMERICAN EMPIRE BUILDING IN THE PHILIPPINES (1898-1899)

Miguel Antonio Jimenez
University of Santo Tomas
(miguel.antonio.a.jimenez@gmail.com)

ABSTRACT

This paper looks into the role of media in the success of the American Imperialism. Media was created for faster and effective dissemination of information from one individual to another or a larger group of people. However, some took advantage of it and utilized it as a tool for manipulating information to promote their interests. Newspapers became the engine to facilitate the expansion of America over the archipelago, and while the Americans enjoyed the gains of imperialism, it created a negative effect on the lives of their new colonies. This paper utilized the descriptive-narrative analytical method guided by the Theory of Unintended Outcome by Karl Popper.

Keywords: Media, Newspaper, Information, American Imperialism, Unintended Outcome

INTRODUCTION

One of the essential things that man invented is language. We regard it as man's greatest invention since practically, other human inventions would not be possible without it (Timbreza, 1992). The development of language enhanced human communication, which is based mainly on touch (Brittner, 1989). Through language, another form of communication was introduced, which is *pictographic*. This system of writing abled humans to depict their way of life through wall-etchings inside caves and early temples. From these images came the primitive alphabets which were used to record the different cultural aspects of the society.

The birth of the movable type was a breakthrough in the history of technology. Movable type fastens the system of printing. In Asia, the Chinese were already using the movable type of printing as early as the Song Dynasty; however, the style they have is very time consuming and costly. In Europe, Johanness Gutenberg developed his movable type printing technology, which is similar to the one developed by Bi Sheng in China. The only difference between the two is the characters used in each block.

Contrary to what we believed; the Bible is not the only item that was published during that time but also printed copies of indulgences. The Introduction of the movable printing technology not only gave birth to the printing business in Europe but also revolutionized communication and education. Notable developments followed afterward that would be helpful for this new rising industry, which is the invention of paper-making in the 18th century and the application of steam power to the printing press. These developments made it possible to mass-produce printed materials and lower the cost of production since there is an alternative already to human labor. These are the precursors for the birth of the newspaper.

The invention of the newspaper significantly created an impact on society. It is a powerful force that made people aware of the different phenomena in the society, and through that awareness comes the formulation of public opinion, which could affect both the national and international

efforts toward progress and global understanding. Otto Groth, a scholar from Germany, developed a standard to determine a real newspaper. First, newspapers must be published periodically at intervals, not less than once a week. Second, mechanical reproduction must be employed. Third, anyone who can pay the price of admission must have access to the publication, or it must be available to everyone. Fourth, it must vary in content and include everything of public interest to everyone, not merely small or selected groups. Lastly, the publication must be timely with some continuity of the organization (Brittner, 1989).

In colonial America, the purpose of printing is different since newspapers during that time primarily was used for advertisement. The contents tended toward a standard model: an assortment of local advertising, occasional small paragraphs of local hearsay, and large chunks of European political and economic intelligence lifted directly from London newspapers (Schudson & Tiftt, 2005). News on politics was not that popular because of the threat that newspaper proprietors may be indicted for seditious libel if they happened to attack the royal governor or the colonial legislature. The conflict with England in 1765 triggered the entry of politics in the press, which gradually changed the purpose of newspapers from being a tool for promotion and advertisement into a mouthpiece of different political parties and factions. For example, the Federalists used the newspaper in 1787 and 1788 to push for a state-by-state debate with Antifederalists on ratifying the Constitution. Some papers did not publish any Antifederalist speeches during the convention. Some of the founders of America supported outspoken political criticism as long as it advocates independence. Upon the establishment of a republican government, a change of view also happened wherein they opposed public associations and criticism outside of the channels of government thus, led to the passing of the Sedition Act of 1789, making printing false, scandalous, and malicious writing against the government of the United States a criminal offense. The Sedition Act expired when Thomas Jefferson won the presidency in 1800. The government tried to uphold the First Amendment declaration of 1791 that Congress will never make a law that will suppress the freedom of speech and the press. This act prompted the rise of partisan newspapers, serving as a weapon and shield of a party or a faction. The connection between politics and paper started to weaken after the Civil War when newspapers began to be a profitable business. There was a change in the content of the newspapers as publications started to publish materials in more straightforward language, more massive headlines, and highly lavish illustrations. The changes extended readership to immigrants and to those with limited ability in written English, which in turn contributed to the higher sales and profits amassed by the press.

As new mass journalism continued to flourish, a new trend in journalism was born in the last decade of the 19th century. William Randolph Hearst introduced sensational news together with a self-promoting crusading spirit. As his strategy became a key for him to save his paper from faltering, it also opened a new door for expansionism to America. The Cuban Crisis became the center of numerous newspapers in America as each paper tried to pull the people in taking a stand on the possible intervention of the United States in Cuba. Spain and Cuba were already in the newspapers even before the Maine incident.

Partisanship was rampant in American journalism during the 19th century. Newspapers were affiliated to a particular political party and will focus on the promotion of the party's point of view. It became a practice by numerous newspaper organs since it is through this that they will be able to receive funding to continue their publication. It may be beneficial for the Americans since the goal is to promote the national interests of their country; however, it will only be possible at the expense of other countries especially, Spain and its colonies. The media, both printed and broadcast, played a vital role in creating the foundations of American Imperialism. It is evident in the District of Columbia-based newspapers supports both the Republicans and the Democrats, and on the radios playing the speeches of then-President William McKinley, urging the people to accept his expansionist ideology.

In this paper, the researcher used two (2) newspapers: the *Washington Sentinel* and *Washington Bee*. Two District of Columbia-based newspapers representing the Democratic and Republican views, respectively.

PROBLEM STATEMENT, RESEARCH QUESTIONS, AND OBJECTIVES

This paper tries to answer the question, “How did the Americans used the newspapers in building their empire during the 20th century?”. There are 3 sub-problems that would help answering the main problem of this paper, these are:

1. What are the different events that led to the expansion of the Americans during the late 19th century?
2. What are the different strategies employed that greatly contributed in the success of American imperialism in the Philippines?
3. What is the aftermath of the success of American Imperialism in the Philippines?

The objective of the study is to present and prove that “fake news” has been in the society even before the height of social media. It has been the arm of the powerful nations to promote their self-interest through misinformation, making the people ignorant to the real state of affairs of the world where many people suffer due to

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study is guided by Karl Popper’s Theory of Unintended Outcome. Popper (1964) presented the idea that undersigned social institutions may emerge as unintended consequences of rational actions: just as a road may be formed without any intention to do so by people who find it convenient to use a track already existing. For every action done by an individual equates to an unpredictable result. Applied to this study, it gives us a clearer view of the reason why media, even if it was formed for faster and efficient medium of dissemination of information, became an instrument to misinform and miseducate the masses.

METHODOLOGY

The Descriptive-Narrative-Analytical Method by M.C. Lemon was used by the researcher in conducting this study. The descriptive method was used in describing details and information found and stated on this paper. The narrative method was used in narrating the different events that happened in the past since this paper is historical in nature. Lastly, the analytical method was used to analyze and interpret the different details, ideas, and events to be able to create a good narrative of the past which is based on facts.

BUILDING AMERICAN IMPERIALISM THROUGH THE PRESS (THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR)

Going to war was inevitable because the dominant elites and journalists like Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge, and William Randolph Hearst thought that it is something America needed during that time. Before the choosing Spain to be its enemy due to its weakness, these people were already pushing for empire-building through the war as they were inspired by nationalist fever, imperial lust, urge to liberate oppressed people, political ambition, public polemic, herd behavior, personal enthusiasm for adventure and glory (Gompert, Binnedijk & Lin,

2014).¹ They were thriving to make America a world power, and it will not be possible if the expansion will end only within the American borders. Going beyond their borders is also a form of presenting their sea power since war during that time is being determined by naval warfare. The fastest way by which they could attain their dream is to acquire colonies and to convince the people to support it, utilizing the press to advance their political ambitions.

Newspapers became the medium to boost the confidence of the Americans, creating an idea that they are superior over the other countries to the point of exaggerating news.

Fought under so many disadvantages, as a mere battle, this will be remembered as among the most brilliant of naval victories. It reflects the highest credit upon Commodore Dewey, his officers and men it was as exact as a mathematical problem. There was that perfect courage which so often commands success. There was fine seamanship-knowing what to do and how to do it. Aiming at the enemy's heart, the blow was delivered home. There was no maneuvering to draw the enemy into the open sea as at Trafalgar; no strategy, no subterfuge. Dewey showed the Farragut training. Farragut sailed straight into Mobile. In spite of the torpedoes and mines he moved upon his mark, smashed his way over every obstacle and did his work. Dewey, under more exacting circumstances, followed his illustrious master. In the event of a repulse Farragut could have fallen back upon havens nearby. There was nothing for Dewey but unwelcome ports or the open sea. It was victory or disaster. This superb sailor challenged the alternative and won (Schade, 1898).

The text presented shows how journalists sensationalized the triumph of the Americans over the Spaniards. They failed to see that Spain was already in its twilight years as an imperial power at the time when they defeated the Spaniards. Their victory in Manila was easy since the American fleet is much powerful and advanced than its Spanish counterpart. Another, there were only a small number of Spaniards to repulse the American forces that were attacking Manila. Added to the struggle of the Spaniards was the revolution in the Philippines in 1896 and the internal political conflicts in Spain. The Americans had the upper hand not because of their courage nor their strategy but because of the problematic situation of the Spaniards, which gave them their moment of strength.

Aside from creating a powerful image for themselves, newspapers became an organ in presenting information that would influence the people to support the expansionist policy. An article in the *Washington Sentinel* stated that:

The United States has been a nation with foreign relations about a century and a quarter. During that time, seven representatives of foreign Governments have been dismissed. The first instance was the case of Genet, minister from France, during Washington's second term. He was recalled in 1794 at the request of this country for endeavoring to stir up trouble between the United States and Great Britain. During Jefferson's Administration, Vrojo, a Spanish minister, was sent home on account of conduct not only unbecoming a diplomat but even an honest man and a gentleman. Jackson, the British

¹ David C. Gompert, Hans Binnendijk, and Bonny Lin. "The American Decision to Go to War with Spain, 1898." In *Blunders, Blunders, and Wars: What America and China Can Learn*, 53-62. RAND Corporation, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/j.ctt1287m9t.11>, 53

minister, during Madison's first term, was recalled on a request from Washington because of offensive criticisms of this Government. In 1849 Gen. Taylor, then President, sent the French minister, M. Poussin, his passports. During General Grant's first term the Russian minister Catacazy, was recalled at our request, and during President Cleveland's first term a like late happened to Lord Sackville West, the British minister. Then follows the De Lome affair of recent date. In all, the recall of seven ministers has been demanded, two British, two French, two Spanish and one Russian (Schade, 1898).

The majority of the information presented in the text happened years ago, and the only recent information written in the article was the De Lome case. This controversy happened on February 9, 1898, when *The New York Journal* owned by William Randolph Hearst published a letter written by the Spanish Ambassador to the United States Enrique Dupuy de Lome to Don Jose Canelejas, the Foreign Minister of Spain, which revealed De Lome's opinion on the crisis in Cuba and McKinley. Six days later, the explosion of the USS Maine happened, and after two months, McKinley delivered a message to the congress to allow America's intervention in Cuba. The criticisms on McKinley, together with the exposition of previous diplomatic rifts with other nations, will be used to justify the aggressive policy of America to war, which will not be possible without the support of the people. The question now is if the Americans were able to solve previous diplomatic problems without bloodshed, why would they push for war with the same problem as before?

The newspapers also became an instrument to justify the American intervention in the Cuban Crisis and its invasion of Spanish colonies. After the exposition of the *De Lome letter* in the newspapers, the *Maine incident* happened. The text below shows that the Americans were blaming the Spaniards for the said incident:

The serious catastrophe which took place near Havana on Tuesday, by which hundreds of valient seamen and millions of property in the shape of one of the best gunboats in the Navy were destroyed, calls for a most searching scrutiny on the part of the American government. The circumstances under which the explosion took place while they do not point directly to an overt act of violence on the part of the Spanish authorities yet considering the hostile feeling in Spain to America this country ought to be certain that Spain completely exonerates herself. In case Spain is responsible the least which can be demanded is full indemnity for lives lost and property destroyed as well as something more for her smartness, although in our opinion Mr. McKinley would be little less than inclined to insist upon thrashing Spain and in addition demand the necessary indemnity. The President however is not to be inveigled into war by the jingoism so freely indulged in by some blustering Americans. He will be sure that he is right and will then act accordingly. There will be a hot time if Spain did it (Chase, 1898).

The next issue presents that news writers were still blaming Spain but now, trying to open the idea of declaring war against the Spaniards which they believe will bring them justice:

Indications point to treachery of the most malignant type, in the case of the destruction of the Maine. In case Spanish duplicity has gone so far as to blow up the Maine there is nothing to do but to declare war, whip

the rascals and make Spain pay for all the trouble she has caused (Chase, 1898).

Another issue was published months after the latter with the similar content where the Americans continue to believe that the Spaniards were the ones behind the Maine incident and at the same time, backing McKinley's call for the US Congress to declare war with Spain officially:

President McKinley has been severely criticized for his delay in declaring war against Spain and demanding the independence of Cuba but events have proven that he has been wise and diplomatic. When the Maine was blown up by the Spanish mine, that fact alone placed us on a naval footing inferior to that of Spain. (Chase, 1898)

The mysterious explosion of the USS Maine on February 15, 1898 is a perfect opportunity for Americans to enter the Cuban Crisis. An official U.S. Naval Court of Inquiry ruled that the ship was blown up by a mine, but it did not mention Spain as the one behind it. However, for the vast American populace, it was the Spaniards who instigated the explosion that killed 260 Americans aboard. It was an apparent mistake in pointing the Spaniards as the one behind the explosion since it is nearly the USS Maine blew up due to mechanical malfunction (Gompert, Binnendijk & Lin, 2014). Despite the wrongful accusation, it was also the best option for the Americans to use if they wanted to infiltrate the relations between Spain and its colonies. The Maine incident was just the tip of a series of reasons the Americans presented to justify the intervention then, later on, occupation of the Spanish colonies.

In another article, they sought another excuse to intervene in the Cuban issue.

Dr. Hamilton says that Havana and its harbor constitute a nest of this pestilence simply because of Spanish inattention to cleanliness and purity and ordinary prudence. He regards the prevalence of the disease there as a constant menace to our coast cities, and in itself a cause and justification of war in self-defense (Schade, 1898).

In this text, the mismanagement of Havana was raised by the Americans to intervene in the Cuban Crisis. The same reason could be evident in another text which talks about Manila:

If there had been any massacre in Manila, as is reported, the blame for it must fall on the Spanish misrule which has rendered settled conditions alike in Manila and Havana. Whatever the Philippines are, they are only what their Spanish masters have made them (Schade, 1898).

In the republican newspaper, the same thing was written about the Spaniards, presenting them as "evil" while creating an image for America as the "savior" of the Spanish colonies:

The war cloud is growing larger and larger every day. Spain's treachery is proverbial, and the Maine disaster is only a sample of the sincerity and friendship of a weak, bankrupt and effete nation. The butcheries which have been perpetrated upon the Cubans, the ingratitude shown by the De Lome toward a nation which was profuse in its favor, all attest to the utter debasement of a nation which has long since lost its usefulness (Chase, 1898).

Spain, a nation historically brutal and domineering but astute on her diplomatic craft, has at last reached a point where loud boast and tyranny will not count against the prowess and magnanimity of an indulgent, but positive nation (Chase, 1898).

The texts above show us that the Americans utilized the *La Leyenda Negra* to justify their occupation of the Spanish colonies. The *La Leyenda Negra* or also known as The Black Legend, pertains to the attempt of creating an unfavorable image of the Spaniards through accusations of cruelty, oppression, and intolerance towards its colonies. This strategy was employed by the United States when Spain ceded its remaining colonies to them as a consequence of the Spanish-American War. The utilization of the Black Legend as propaganda aims to tarnish the reputation of the Spaniards and swing the favor towards the new colonizers, the Americans. This manipulation of sources to demonize the Spaniards resulted in misinformation and incorrect perspective regarding the Spanish colonial rule. By pointing the Spaniards and its colonial policies imposed as the cause of the backwardness of its colonies, the Americans successfully distorted our conception of the Hispanic period, especially in the Philippines.

Through the newspapers, the Americans concealed the real purpose of their intervention by introducing themselves as defenders of freedom.

One month ago, we said: "the first duty of the Government is to order our navy to proceed to Cuba and Porto Rico. With these islands captured the affair will be over and Cuba free" (Schade, 1898).

If we were to examine the leading product for exportation of the Americans in the late 19th century, it was freedom. However, in a different article, they claimed that "On to Cuba is thus a short cut to peace" (Schade, 1898). As the Americans campaigned against Spain, they tried many strategies to gain the trust of the Cubans and Puerto Ricans. They even promised to protect the life, liberty, and happiness of the people. However, again, to free Cuba and Puerto Rico is not the purpose of the arrival of the Americans but to start their westward expansion. When Spain ceded its colonies to the United States through the Treaty of Paris, all the American promises vanished.

In another text, they found another way by which they could still prolong their hold of the colonies claimed after they defeated the Spaniards.

On motion the Cuban resolution was take up for consideration whereupon after some parliamentary sparing in which Messrs. W. Calvin Chase, Davis, Frisby and Brinkley engaged, the first paragraph of said resolution read as follows: "That the government of the United States of America should promptly recognize the revolutionists of Cuba, who are now honestly struggling to secure their independence of the Spanish government, as composing an independent nations." To this Mr. Chase offered the following amendment. "That the United States do not recognize the independence of Cuban until said states are able to protect all American citizens in their civil and political rights at home" (Chase, 1898).

After defeating the Spaniards, the Americans did not recognize the new democratic government founded in Puerto Rico and imposed its colonial system. The coffee industry was also hurt because the Americans implemented a sugar economy, displacing workers that resulted in mass poverty. Cuba, on the other hand, although not politically controlled by the Americans,

was still under the economic control of the United States because of the prosperous sugar that they possess.

CONTINUING THE MANIFEST DESTINY: IMPERIALISM IN THE PHILIPPINES

In the previous texts, Cuba and Puerto Rico were the countries featured mostly in the newspapers since these two colonies are the ones included when the Spanish-American War erupted in April 1898. The first published article with much information about the Philippines in the District of Columbia-based newspapers is in June 1898 even if the revolution was reaching its conclusion (Schade, 1898). Since then, the number of articles about the Philippines increased, highlighting the abundant natural resources and the geographical description of it.

After the Americans were able to capture and impose their colonial policies on Cuba and Puerto Rico, their attention shifted to the Philippines. The same strategies were utilized from the previous war in the newspapers to promote their expansion towards Asia and are evident in the following articles cited below:

The present insurrections in the islands were put down with an iron hand and many atrocities were committed, so that it is little wonder that many of the inhabitants look upon the arrival of the Americans as a deliverance (Schade, 1898).

We could not give back the victorious people of the Philippines to their tyrants without the basest breach of faith. It puts obstacles, too, in the way of making trades with other European powers. We could not hand over our allies to any foreign government without first ascertaining that they would not object to the transaction. It looks as if it would be necessary for us to maintain a military occupation of the Philippines for a good while. In the course of time we may be able to develop an autonomous government there, capable of maintaining order and justice, and then, when the present critical situation of European politics has been altered, it may be possible to agree upon a bargain by which England shall require suzerainty of the Philippines in exchange for her West Indian possessions. The natives could be assured in that case of a free and honest government. Nevertheless, for the present, and for some time to come, it looks as if the American eagle would have to make himself at home in the China seas (Schade, 1898).

What the Americans did to Puerto Ricans was also experienced by the Filipinos. *La Leyenda Negra* was still employed since they believed that by demonizing the former colonizer, they would be able to gain the trust of the Filipinos. No recognition was given towards the Philippine Government of Aguinaldo and regarded the resistance as an insurrection rather than a revolution.

The history of the Philippine war will attest the fact that all people who are oppressed will fight and if need be die for their liberty. While we are with this country in its contest for the supremacy of the doctrines of humanity, we cannot but admire the bravery of a people who escaping from tyranny of one nation looks with doubt upon the friendship of a new protectorate (Chase, 1898).

The Americans presented a wrong idea that the Filipinos fully embraced them. The notion of acceptance could be from their previous talks in Hong Kong, where the Americans promised

the Filipinos to support in their campaign against the Spaniards, but never did the Filipinos agree to become a colony of a new colonizer. If the Filipinos accepted them, why would there be a resistance when the Americans came here in the Philippines? Why would there be tensions between the two even before Private William Grayson pulled the trigger that started the Filipino-American War? The Americans were busy saying that the Spaniards oppressed the Filipinos, yet in their way, they oppress the independence and sovereignty of the Filipinos by invading the country whose independence was already declared by its government. There are misinformation and deliberate distortion of facts in America on what is happening in the Philippines.

The need for efficient dissemination of information triggered the birth of printed and broadcast media. However, its purpose changed when people became more attracted to profits rather than the truth. Adding to the widening gap between the people and truth is the influence of politics in journalism, where media served as its mouthpiece to push forward the interests of different political parties. It should be noted that what was written by the news writers during that time is for the promotion of the self-interest of America. There is nothing wrong with such action where people are fighting for the interest of his or her nation; however, a problem arises when there are other people who suffer from the cause we fight for. Many people, especially in the Philippines, suffered because of this expansionist dream of America. The government of the Philippines, who declared the independence of the Filipinos in 1898, was disrespected. People were heavily taxed, and the money was used to pay the high salaries of the American officials. A few Filipinos were given high-salaried positions, but the large percentage of the Philippine employees, which was boastfully enumerated by Americans as a positive sign of the liberality of the government, were poorly paid. The American government in the Philippines also spent the money on the foundation and beautification of many cities. For instance, the foundation of Baguio which was not really made for the Filipinos, but it served as a health sanctuary and vacation place for Americans who wanted to escape the hot Philippine climate. The Filipinos also did not experience the freedom that was promised to them by the Americans since the latter imposed unusual and severe sedition and libel laws. People were displaced from their homes and herded together under surveillance without proper shelter and food (Winslow, 1908). Those accused of being a part of the revolution were tortured to force them in giving Americans information that is essential in suppressing the “rebellion” or “banditry” (Jones, 2012). The Americans also slaughtered thousands of civilians and destroyed towns to retaliate for their losses against the Filipinos. The promise of freedom was empty. Almost everything that Americans implemented in the acquired colonies was against their ideals of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. Contrary to the salvific purpose of coming in the Philippines, American Occupation brought fear in the lives of the Filipinos, destruction of homes and livelihood, and death of life and liberty of the people over the archipelago.

CONCLUSION

Through the Theory of Unintended Outcome, Popper stated that what happens in history result of the actions of individuals, and that large-scale social planning to an antecedently conceived blueprint is inherently misconceived—and inevitably disastrous—precisely because human actions have consequences which cannot be foreseen (“Karl Popper”, 1997). We could see that the purpose of the creation of media is for the enlightenment and empowerment of the people; however, as time passes by, it became an instrument to disconnect the people from the truth. We could attribute the success of the building of American Imperialism to the effective use of media in distorting information to the people. The wide range of its audience and its power to influence other people are the reasons why politics used it to be its mouthpiece to advance their interests. Through the previous discussion, we can see that concealment of truth for the sake of self-interest may lead to the suffering of many people. The excellent presentation of the imperialists of their expansionist policy on the newspapers influenced the American people to

support it without knowing of its real purpose and the adverse effects it may do in the lives of others. In the present, one of the issues that people are facing today is the irresponsible use of media. If people are not able to start using mass media responsibly, chances are we may repeat our history where the lives of our people and the liberty of our nation will again be in peril.

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ROBREDO STYLE OF POLITICS IN RURAL PHILIPPINES

Ara Joy Pacoma, MPoS

Instructor, Leyte Normal University
(aupacoma@up.edu.ph)

Abstract

Philippine local politics have always been analysed in the lenses of traditional local politics frameworks such as patron-client factionalism, bossism, machine politics, and patronage politics. While there are many scholarly works on the use of the aforementioned frameworks in looking at the dynamics of local politics especially during elections, there has been little recognition on the use of the Robredo style of politics specifically personality and approachability for electoral candidates who are relatively disadvantaged in terms of campaign resources. This study attempts to examine the effectiveness of approachability in securing votes in the perspective of the local candidates. Practical implications of the study will shed light on the intricacies of electoral campaigns especially on the relationship between candidates and voters.

Keywords: Robredo Style; governance; electoral campaigns; approachability; local politics; the Philippines

Introduction

Philippines has long been the focus of various scholars because of its rich political culture. It has always been referred to as a state operating mostly on patronage resources and is characterized by weak parties (Hutchcroft, 2014). Nevertheless, beyond the patronage resources and weak parties, Philippine local politics, particularly electoral politics, is also defined by patron-client factionalism (pcf), bossism, machine politics, and patronage politics (Hutchcroft, 2014; Scott, 1972; Machado, 1974; Benson, 1973). More often than not, Philippine local politics is characterized by patron-client factionalism that focuses more on the dyadic, reciprocal relationship between the patron and the clients and is usually defined as a long-term relationship between the said parties. This kind of relationship ultimately creates factions because of the different networks of families that creates alliances. Lande (1965, as cited in Kawanaka, 1998) further explained a faction as a:

... a loose combination of a number of ... family constellations with a rather large and prosperous family constellation at its core and smaller or less prosperous ones at its periphery. Within each family constellation a strong web of kinship ties binds related families together into a cohesive group. Between the allied constellations of a faction, a smaller number of dyadic ties - more commonly ties of marriage, compadre ties, or ties of patronship and clientship rather than ties of blood — create a lesser bond. Family constellations work in alliance with one another for varying periods of time due to the need to create combinations large enough to compete with some prospect of success in local elections or in other community prestige contests.

Interestingly, patronage politics, on the other hand, focuses more on the patronage resources that are being distributed by the patrons to the clients. It is usually defined as a short-term relationship mainly because it focuses on the availability of material resources. Titeco (2006) exemplified patronage politics in:

Government institutions are being strongly politicised through [patronage] networks, to the extent that some parts of these institutions have come to be in private hands: formal political and bureaucratic institutions have become instruments for the accumulation of wealth and power for individuals and their networks. Resources and power are distributed within these networks, rather than to all citizens on an equal basis. In this way, patrons build up power, and clients get rewards.

Bossism, on a different note, is also a dominant framework in local politics, including during elections, that is solely based on the monopoly of power, and is characterized by coercion, violence and the presence of guns, goons, and gold (Sidel, 1997):

By "bossism" and "bosses,"...refers to the prevalence of local power brokers who achieve sustained monopolistic control over both coercive and economic resources within given territorial jurisdictions or bailiwicks.

On a different note, machine politics is a formalized way of distributing patronage resources through the creation of formal organizations that would be responsible of ensuring that a certain candidate will gain votes in a particular area. According to Machado (1974, as cited in Kawanaka, 1998):

The most evident change is that factions are losing their extra-political character and are being transformed into quite specialized political organizations. This reflects a change in the central element of the faction from an extended family or alliance of families into an electoral machine, composed of an individual leader and his followers, that has been built for specifically political purposes.

By looking at the dynamics of the 2016 and 2019 elections, this paper explores how electoral candidates, specifically electoral candidates in Tacloban City with a focus on the candidates under Team Taclobanon last 2016, and the electoral candidates in the City this 2019 elections made and makes use of the Robredo Style to secure votes.

The problem statement, research question and objectives

In Tacloban City, two team tickets ran for elections to secure posts in the city government, one of which is Team Taclobanon. Team Taclobanon is a group of local candidates led by Neil Glova who seeks the mayoral post against Cristina Romualdez who also led the I Love Tacloban Unity Team. Team Taclobanon councilor aspirants are all belonging to the Liberal Party while Romualdez' team endorsed candidates from different political parties. Whereas candidates may consider money politics as an assurance to their victory, some local candidates, particularly those candidates who are admittedly relatively disadvantaged in terms of funds and resources, opt on portraying an image of an approachable leader who speaks with the voters in their door-to-door campaigns. Door-to-door campaigning, as this paper suggests, can be explained as a prerogative of the candidates to meet and speak with voters face to face in order for the voters to remember their names and their programs. By looking at the campaign strategies of the Team Taclobanon candidates in Tacloban City during the 2016 elections and the electoral candidates in the City in 2019 elections, this paper examines how local candidates utilized the Robredo style in their door-to-door campaigns to guarantee votes amidst being relatively disadvantaged in terms of campaign funds.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Amidst the various frameworks that focus more on material benefits, reciprocity, patronage resources, or monopoly of control and power, Takeshi Kawanaka (1998) offered a new perspective in analysing local politics. He emphasized that in order for governance to be effective it needs to be personal. He coined the new framework as Robredo Style (Kawanaka,

1998). Such framework highlights the importance of organizations, personality, and approachability in both preserving the power of the elected official, and in the distribution of efficient and effective public services to the people. In order to answer the problem of this study, the author will only deal with the second variable in Robredo Style No. 2: Performance and Approachability. Approachability means that the political leader or the electoral candidate for this matter can get along well with the masses- talk with them and may even dress like them, and the masses, in turn, have no problems in terms of contacting such kind of a candidate or a leader. Kawanaka (1998) exemplified approachability in the late Jesse Robredo, the former mayor of Naga City and former Secretary of Department of Interior and Local Government:

Robredo is often seen in a T-shirt and shorts at the city hall. One does not need to make an appointment to see him. The process of meeting the mayor involves entering his room and waiting for one's turn. Robredo walks the street like a normal resident and plays basketball with the children. These help make people see Robredo as a very approachable mayor. Past mayors were not as open to contact. One ward leader recalls the time when she wanted to talk to Mayor Sibulo, she was only allowed to talk to his driver. Another ward leader said Mayor del Castillo always wore barong tagalog and never met with people who did not have an appointment. There is a talk going around that Ms. Magtuto during her failed bid in the 1992 elections washed her hands with alcohol after shaking hands with residents.

Moreover, Kawanaka's Robredo Style stresses the importance of having mutual benefits between the leader and the people but such benefits are not necessarily patronage resources, rather such are public services efficiently delivered to the people and in exchange, support and loyalty are willingly given to the leader (Kawanaka, 1998). However, voters, or people in general, imperatively, as in the case of the people in Naga City, opt to support their leader, the late Jessie Robredo, willingly because of his effective governance and most importantly, because he had a good personality and was approachable even after elections- a character not usually seen among most politicians (Kawanaka, 1998; Krow, 2017). Such trait is also appreciated by voters as posited by Sian Lazar (2004):

When choosing a mayor, people not only seek affective connection with a candidate, but also look at practical evidence of individual suitability, more than ideological position or programmes of government. The differences between political parties are less important for voters than the individual characters of the candidates. While assessing candidates' characters, electors will note and reward perceived qualities of **approachability**, sincerity, honesty, generosity and wealth, all the qualities of a good patron. [emphasis added]

Needless to say, the role of the people, or the voters specifically, is vital in maintaining the power of the elected leader. Therefore, aspiring local candidates will try to make use of electoral strategies that will ultimately ensure that votes do get out during elections and such votes should be in favour for them.

Methodology

More than just limiting the role of local candidate or the incumbent distributing favors, rewards, jobs, and other patronage resources, Kawanaka (1998) focused on a soft power instrument to project "attractiveness" towards voters, hence, modifying the role of the electoral candidates as well as the incumbent as approachable individuals (Adriaansen, 2011). Approachability allows an electoral candidate to portray the image of a leader whom the voters do not necessarily see as superior but as a public servant whom they can comfortably share almost anything with (Kawanaka, 1998; Clarke et. al., 2004). Subsequently, approachability is closely

related with organizing people, especially people coming from the lower class (Lord et al., 1984).

To illustrate how approachability is used as means of local candidates to secure votes, fieldwork in Tacloban City was conducted. The data gathering methods used include interviews and observations in their campaigns.

Result

Analysis, Findings and Discussion

Tacloban City has always been considered as the bailiwick of the Romualdezes. However, despite the aforementioned fact, a team composed of candidates belonging to the Liberal Party, Team Taclobanon, spearheaded by Neil Glova, a city councilor, and his team tried to challenge the political family's foothold in the City.

	#TeamTaclobanon Candidate/s	Party	I Love Tacloban- Unity Team Candidate/s	Party
Mayoral Election	Neil Glova	Liberal Party	Cristina Romualdez	Nacionalista
City Council Election	Jose Mario Bagulaya	Liberal Party	Maria Elvie Casal	UNA
	Dalisay Erpe	Liberal Party	Edward Frederick Chua	Nacionalista
	Hilario Menzon	Liberal Party	Edwin Chua	Nacionalista
	Jerry Uy	Liberal Party	Victor Emmanuel Domingo	Nacionalista
	Raissa Villasin	Liberal Party	Evangeline Esperas	UNA
			Aurora Grafil	Nacionalista
			Ferdinand Lomuntad	Independent
			Rachel Erica Pineda	Nacionalista

Table 1. Team Taclobanon and I love Tacloban Unity Team Tickets

Subsequently, it is important to note that the previous election, that is, the 2013 local elections in the City created a huge buzz. This is because the candidate seeking for mayoral post and running against Alfred Romualdez, the husband of Cristina Romualdez who was then running for mayor in the 2016 elections, is Bem Noel. Noel was endorsed by the then President Benigno Aquino and was considered a strong challenger since he is at par with the incumbent in terms of machinery and resources. It was during the 2013 election campaigns when the bets of Liberal Party for elected positions in city government of Tacloban could hold caucuses in every barangay primarily because they have enough campaign resources to do so. It was considered a tight fight between the mayoral candidates, and the people were highly inquisitive about the said elections.

“Mas intense an last na election tungod na awareness han tawo han mga kandidato mas hataas kay mas tight man laban kay mas damo an resources ngan an gin chachallenge.”—(Jose Mario Bagulaya, personal communication, April 23, 2016)

[The last election was intense because people were more aware of the candidates and the fight was tight because both have resources.]

On the contrary, the 2016 local elections was considered “quiet” by the local candidates themselves because Cristina Romualdez had relatively more than enough campaign resources while her challengers, Neil Glova, relatively lacks such resources.

“Yana waray gud nam ginhihimo nga enganyo ky waray namon fund.”—(Atty. Jerry Uy, personal communication, April 22, 2016)

[We do not have engaging activities now because we do not have the funds.]

Nonetheless, Glova and his running mates in Team Taclobanon, utilized a soft power instrument as is exemplified in Robredo Style of politics, that is, door-to-door campaigning, in order to gain votes from the people. Interestingly, they do this almost every day and always as a team.

“Yana waray kami sugad (caucus/campaign programs). We focus mainly on door to door campaigning and hand shakings.”-(Atty Jerry Uy, personal interview, April 22, 2016)

[We do not have any of it (caucus/campaign programs) now. We focus mainly on door to door campaigning and hand shakings.

The Team directly admitted that during the 2016 elections, funds and other necessary resources were insufficient for the campaign unlike in the previous elections. That is why their campaign would focus more on the door-to-door handshaking approach in every barangay in Tacloban City.

Date and Time	Activity
7 AM-9 AM	Door-to-door campaigns in distant barangays
4 PM-7 PM	Door-to-door campaigns in barangays near the center of Tacloban

Table 2. Team Taclobanon’s Campaign Timeline

Team Taclobanon would start their typical day of the campaign at 7 o’clock in the morning until 9 o’clock in the morning, and for the second round of the campaign at 4 o’clock until 7 o’clock in the evening shaking the hands of the people in the barangay and speaking with them.

Moreover, aside from talking about their party program, the candidates would speak with the voters personally to persuade them to vote in favour of them. The candidates also did the same for undecided voters and swing voters. Mass organizations, on the other hand, were not seen as effective as a source of support as the candidate personally campaigning for himself or herself and the team.

Conclusion

This paper aimed to explore how electoral candidates, specifically Team Taclobanon, in Tacloban during the 2016 elections who made use of the Robredo Style to secure votes. Specifically, this paper examines how local candidates, being relatively disadvantaged in terms of campaign funds, utilized door-to-door campaigns to guarantee votes.

The following conclusions can be made: (1) Their ‘door-to-door handshaking’ approach is consistent with the Team Taclobanon team ticket. They do this almost every day, always as a party, which would suggest that they have solidarity and industriousness. They were also successful in establishing themselves as serious candidates; (2) When there are insufficient campaign funds, local candidates would opt for door-to-door campaigning. It can be effective but not as effective as money politics that is prevalent in Leyte and Samar; (3) The Robredo style of becoming approachable and active listeners to the people, however unsure of its effect towards the voters and in the number of guaranteed votes, is a contributing to the grooming of future leaders who genuinely cares about the people. This paper also observes that the door-to-door approach lacks creativity and may be traditional and not as impactful towards young voters.

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A PATRONAGE DEMOCRACY IN MINANGKABAU: NINIAK MAMAK AS POLITICAL BROKERS IN ELECTIONS

POLITICS, HEGEMONY AND CITIZENSHIP

¹Andri Rusta, ²Dede Sri Kartini, ³Affan Sulaeman, ⁴Leo Agustino

¹Political Science Department Andalas University, ^{2,3}Governmental Studies Padjajaran University, ⁴Public Administration Department Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa University.

(arusta@soc.unand.ac.id, dedekartini@yahoo.com, affansulaeman@yahoo.com, leoagustino@yahoo.com)

Abstract

Niniak mamak is a term for traditional leaders in the Minangkabau tribe. As a traditional leader, *Niniak mamak* has an important role to protecting and providing guidance to their indigenous peoples. But in the contemporary era, *niniak mamak* participated in electoral politics, especially as political broker during elections. The central role of *niniak mamak* as tribe leaders and their participations as political brokers make it a very interesting phenomenon to study. This research was conducted in the Election of regional heads in the City of Bukittinggi and Regency of Dharmasraya in 2015. Both Bukittinggi and Dharmasraya are located in the West Sumatra province. The findings of this study show that *niniak mamak* play a central role as political figures and traditional figures. *Niniak mamak* went beyond their role as the adat leaders by becoming a success team (campaign team), consultants and political brokers in the elections to intervene in the political choice of their indigenous communities.

Keywords: Political Brokers, Minangkabau, Election, Indonesia, Patronage Democracy

Introduction

Patron-client relationships have been widely studied since the last few decades by various anthropologists, sociology, and political science, and has provided a great attraction for experts (Eisenstadt 1980). Political scientists tend to be interested in political functions, especially in party patronage, the way political parties distribute public work in the hope of political support in modern society. The topics studied are diverse enough to be focused on one topic, all related to basic theoretical and controversial issues in social science. Experts who study patronage see patronage as a concept that is useful for understanding the social organization, as does the concept of social class in traditional societies (Kettering, 1986). The study of relationships between patron-clients shows that there is a change in the type of relationship in each economic growth or political organization. For example, at the beginning of the study of patronage, patron-client relations not always related to economic growth or political modernization. Unlike the case with contemporary patronage studies which tend to be related to economic growth (Blunt 2012) and state modernization in the political field (Aspinall 2015; Al Issis 2015).

Apart from the emergence of contradictions between clientelism and the principle of equality in politics, relations between democracy and clientelism emerged in various

countries with different geographical, economic and cultural positions such as in India (Chandra 2004), Italy (Putnam 1993), Mexico (Schedler 2005), Egypt (Al-Ississ 2014), Africa (Beck 2008) and Indonesia (Aspinall 2010). Studies from various angles in the world show that clientelism emerged as a "brake" in democratic competition and participation, especially when one of the competing parties have access to patronage in the competition. However, the clientelism's impact on democracy and democratization is quite different, depending on the political regime in power when the clientelism is operating (Beck 2008).

The third amendment to the 1945 Constitution requires the direct election of the president and vice president, as well as the election of DPR members from each province. Therefore, the 2004 elections which were the largest and most complex elections (Ananta 2005), did not only elect parliamentarians but also held presidential elections. Direct regional elections were held in 2005. The focus of the campaign was individual candidates. Campaign material is very rarely focused on the party. Individual candidates and family networks, supported by funds collected by candidates and colleagues, which later became a determining factor in elections. Rich candidates tend to get positions because the party hopes that candidates will finance their campaign. Direct elections will certainly lead to positive and negative aspects in its implementation. The negative aspects of regional elections according to Agustino (2014b, 138) are related to strengthening and curbing the phenomenon of abstentions, strengthening the pragmatism of political parties, and the emergence of minority governments within the scope of majority powers. Another negative effect that arises in regional elections is to become a place for money politics, especially for regions with small voter turnover, the opportunity to do money politics becomes quite large. Another effect is the strengthening of political patronage in the elections, both incumbent candidates and non-incumbent candidates will seek to build a patronage network to help them win the elections.

In elections, parties tend to be weaker than candidates. Candidates tend to use their personal relationships to win regional elections. The party collects "registration fees" sent to Jakarta. Jakarta mengumpulkan uang, kami hanya mengisi lembar formalitas di sini (So Jakarta collects the money. We're just signing formalities here) (Simandjuntak 2012). The new rules since 2008 which allowed independent candidates to reduce financial benefits for political parties, due to their lack of opportunity to collect registration fees. However, Simandjuntak (2012) found that each candidate has a campaign team whose job is to gather potential voters, which is done by giving gifts and money to constituents. Corruption also appears in the form of financial support to candidates, with the hope that if they occupy positions, the candidates will give positions in government, or when dealing with government projects they become the priority.

In the last two decades, the study of patronage has also grown rapidly and rooted in the process of democratization in Indonesia, especially since the legislative elections adopted an open proportional system, the tap for regional autonomy (decentralization) was opened and direct regional elections were held (Buehler 2007; Erb 2009; Choi 2011; Blunt 2012; Simandjuntak 2012; Fukuoka 2014; Allen 2014; Aspinall 2014a; Aspinall 2014b; Aspinall 2015). While introducing electoral democratic processes and strengthening democratic institutions, democratization and decentralization in Indonesia not only strengthens relations between local and central government, but also between elites and ordinary people, and includes patrons and clients (Simandjuntak 2012).

The third wave of democratization in Indonesia at the beginning of the Reformation era has brought Indonesia into a country with low economic growth but has a fairly old set of democratic elites. On the one hand the poverty rate is still high, but on the other hand, democracy raises itself, thereby reducing the quality of democracy. Clientelism is one of the focuses of studies that are widely discussed because it is considered to be the cause of the quality reduction of democracy (Berenschot 2018).

The province of West Sumatra for the third time carried out direct regional elections in 2015. Muhtadi (2018) described West Sumatra as a home of moderate Islam, where he carried out orthodox Islam but accepted modern ideas, and was the place of greatest support for modern organizations, Muhammadiyah, outside Java. Regional elections (Pilkada) are

conducted to elect 13 regents and mayors. Some incumbents fought for political status for the second time, and there were also new faces of incumbent challengers. It was recorded, in the six regions, the incumbent candidates fell against other candidates. In some regions, the victory of non-incumbent candidates was quite convincing and positioned incumbents under the candidates.

Some of the elections in West Sumatra, It was seen that several candidate pairs used clientelism networks to win regional elections. The use of this network is well-known as a negative consequence of direct regional elections. However, there is an interesting phenomenon in which the use of Niniak Mamak as a broker. In the Minangkabau community, customary leaders are leaders in their tribes. As leaders, they are usually responsible not only for the biological family but also as a respectable cultural heritage (Navis 2015). The title of the leader is usually inherited from generation to generation, but there are conditions that must be fulfilled as a leader such as having a good character, smart and knowledgeable, honest, and good at speaking (Hakimy 2001). The leader who has these requirements usually has strong legitimacy.

Every year, the incumbent victory in 2005-2018 West Sumatera elections is getting higher. In the 2005-2010 period, from 19 districts/cities in West Sumatra, only 36.8% of incumbents won the elections, and in the 2010-2015 period it increased to 42.1% and the 2015-2018 period reached 52.6% (see table 1.1). However, from the three focus of this study area, all incumbents in the elections are defeated. The three election winners were able to defeat the incumbents both the regent (Dharmasraya), the regent and the deputy regent (Pasaman) and the deputy regent (Solok). In fact, incumbents have the resources and control of the bureaucratic network to maximize political patronage in facing the regional head elections.

Tabel 1 Comparison of incumbents victory in regional elections in West Sumatra (19 municipal districts)

Election Period	Incumbents Victory	Incumbent Lose
2005-2010	7 (36,8%)	12 (63,2%)
2010-2015	8 (42,1%)	11 (57,9%)
2015-2018	10 (52,6%)	9 (47,4%)

Sources: Processed by the Researcher, 2018

It can be seen that several points occur together in the three regions. First, all incumbents defeated by the candidates' pair even though the three incumbents are relatively great and don't do corruption also developed their regions. Second, traditionally these three regions are not immigrating regions which customary have a strong custom culture but the leader and Niniak Mamak in this region use their customs authority for practical politics. Third, the incumbents are indicated using money and gift distribution in the elections. The pattern used by those three candidates relatively" different with common patronage system that usually related to gift or services distribution. The Niniak Mamak as the broker tends to not gaining any gift or services when supporting their candidates.

Problem statement, research questions and objectives

Based on the problem above, this articles will discuss what is the role of niniak mamak as local leader and political broker in election?

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The terms patronage democracy once occur in the discussion about sultanate, Linz and Chaebabbi (1998) refereeing to the unofficial terms of “clientelism democracy”. Another term that occurs to describe this phenomenon by Bratton and Van De Walle (1997) is “Big Men Democracies” in Africa: term “patronage democracy” created by Kanchan Chandra (2004) in his analysis about ethnopolitics in India: and discussion about “delegative democracy” in Latin America according to O’Donnell (1994). Shefter (1997) using Patronage politics term which was his research result about party building in the political world. Meanwhile, Kitschelt (2000) not refereeing to the charismatic and programmatic form of politician-citizen relationship in democracy industrial. Every analysis needs a different concept in clientelism democracy without making consensus toward the definition or impact of clientelism in institutional democracy.

The concept of “patronage”, “clientelism”, “politic distribution” and “politic of gentong-babi” terms often changed by the expert. Patronage is assumed to describe the politic in Indonesia, and the relation of clientelism exchanges is often the cause of the emergence of various challenges facing the democracy in Indonesia, starting from weak political parties (Mietzner 2013, Buehler and Tan) up to the ethnic conflict (Van Klinken 2007), weakness in public services support (Blunt and Friends 2012) and elite economic domination in politic (Hadiz 2010, Winters 2013).

Chandra (2004:6) described patronage democracy as:

A democracy the state has a monopoly on jobs and services, and in which elected officials enjoy significant discretion in the implementation of laws allocating the jobs and services at the disposal of the states.

The terms clientelism sometimes exchanged with patronage (Piattoni 2001). Hutchcroft (2014) terms patronage referring to certain object and benefit which is distributed by clientelism exchange. In another word, according to Hutchcroft, clientelism refers to the certain type of the exchange, and patronage refers to what is exchanged. Berenschot and Aspinall (2018) also using the concept patronage to describe the object and benefits area distributed by the politician in order for electoral support exchange.

Aspinall (2013) express patronage as “a material resource disbursed for particularistic purposes and for political benefit, typically distributed via clientelism networks, where clientelism is defined as a personalistic relationship of power.”

Clientelism mostly defined as “the proffering of material goods in return for electoral support, where the criterion of distribution that the patron uses is simply: did you (will you) support me?” (Stokes 2005). Wilkinson and Kitschelt (2007) also offer the same definition, describing clientelism as “a particular model of ‘exchange’ between electoral constituencies as principals and politicians as the agent in democratic systems. This exchange is focused on particular classes of goods.”

Kitschelt (2000) defined clientelism as reciprocity, voluntarism, exploitation, domination, and asymmetry. Moreover, the state that even the character of exploitative, the relations of clientelism are profitable for patron and client (Kitschelt 2000: 849). Hicken (2011), criticize even the relation of clientelism are dyadic, contingency, hierarchy and marked with literacy but have volunteer element. Hilgers (2011:573) stated the relation of clientelism have characters of longevity, diffuseness, face-to-face contact and status inequality.

Simandjuntak (2013) stated that:

Patron-client relationships are legitimated by traditional conceptions of personalized power and a system of political deference embodied in religious and cultural values. Traditional patrimonial leaders supply security and protection that is remunerated by the followers’ passive loyalty.

Tomsa and Ufen (2013; 5) stated:

Patronage should be understood more narrowly as the use of resources that are extracted directly from the state, often, though not always, with the goal of obtaining electoral support from voters (Shefter 1955; Warner 1977). In other words, we prefer the term patronage to be used only if patrons offer administrative jobs or state resources to their clients.

Practically this also happen to the relation of clientelism, but there are another sources exchanged between patron and client including personal money, food, clothes or a protection from certain people or group. So, Tomsa and Ufen (2013; 5) stated that:

The term clientelism denotes a relationship between people that are bound together via social, economic or political networks. These networks have grown increasingly complex over time, raising questions about what exactly constitutes clientelism today.

Clientelism politic can involve the benefit comes from personal income (money reward from the politicians to the voters, as an example) or state resources distributed as the result of government authority. The characteristic of clientelism politic is not about the type of benefit offered or the motivation to do it, but about how the benefit is offered. The politicians in a democracy country offering or promising to provide state resources to gain electoral support: as an example, they offering a scholarship, development project and the same form in the election period. That form is a politic program if they distribute it based on the non-explicit bond for political support criteria. And then, health program subsidy aimed to get support from the low-class community, not a clientelism if all the community in the state who fulfill the criteria, depending on the votes or politic loyalty, can access that program.

According to Scott, clientelism is a friendship mechanism where a person with high social economic status (patron) use influence dan his resources by giving protection or benefits or both to the lower social economic status (client) as a part of patron giving a support or service to the patron. Clientelism refers to the personal bond between patron and client. This bond more into taking benefit from both sides (Eisenstadt and Roniger, 1980).

Resource exchange in patronage is so varied. So many variants of category exchanged for political support (Aspinall 2013). Direct gift given to individual voter (such as patronage job, cooking oil or money) and given to a group, either its an association member (field or soccer goods for a soccer club, outfit for majelis taklim group, or cows for farmer group) or for a community based on the geography (street in villages, street lamps or village hall). the collective also termed as "club goods" in several kinds of literature about clientelism in several countries, including Indonesia. But in Indonesia, the most popular term is "serangan fajar" on the day ahead to the election (Brenachot 2018).

Because of that, with individual and group patronage increasing the challenge organizationally and need several types of broker (Aspinall 2013). in a personal gift/reward, clientelism exchange happens between voters and politician through broker mediation. In collective gift, exchanged happens between politician and broker or community representative by promising to give a certain amount of voters. If the candidates give the gift in form of money or other goods to the individual, there are a little amount of voters transfer so they need a wide link of broker to consist of a certain amount of mediator, which each mediator jobs is convincing the voters to get the gift/reward and vote for the candidate (Brenschot 2018).

When clientelism strategies use personal resources, politicians usually make only one transaction during the election period. Candidates often limit their interaction with voters by only distributing money or goods once, which then raises protests from voters because they only see politicians ahead of the election. The legislative candidates only appear during the campaign period and when they have sat as legislators, they no longer visit the voters. In other contexts, clientelism exchange arises on a broader basis, such as when parties use state resources and use their influence in budget planning and implement it repeatedly to

voters. When the distribution of private property appears before elections, the exchange of public resources often arises afterward (Hanush and Keefer 2013). In this context, voting behavior is influenced by obligations and gratitude that appear in various dimensions (Auyero 2001, Levitsky 2003).

Beck (2008) state that to relate the relationship between clientelism with democracy, there are several factors of clientelism that must be paid attention, such as:

1. a means for political subordination or a political strategy is to provide the client with political access to the public resource and; or to the public policy authority
2. exclusive or inclusive towards all political socioeconomic categories that stand out for political influence and access that may vary but as a reflection of the benefits of democracy or political support.
3. coercive or voluntary
4. Monopolistic or pluralist in between patrons competition

Tomsa and Ufen (2013; 6) state that there are three basic elements from clientelism relation:

1. The element of iteration, while it is open to question exactly how long these relationships have to exist, we would argue that a single exchange does not constitute clientelism. Iteration is necessary since only repetitive exchanges allow for control of the loyalty of clients and the steady support by the patron.
2. Status inequality. By definition, the patron is of higher social, economic or political status than the client. Though the bargaining position of clients has improved markedly with the advent of democratization, secret ballots and extended citizenship rights, patrons still control access to the resources they distribute.
3. Reciprocity. Clientelism can only persist if both the patron and the client benefit from the exchange, even though the extent to which the patron benefits is usually far greater than that of the client. Failure to maintain mutual benefits is likely to lead to either the client's defection or the patron's decision to terminate the offering of goods to the client.

From Tomsa and Ufen identification can be said that clientelism is not a static concept. Vice versa, clientelism pattern has changed significantly with the time. Traditional clientelism has been changed by clientelism in the election. Scott (1972; 109) said that are four impacts from the clientelism relation. It improved the client's bargaining position with a patron by adding to his resources:

1. It promoted the vertical integration of patron-client structures from the hamlet level to the central government;
2. It led to the creation of new patron-client pyramids and the politicization of old ones; and
3. It contributed to the survival of opposition patron-client pyramids at the local level.

Methodology

This research was conducted with qualitative approach, with a case study method. The informants were determined by snowball sampling method and indepth-interviews. Research data were analyzed to get the core of the research results.

Findings and Discussion

Clientelism is defined as a transaction between politicians and citizens where there are material rewards for political support in elections. Eisenstadt and Roniger define clientelism as a personal form, exchange that is dyadic and based on feelings of obligation and the imbalance of power among those involved. Whereas James Scott in Muno defines clientelism as a friendship mechanism where individuals with high socioeconomic status (patrons) use their influence and

resources by providing protection or benefits or both to people who are of lower status (clients) who as part of patrons provide support and services to patron.

In West Sumatera Election, the candidates at least using four networks of patronage to with their election such as:

1. Niniak Mamak networks.

In Pesisir Selatan District, Hendrajoni and Rusman Yul Anwar using Banda Sapuluh Niniak Mamak network, starting from Batang Kapas to Air Haji, an area in Linggo Sari Baganti regency. Niniak Mamak Banda Sapuluh have a Niniak Mamak organization called Association of Niniak Mamak Banda Sapuluah (Persatuan Niniak Mamak Banda Sapuluah/Pernibas).

The existence Niniak Mamak in the organization used by Hendrajoni and Rusma Yul Anwar as one of their power in the 2017 elections. Hendrajoni has the financial power to support the groups (Club Good). support was given are office tools such as table, board, chair and others items. This approaching pattern toward Niniak Mamak is strengthened by Hendrajoni joining as one of the advisers in the organization.

The assistance provided by Hendrajoni to the Niniak mamak was replied by a declaration of support from the Association of Niniak Mamak Banda Sapuluh towards Hendrajoni and Rusma Yul Anwar. The declaration of support was strengthened by a decree or order to children and nieces to support and votes for Hendrajoni and Rusma Yul Anwar in the regional elections for Pesisir Selatan District in 2015. In Tanah Datar regency, the process of declaration of Niniak Mamak against candidate pairs did not occur. However, Irdinansyah Tarmizi and Zulfadri Darma did not deny that the role of Niniak Mamak was important in a regional election in West Sumatra. As an incumbent candidate, Irdinansyah always gave attention to Niniak Mamak by fulfilling the needs of Niniak Mamak in carrying out their role in the community.

In Bukittinggi, the candidate pair Ramlan Nurmatias-Irwandi used Niniak Mamak Pucuk Kerapatan Adat Kurai (KAK) as the success team leader and volunteer chair. Three out of five leaders in Pucuk Kurai are on their team, so the capitalization of the voices of indigenous peoples supports this pair.

Niniak Mamak as one of the status that is customarily carried out in Minangkabau has become a prominent figure in the community. Many community affairs involving Niniak Mamak, so that the role and influence of Niniak Mamak in West Sumatra is quite large. With the high influence of Niniak Mamak in the community, the pair Hendrajoni-Rusma Yul Anwar and Irdinansyah-Zulfadri gave special attention to exploiting the influence of Niniak Mamak in getting votes. In Pesisir Selatan District, Niniak Mamak formed his own winning team to support Hendrajoni-Rusma Yul Anwar, but in Tanah Datar District, Niniak Mamak who wanted to be actively involved only joined the network of volunteers who had been formed.

2. Political Parties

Almost all winners of the 2015 regional elections in West Sumatra were won carried by political parties, except in the Bukittinggi which was won by an independent pair. For the Pesisir Selatan District, the winning pair Hendrajoni-Rusma Yul Anwar was supported by the NasDem, PAN and Gerindra parties. However, the findings in the field show this couple's distrust the Team formed from political parties. This distrust arises because it assumes that the support given by political parties is a support that has its own interests, therefore, the couple does not pay too much attention to the strength of political parties, the support of political parties is sufficient to become a nominating requirement. However, Hendrajoni-Rusma Yul Anwar also utilized the power of political parties even though without seriousness in managing the team.

Unlike the Irdinansyah-Zulfadri couple in Tanah Datar District, the support of political parties has a large influence on the excitability of couples in regional head elections. The Irdinansyah-Zulfadri pair carried by Golkar and NasDem Party. The support provided by political parties, specifically Golkar party has a major influence on the votes obtained by Irdinansyah and Zulfadri. Golkar Party in Tanah Datar District has a large influence and constituency. In the Tanah Datar Regency DPRD elections, Golkar Party managed to get 8 seats or 22.9% of the

votes. As for the Republic of Indonesia DPR level, Golkar managed to get 77,504 votes in Tanah Datar District, mostly obtained by Betty Shadiq P with 58,919 votes.

The influence that the Golkar party had the best possible use of Irdinansyah-Zuldafri. Placing influential party people in each volunteer position. The success team headed by Anton Yondra who later became Chair of the Tanah Datar Regency DPRD replaced Zuldafri. This proves that the Golkar party has a large influence in Tanah Datar. Irdinansyah who is a Golkar Cadre in the pair with Zuldafri who is the Chairperson of the Tanah Datar District Parliament which is also from the Golkar party.

3. Influential Figures

Regional elections in Dharmasraya District are quite influenced by figures from the local elite. SUKA AMAN pair is supported by local community leaders such as former regents of Dharmasraya from 2005-2010 period, Javanese figures, and local business groups. In the Bukittinggi, the pair Ramlan Nurmatias-Irwandy was supported by figures with high economic resources.

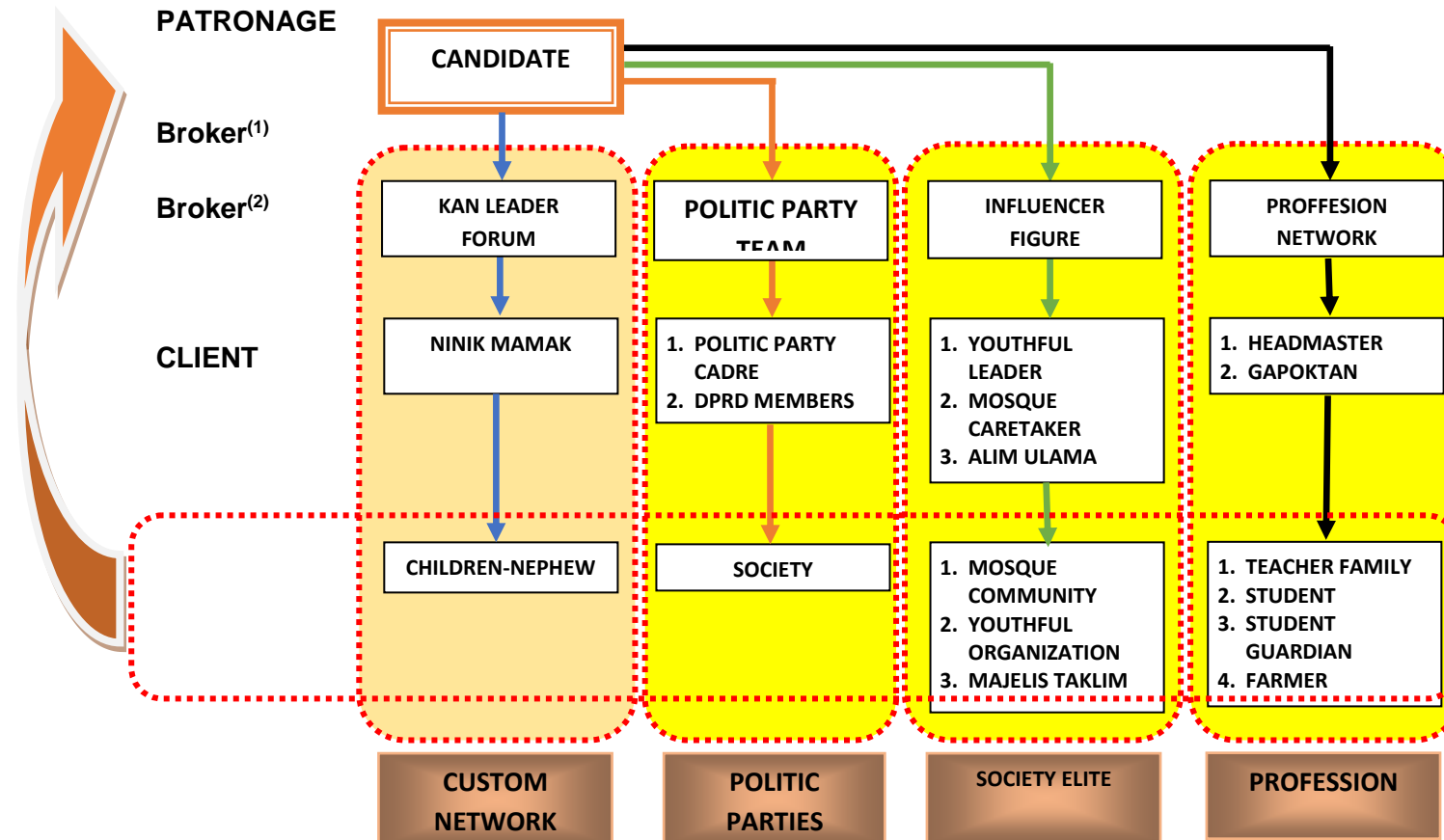
4. Professional networks

As political leaders who have various backgrounds, the regional head candidates also use people who have the same background. In Pesisir Selatan, Rusma Yul Anwar is a former Head of the Education and Culture Office in Pesisir Selatan. As a teacher and several times being the head of the region, growing hope for the activists of the world of education, including teachers in the Pesisir Selatan. By having the same background, the teachers provide support both directly or by supporting secretly and only by giving their votes to Rusma Yul Anwar. As many as 6000 teachers gave support to Rusma Yul Anwar and 30% of them conducted secret campaigns.

Making use of professional networks also occurred in Tanah Datar District. Irdinansyah who is a teacher does not deny asking for support from the teachers to be able to gain votes from the teacher, the family of the teacher, students and the family of the students. By approaching the teacher, it will affect students who have the right to vote and guardians of students. With such considerable potential, Irdinansyah approached teachers who had similar professional backgrounds. Still, in Tanah Datar District, the pair with the second vote, Ediarman and Taufik Idris are managed to get 40,206 votes or 28.19% of the valid votes in the 2015 regional election. As the former head of the agriculture office in Tanah Datar District, Ediarman was able to gain votes from the farmers and farmer groups. Raising the support made by Ediarman is by collecting a statement accompanied by a copy of the Farmer's Identity Card (KTP) before the election takes place.

The collection of statement letters before the election carried out by Ediarman and collected as many as 22,000 statements from Farmers. With his position as Head of the Agriculture Service for nine years, Ediarman had access to farmer groups. With what has been done during the head of service by providing assistance to farmers in the form of seeds and irrigation assistance, making Ediarman get support from farmers. The 22,000 statements were a form of support for Ediarman to advance as a candidate for regent. Finally, from what was obtained, 40,206 votes were valid, meaning that as many as 22,000 votes had been confirmed to have chosen Ediarman and around 18,000 were additional votes obtained during the campaign.

Figure 1
Clientelism Politic Model in West Sumatera



The figure above is a model of clientelist political networks in West Sumatra. Candidates as patrons who have control over financial power and are able to create dependence on the characters who will be used as candidates' clients. Clients who are below the candidates are people who have experience and capability strategies that will be referred to as level one brokers. Level one brokers will recruit people who will be under it and so on to reach voters:

1. Patronage

Candidate as a higher patronage has a good financial ability and the power of network to the elites who have a high motivation to win the election of the head district. Several candidates in some places have the same system in processing and using the network. At least, these candidates using four important elements in the middle of community. The four networks are, Custom network, Political Party, Community elites and professional network.

In the clientelism political model, the candidate is the center of all networks owned. Candidates who have the financial strength and political strength, recruit clients who will become level 1 brokers with service exchanges and expectations. With this unbalanced relationship, making the candidate a figure that influences the attitudes and behavior of the client.

2. Broker ⁽¹⁾

People at the broker level (1) are people who have good strategic abilities. In the Pesisir Selatan area, several community leaders such as Faisal Syarif as experienced bureaucrats in the Pesisir Selatan who have several times become sub-district heads and the head of the OPD are trusted to become volunteer chairmen. Meanwhile, Herpi Damson, also known as Epi Kampai, is believed to be the Chair of the Success Team that has strength in terms of political parties. As for Tanah Datar District, Anton Yondra was trusted to be the Chairman of the Success Team of the Irdinansyah pair Tarmizi-Zuldafri Darma. Anton Yondra has the strength of a political party which is the chairman of the Golkar party faction in the Tanah Datar DPRD who later became Chairman of the DPRD replacing Zuldafri Darma.

3. Broker ⁽²⁾

Broker level (2) is figures who have emotional closeness with voters. In this case, candidates in Pesisir Selatan and Kabupaten Tanah Datar trust Brokers (1) to choose people who fill positions at broker level 2. The selection of people who will be in this position are people who have fast movement ability, because people in this position are in direct contact with the community and voters. These people will carry out socialization and ensure voters to choose the candidates they carry. The Chairperson of Youth, Alim Ulama, Niniak Mamak, Teachers, and Farmers are the people who will fill this position.

The closeness of the Chairperson of Youth, Alim Ulama, Niniak Mamak, Teachers, and Farmers is utilized by the bond of needs given to these elements. Candidates and brokers¹ will approach youth with the help of youth facilities such as sports equipment and procuring tournaments, Alim Ulama approached with the help of religious facilities, Niniak Mamak with customary needs such as mobilizing KAN offices, teachers with services and activities, and farmers with seeds and irrigation assistance.

4. Client

Out of four networks owned, Ninik Mamak, Political Parties, Influential Figures and Professional Networks have their own clients. Ninik-Mamak, which is approached by candidates through custom equipment needs, has targeted children and nephews. Because the influence of Niniak Mamak in West Sumatra is still large, then utilizing Niniak Mamak social network will have a large influence on vote acquisition.

Political parties, who are clients of this network are party cadres and ordinary people. With the existence of legislators who come from one place will make a figure who will approach the community, this network is built using politics transaction. Furthermore, influential figures have clients of Majelis Taklim members, youth and congregation of mosques. Whereas for clients from professional networks that are built with the same background and hope of improving the profession, having clients, students, and students' families and for Ediarman as the former head of the agricultural service have clients of farmers.

Role exist if there is a status, role is a dynamic aspect from a status or functional aspect from a status. If someone do their right and responsible according to their status, its mean that person already do his/her role. Roles means an act expected to be done by someone who have a status. Roles basically means someone to be or doing something special or "an act expected by the community upon someone who have status or authority". Its an act according to their status in the community. The definition of a role explained by Soerjono Soekanto: "role is a dynamic aspect of a status. If someone do their right and responsibility according to their status, means they do their role. Roles mostly shows a function, an adaptation as a process to achieve three objectives such as:

1. Role including values related to the status or the position in the community. The meaning of role in this situation is a series of rules that guide someone to the society.
2. Role is a concept about what must be done by each person in a community organization.
3. Role also can be a person act that important for the society social structure.

In this case, researcher notices the action done by Niniak Mamak in giving support to the head district/head regency candidate pairs categorized as an elite role. Its based on the support from Niniak Mamak to every pair of candidates. This support, given by Niniak Mamak is effective in influencing the community itself. Because with the influence and guide from Niniak Mamak always followed and listened by grandchildren and nephew.

So, someone role is aiming to the status and authority function they own in the society in form of action and behavior, he/she will take a role if they have done their role according to their status. And however, a role can't be separated from the environments and society because role is the right from the society that must be done. In the previous election, Ninik Mamak and Panghulu (leader) had their role such as:

1. Niniak Mamak as a Successor Team

In the election, Niniak Mamak can decide his own role. His role usually can be seen during the campaign, where almost every Niniak Mamak support the candidates confirmed by KPU. It can be in form direct support by joining the successor team or volunteer team from every candidate or keep supporting without joining any team.

So many Niniak Mamak involved directly in the election as a successor or volunteer team. One of the roles carried by Niniak Mamak for the candidates is by becoming a successor team. Niniak Mamak reason upon joining a politic field is a common thing, it is his choice. But actually, it shouldn't be done, because Niniak Mamak not allowed to be a politician. Because with the involving of Panghulu by using his status and authority to influence the society on their votes already misleading their actual role. Which is the actual role is to guiding, protecting and to regulate and become the role model by society and children-nephew.

2. Niniak Mamak as a Connector Bridge

The form of support given by Niniak Mamak upon supporting the mayor or head district candidates by becoming a successor or volunteer team for the candidates pair. Outside that, Niniak Mamak who was the supporter for the candidates also become a connector between children-nephew with the region candidates.

Beside supporting, Niniak Mamak also takes apart without becoming a successor team of the candidates. Majority of Niniak Mamak directly told the children-nephew in the society about the candidates. To connect the candidates they support with children-nephew, they explained the vision and mission after becoming the major or head district leader. They explained what had been done

and would be done by the candidates. And explain what would be their future plain after becoming the head district leader.

Besides those who directly support the candidates, those who aren't directly involved as a successor or a volunteer guide the children-nephew the candidates with the best choices. Niniak Mamak in order to fulfill his roles as a connector between candidates with nephews, they guide them about what kind of leader they need and can lead them. Explain in details about the vision and mission of the candidate they support. It's indirectly but it also influences the votes owned by the children-nephew to be given toward one candidates only.

Conclusion

The election of head district leader in West Sumatera can't be separated from the power owned by the candidates to face the election. Several networks or connections can be used by the candidates in the election. Some of the connections are Niniak Mamak, Political Party, Influenced Figure and Profession.

The four connections gained by distributing the needs wanted by each connection or network. The need for each connection is different according to the status they own. With a good financial status, candidates can easily fulfill the needs wanted by each connection. When their need is fulfilled, they become dependent on the candidate and finally support the candidate and votes for them when the election is held.

The interesting thing in West Sumatera is a social structure that influenced by custom and culture, which creating degree held by the society of West Sumatera with Minangkabau ethnic. Niniak Mamak as someone with a status that can be categorized as a role to be a role model for the whole tribe has a big impact on the attitude and action of the tribe itself.

With the influence owned by Niniak Mamak, candidates should use it wisely. Approach done must be with fulfilling the needs of Niniak Mamak in the whole group. After that, especially for certain region, supporting parties only have a small role in making the candidates win the election and support from the local elites such as ex-head district leader, custom community up to economic entity affected the choice of society in the elections.

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THE INFLUENCE OF SAREKAT ISLAM SURAKARTA IN ISLAMIC JOURNALISM MOVEMENT IN JAVA 1912-1917

¹Adhytiawan Suharto, ²Abdurakhman

^{1,2}History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia
(adhytiawan99@gmail.com, abimaman@gmail.com)

Abstract

Sarekat Islam (SI) began to form in Surakarta in 1912 with carrying a symbol of progress for the indigenous people. One of the most dominant of the SI is the formation of newspaper called Sarotomo. In addition, in 1915 members Sarekat Islam Surakarta such as Haji Misbach and Haji Hisamzajne also formed the newspaper Medan Moeslimin and Islam Bergerak that contains the content of Islamic teachings daily. The influence of Medan Moeslimin and Islam Bergerak is very strong for Muslims in Java, because the newspaper that started to spread Islamic news and content of Islamic teachings.

The method used to write this article is Historical Method which consist Heuristic, Critic, Interpretation Historiography. The heuristic step in this article is using a primary source such as archive and the newspaper from the same era. Besides using primary sources, this article also uses secondary sources such as journal articles and books related to research. Furthermore, the source criticism stage is carried out on the collected data to find objective truths, and the data are then analyzed and presented in descriptive form.

Based on the data analyzed that the emergence of Islamic newspapers has an impact on the Islamic society in Java. One of the major influences of the spread of Islamic opinion is the thought of forming the Raad Oelama or council of scholars aimed for dealing with the problems of Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. Thus, it can be concluded that religious roles have a strong impact on the modernization of Javanese society in the early 20th century.

Keywords: Journalism, Islam, Movement, Newspaper , Society

Introduction

Sarekat Islam (SI) appeared in the early 1912 by making modernization movements for the natives in the Dutch East Indies. The Islamic current brought by SI is a new direction such as welfare, education, and Da'wah (Korver, 1985:12). One of the media used by SI as a symbol of modernization is to form a Javanese and Malay newspaper (Takashi Shiraishi, 1990: 52). The newspaper is called Sarotomo which is preaching about community activities and the development of the Islamic world. Sarotomo can be called as the first newspaper which became the official property of Sarekat Islam organization and preach their various developments. In the early days of publication, Sarotomo content does not contain much of Islamic teachings, they focus only on the development of Islamic da'wah in society. For example, there is a mosque in Laweyan, the formation of cooperatives and shops owned by SI in Surakarta, as well as political developments in several areas such as Surabaya, Madiun, Yogyakarta and Batavia (Andi Achdian, 2017:30-51).

One of the reasons why Sarotomo succeeded in becoming a pioneer of Islamic-based newspaper in Java is the influence of the movement of its journalists (Azyumadri Azra, 1994:20-53). In April 1912 Sarotomo with the cost of Haji Samanhudi recruited journalists and senior writers from several local newspapers in Surakarta such as Raden Marthodarsono,

Raden Sosrokoernio and Marco Kartodikromo (S. L Van Der Wal, 1967:195). Martodharsono is a former newspaper journalist Medan Prijaji, since 1911 has been the chief editor of the Djawi Kando newspaper. In January 1912 Marthodarsono also formed the newspaper Djawi Hisworo, he later became an influential person in the journalism world in Surakarta and managed to attract several journalists from Darmo Kondo to join SI Surakarta. Through Martdhodarsono that Sarotomo then got a relationship with senior journalist R. M Tirtoadisoerjo who has plans to publish Sarotomo in Bogor, Semarang and Yogyakarta (Darmo Kondo, June 10, 1912).

In the early days of the publication, Sarotomo did not get a good reception from various circles, especially those who do not like the spread of Islam in the island of Java. For example, in the newspaper Taman Pewarta No. 106 There is a writer named Samadi, he stated that the Society of Sarekat Islam in Laweyan must be dissolved by the assistant Resident because it has no clear legal status. In addition Samadi also writes that SI Surakarta is not entitled to publish a newspaper (Sarotomo) because the gathering is not legally valid. In general, the newspaper Sarotomo in the beginning did not mention that the organ belongs to Sarekat Islam, but in Sarotomo No. 21 It is called that Sarotomo official belongs to Sarekat Islam (Darmo Kondo, September 23, 1912). Criticism of the publication of Sarotomo and the establishment of Sarekat Islam in Surakarta then emerged from Batavia by a man named Wiroloekito in Batavia Nieuwsblaad No. 93, published on 23 August 1912, he mentioned that SI will not be aged Long because its status was banned by the Government of the residency (Bataviasche Nieuwsblaad, August 23, 1912).

Although Sarotomo is disliked by several groups, the newspaper's movements continue to grow to several areas such as Surabaya, Batavia, and Bandung. In Surabaya there was a Muslim who was interested to publish a newspaper based on Islam, he was Hasan Ali Soerati who later changed N. V Setia Oesaha to become the newspaper Oetoesan Hindia. Hasan Ali Soerati, a financier who helped H.O.S Tjokroaminoto form the management of Sarekat Islam in Surabaya (Darmo Kondo, July 15, 1912). Oetoesan Hindia newspaper began publication on January 1, 1913 with led by Tjokroaminoto (Bromartani, December 18, 1912). Oetoesan Hindia is formed under the management of SI Surabaya and fills the content of the development of their organization. In general there is nothing different between Sarotomo and Oetoesan Indies, the content of the newspaper does not contain the problem of worship in Islam. The newspaper reported more often the political developments of the Islamic world in Java, Turkey and Mecca (Amelz, 1952: 51-52).

The development of Islamic journalistic world also appeared in Batavia at the end of 1912 with the formation of SI Batavia. The movement was pioneered by Raden Goenawan and Raden Notoatmodjo who bought a Chinese newspaper company called Pantjaran Warta. In addition to Batavia, similar newspapers also appeared in Bandung as Kaoem Moeda under the management of SI Bandung led by Abdoel Moeis. The spread of Islamic newspapers and the emergence of Sarekat Islam in various regions is an influence of the emergence of SI Surakarta which became the pioneer of the organization.

Until 1915 the growth of Islamic newspapers grew greater especially in Surakarta. The newspaper that became the mobilizer of Islamic values was Medan Moeslimin formed by Haji Misbach and Haji Hisamzaijne. If other newspapers tend to fill the content with the political and social development of Muslims, then Medan Moeslimin is formed with content of Islamic teachings such as prayer, fasting, Hajj, Zakat, etc. The impact of the newspaper Medan Moeslimin is the formation of a group of studies in Keprabon and several areas in Mangkunegaran. Some of the people who became the preachers there were Haji Misbach, Haji Fachroedin, and Haji Ahmad Dahlan. In addition to Haji Misbach, the preachers originated from Yogyakarta under the Muhammadiyah Society which has been formed since 1912.

The Problem Statement, Research Questions and Objectives

The problem formulation in this research is how the process of spreading Islamic newspapers in several areas in the island of Java in 1912-1919. Then how the newspaper influenced the community, so that then emerged Islamic movement with a new model that has bases in urban areas. How the Islamic newspapers can survive the anti-group attacks on the Islamic movement in 1912-1919 in Java, and how the influence of Muslims to gather indigenous people to unite.

The purpose of this study is to find a conclusion why Sarekat Islam Surakarta can influence the Islamic journalism in various regions in the island of Java in 1912-1919. To achieve this it is necessary analysis from various primary sources to achieve detailed results. In addition, the research aims to determine the role of Muslims and local figures in various areas including Surakarta in the process of spreading Islamic Da'wah during Dutch colonialism.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This study uses a model of structural approach. According to Christopher Lloyd in his book "The Structure of History" There are hermeneutics elements to understand the historical materials pertaining to the action and thought of the perpetrator (phenomenon), and there is an export element aimed at Determine the causal formula. In the context of this research the structure approach is used to describe the factors that move the community or the circumstances to perform the social change that occurred during the early 20th century colonialism (Christopher Lloyd, 1993: 93).

According to Lloyd the structure establishes personality and society simultaneously, so the process of action is the production of something new. There are several types of social action that Lloyd can change in circumstances or events. Like personal interactions with certain social groups that then produce new activities. In addition there is also a personal action that uses social groups for a specific purpose. Up to the political action that moved the social group which subsequently resulted in social, economic and cultural change.

The structural approach determines the role of the agency as a historical factor, although it remains tied to its social structure. According to Lloyd the agency is an important essence in a study using structuring methodology. The agency can also be seen in the traits, motivations and factors that cause a human being to do a new deed or movement. Although according to Lloyd that the agency not only involved the individual, but rather a relationship process that then creates a collective action to produce new things or productivity.

Using the structuring approach, the authors strengthened this research with the concepts of *Priyayi* and *Santri* (Students). The concept of *Priyayi* is used to analyze the position of *Priyayi* as an elite that holds the influence of Javanese people in Surakarta. According to Clifford Geertz *Priyayi* is an elite group that manifests a distinctive religious tradition. Geertz explained that *Priyayi* was a group of bureaucratic officers distinguished by ordinary people, they had an honorary degree consisting of various levels. In this research the concept of *priyayi* is used to fill the social group of elite that exist in the Kasunanan or Mangkunegaran, as well as their attitudes towards the emergence of SI. In addition to seeing the proximity of the group *Priyayi* with Islamic groups after the formation of SI in Surakarta.

The second group discussed in this study was the students. According to Geertz the group of students is associated as a group that is traveling to the fundamentals of Islamic teachings. In urban students usually have a profession as a trader, while in the village of the *Santri* profession as a farmer. The houses of the *Santri* group in the urban areas are usually near the mosque known as *Kauman* and the complex of students dwellings which are also close to the *Kyai* house. In the context of this study the students were seen as a very important group for the existence of Sarekat Islam in Surakarta, because SI appeared in the students who are professional as a trader like in *Laweyan* and *Kauman*. This concept approach is also to analyze how the group of students in this regard as batik traders can cooperate with the group *Priyayi* as an elite group (Clifford Geertz, 1981: 52).

Methodology

The study uses a historical method which is divided into four phases including heuristic, source criticism, interpretation and historiography (Kuntowijoyo, 2013: 73-77). Heuristics is a preliminary step in conducting historical research, an activity seeking resources to obtain data, or historical material or historical evidence. In this process, the collection of historical sources is obtained through archives, contemporary newspapers, and reference books. The primary sources used in this study were contemporary newspapers published in 1912 – 1915 such as *Bataviasche Nieuwsblaad*, *Darmo Kondo*, *Taman Pewarta*, *Sarotomo*, *Djawi Kando*, *Pantjaran Warta*, *Medan Moeslimin*, and *Doenia Bergerak*. In addition, it uses the archives of documents of the Dutch government that have been published such as R.C Kwantes *De Ontwikkeling Van De Nationalistische Beweging In Nederlandsche-Indie 1917-1923*.

Criticism sources are used to see the source authenticity and level of credibility. Source criticism is an attempt to assess, examine to know its quality, and filter and select the collected sources to obtain the original and trustworthy source of its truthfulness. The main purpose of source criticism is to select and inspect data, until the fact is obtained. The facts acquired are then analyzed and then interpreted according to the chronology. Interpretation is to capture and explain the facts that have been tested in truth, then analyze the sources that will eventually produce a series of events that take place. In this stage the author is required to observe and reveal the facts acquired and the relationship between one fact with the other facts then make the sequence of events which need the principle in the sorting of time, and connect separate events into a series of historical events (Gottschalk, 1975 : 33-40).

Results

The development of socio-political in the Dutch East Indies had a major change in the early 20th century, this condition occurred in various regions especially in Java with the emergence of local gatherings. One of the areas that is quite dominant in the growth of local gatherings in the early 20th century is Surakarta with a variety of ethnic-based associations. The Chinese group has a gathering base at Pasar Gedhe with several of his characters such as Sie Dhian Ho and Be Kwat Koen which are respected by the Dutch government. Sie Dhian Ho has an economic sector that is based on the printing of the *Taman Pewarta* newspaper, he also formed and gathered local journalists in Surakarta from various newspapers such as *Djawi Kando*, *Darmo Kondo* and *Bromartani* (Muljono, 1979:41).

In addition to gatherings set in ethnic Chinese, 1910 in Surakarta has also formed the group of Budi Utomo consisting of the priyayi and Muslim merchants from Laweyan. Before the emergence of Sarekat Islam in Surakarta in 1912, Budi Utomo Assembly has been spread in Surakarta, Klaten, Sragen and Karanganyar. They then formed a social bond to take care of the death and donation issues between their fellow Members (Anhar Gonggong, 1975:84-85).

The central figure of Budi Utomo in Surakarta also formed a newspaper organ belonging to their society, *Darmo Kondo*. They were Haji Bakrie director of the newspaper *Darmo Kondo* in early 1911, then Haji Mohammad Sareef as Administrator. Other figures such as Haji Hisamzaijne then continued the position of Haji Bakrie as director *Darmo Kondo*, as well as editorial directors such as Hardjoesoemitro and R. Soeleiman who then entered the management of Sarekat Islam. The journalists and managers who worked in the newspaper later became the initiators of the establishment of Sarekat Islam which was previously still in the form of a local society in Laweyan namely *Rekso Roemekso*.

In addition to the contact with the Chinese group, the formation factor of Sarekat Islam in Surakarta was also triggered by the spirit of the revival of the Javanese who were pioneered by some officers in Kepatihan. The most influential person for Sarekat Islam was Raden Marthodarsono, a former journalist *Medan Prijaji* who supported the *Rekso Roemekso*

movement. In addition, there are Raden Djojomargoso, R. Hasmoetani, R. Sosrokoernio, especially the employees whose home location is not far from Laweyan and Kauman (S. L Van Der Wal, 1967:195). Thus several incidents before the formation of Sarekat Islam in the early 1911, such as the formation of Kong-Sing and Rekso Roemekso, the rise of batik cloth thieves, the support of some of the employees of the Kasunanan, and activists Budi Utomo Surakarta and journalist Darmo Kondo is the process towards the formation of local Islamic Sarekat Surakarta.

The analysis of the raising of SI in Surakarta was done by A.P.E Korver in the book "Sarekat Islam Gerakan Ratu Adil" and George D Larson "Masa Menjelang Revolusi Keraton dan kehidupan politik di Surakarta". They both analyzed the cause of the growth of SI in Surakarta. Their conclusion was the emergence of antipathy between the indigenous peoples and the Chinese. This analysis emerged because of the boycott movement to the firm Sie Dhian Ho done by Rekso Roemekso which was then continued by SI.

A.P.E Korver concluded that the political factor is the main cause of the emergence of Sarekat Islam in Surakarta compared to economic problems. According to him, the movement of SI rapidly spread due to ethnic and political factors between the Javanese and Chinese, especially after the emergence of the celebration of Chinese independence in Sriwedarii on January 15, 1912. Muslim merchants incorporated in Kong-sing such as Haji Samanhudi and Haji Bakrie then left the assembly and formed a new society. The problem of ethnic offense began to be strong after the emergence of strong ethnocentricity flavors between fellow Chinese groups and began to underestimate ethnic Javanese. This factor is then the conclusion of Korver why Rekso Roemekso then became Sarekat Islam stood and quickly enlarged its existence in Surakarta (Korver, 1982: 19-20)

Larson also argues that in addition to the anti-Chinese sentiments, Sarekat Islam grows because of the help of Priyayi who feel dissatisfied with feudal customs that have long grown in the culture of Keraton. Some of them then utilize Sarekat Islam as a society to build solidarity between students and Priyayi. They then mix and work together in the economic field, in this case they also embed anti-Chinese sentiment as a symbol of resistance in the economic sector (Larsson, 1988: 62).

One of the characters who played a role in maintaining Rekso Roemekso's existence is Raden Marthodarsono. In the middle of 1911 Marthodarsono was the chief editor of a local newspaper called Djawi Kando. The name Marthodarsono is already crowded among journalists, especially in Darmo Kondo, after the emergence of the case of R. S Wignjodarmodjo with R. M Tirtoadisoerjo involving traders from Laweyan (Darmo Kondo, September 16, 1911). R. Marthodarsono as a former journalist from Medan Prijaji used the legal status of Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI) to defend Rekso Roemekso, so that it was originally considered as SDI Surakarta branch. In general there is nothing different between SDI and Rekso Roemekso, but then that distinguishes the two is the formation of newspapers initiated by Marthodarsono with Haji Samanhudi named Sarotomo.

Tabel 1. List of Islamic Newspapers in Java 1912-1917

No.	Newspaper Name	Region	First Published	Chief and Assistant Editor
1.	Sarotomo	Surakarta	April 1912	R.Marthodarsono, R.Sosrokoernio, Marco Kartodikromo
2.	Oetoesan Hindia	Surabaya	January 1, 1913	Tjokroaminoto, Martoatmodjo, Tirtodanoejdo, Sosroboto
3.	Pantjaran Warta	Batavia	January 1, 1913	R. Goenawan, R. Notoatmodjo, R. Daswadi
4.	Kaoem Moeda	Bandung	February 1913	Abdoel Moeis, Haji Abdoel Gani, R. Tjakramidjaja, M.

				Kartawidjaja, R. Wigadisastro
5.	Medan Moeslimin	Surakarta	January 1, 1915	Haji Misbach, Haji Hisamzaijne
6.	Doenia Bergerak	Surakarta	January 1, 1914	Marco Kartodikromo, Darnakoseomah, Haji Bakrie
7.	Islam Bergerak	Surakarta	January 1, 1917	Haji Misbach, Koesen, Tohir, Haji Fachroedin

Source Table 1 : Sarotomo July 16 , 1914, Oetoesan Hindia July 2, 1915, Pantjaran Warta November 1, 1913, Kaoem Moeda May 1, 1915, Medan Moeslimin I 1915, Doenia Bergerak January 1, 1914, Islam Bergerak January 1, 1917.

Analysis and Findings

From the background of the problem can be analysis that the spread of Islam in 1912-1917 in Java is strongly influenced by the activities of Sarekat Islam and its newspaper. This condition then creates a spirit of Islamic revival while carrying the current solidarity between fellow natives to think more modern. The trigger from the emergence of the spirit is nothing but the impact of Bumiputera consciousness to participate actively in politics and government. This political consciousness has been built from the beginning of 1912, the influence of opinions in newspapers has had an impact on activists from various societies. The movement is in accordance with the current opinion that links Islamic development with the current resistance to the Dutch government. This statement is similar to the purpose of the newspaper Sarotomo, Oetoesan Hindia, Pantjaran Warta and Kaoem Moeda who want to advance the welfare of indigenous and Islamic religious development in the Dutch East Indies.

In Sarotomo 1914 the editor has published an article titled *Tjita-Tjita* in 8 series which contains the fundamental purpose of the Sarotomo opinion movement. The first article was published on October 15, 1914, discussing the problem of poverty suffered by indigenous peoples. The author seeks to demonstrate that Islamic ideals are the same as the indigenous purpose of achieving a prosperous life and far from oppression (Sarotomo, October 15, 1914). From this article the editor and author shows that one way to get out of the circle of poverty is to unite and assemble in SI Surakarta.

Until 1914 after Sarotomo spread to various regions, in Surakarta then formed a newspaper called Doenia Bergerak. The newspaper was born from the establishment of a community of journalists in Surakarta named *Inlandsche Journalisten Bond* (IJB) formed on November 1913 (Pantjaran Warta, November 11, 1913). IJB was the result of the thinking of local journalists from Surakarta consisting of various newspapers, such as Sarotomo, Darmo Kondo, Djawi Kando, Djawi Hisworo and Bromartani. The Community Association of Journalists was formed on the initiative of Marco Kartodikromo a former journalist Medan Prijaji and senior writers whom he wrote widely scattered in newspapers such as Neraca, Pantjaran Warta and Darmo Kondo. Marco came to Surakarta in September 1912 when the SI movement wanted to dissolve the government. It was then that Marco defended SI, as well as defending the laborers in Krapyak who fought against the foreman. Marco movement then influenced the group of journalists Darmo Kondo who had merged with SI, one of which was Haji Mohammad Sareef, journalist of Djawi Hisworo R. Marthodarsono, as well as some of Sarotomo's editorial assistants such as Haji Misbach and Sosrokoernio (Sartono Kartodirjo, 1975: 339-440)

Marco with local journalists in Surakarta formed IJB aims to educate and alleviate illiteracy issues among the indigenous peoples. IJB and Doenia Bergerak were born with the aid of the activist SI Surakarta, the formation of the editor is also almost identical with Sarotomo. Although Doenia Bergerak did not carry the mission of Islamic Da'wah, conceptualized the Doenia Bergerak was more progressive in criticizing the government. IJB and Doenia Bergerak were the ones that influenced several local newspapers in Pacitan and Madiun to dare to fight the government and the pro-Priyayi to the government. In Pacitan there

is a newspaper *Wanita Sworo* led by R.A Siti Soendari, while in Madiun appeared a group of writers who named herself *Jong Madioner*. Both groups are the newspaper *Wanita Sworo* and *Jong Madioner* is not a group that carries the mission of Islam, but their voices are pro of the movement of Sarekat Islam and anti to Priyayi who licked the government (Doenia Bergerak, 1914: 3-8).

Besides in Central Java, the influence of Sarotomo and IJB arrived in Batavia with the birth of the management of SI Batavia's *Pantjaran Warta* newspaper. Before Marco came to Surakarta, he had known Raden Goenawan founder of SI Batavia and chief editor of *Pantjaran Warta*. *Pantjarawan Warta*'s relationship with Sarotomo is due to IJB and Sarekat Islam, in general both voiced Islamic missions by spreading the opinion of the Justice and economic welfare of Muslims (S. L Van Der Wal, 1967: 192).

Until 1915 when the journalism world was very advanced in Surakarta, there was a group of students who pioneered the establishment of an Islamic newspaper called *Medan Moeslimin*. The group was derived from several people of Jamsaren students such as Tohir, Djodjodiko, Haji Misbach and Haji Hisamzaijne. The newspaper included a new type that has never existed before, *Medan Moeslimin* offers Islamic teachings to solve the life problems of Muslims. Since the first publication in January 1915, the *Moeslimin* field has openly mentioned that the newspaper was born to disseminate the teachings and problems of everyday Muslims such as prayer, fasting, Zakat, and Hajj. In his first edition, the *Moeslimin* field called Marco Kartodikromo as a revolutionary Islamic journalist for the courage to voice the poor. The *Moeslimin* field is one of the outcomes of the IJB community of journalists, one of the members is Haji Misbach who learns to write from Marco. (*Medan Moeslimin* I, 1915:5-6).

The new formation of *Medan Moeslimin* is the newspaper *Islam Bergerak* which more fills with the themes of movement. The newspaper *Islam Bergerak* was formed by Koesen and Haji Misbach, in his first edition Koesen writes that *Islam Bergerak* was formed due to the rise of blasphemy against Islam. Some cases such as the destruction of the mosque in Surabaya, the inscription of humiliation against Islam by a Dutch woman named Bertha Walbheem is the reason why *Islam Bergerak* was formed. The influence of the formation of *Medan Moeslimin* and *Islam Bergerak* is the emergence of Islamic Da'wah communities in various regions. *Islam Bergerak* then also connect between SI Surakarta and the management of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta. One of Muhammadiyah's officers, Haji Fachroedin, assisted Haji Misbach and became an editor of *Islam Bergerak*. until at the end of 1917 *Islam Bergerak* had given birth to the idea to form a committee of Muhammadiyah *Afdeling Tablegh*, a kind of branch of Da'wah from Muhammadiyah.

Therefore, the influence of SI Surakarta activists in Islamic journalism is so strong. This movement included a new direction of modernization, the indigenous incorporated in SI then paid a strong attention to the writing world. It also raises new awareness to advance education for indigenous peoples, because previously the educational world can only be enjoyed among the children of Priyayi and the son of Bureaucrable officials.

Discussion

The background of this research problem is how the process of Islamic journalism can develop so massif to various areas in Java in 1912-1917. In addition, what influences and who brings the mission of Islam to become a new role model of the movement of the world in the Dutch East Indies. To analyse the formulation of such problems should be with primary sources that are contemporary to the theme of research. Therefore, from the direct observation on the newspaper Sarotomo, *Medan Moeslimin*, *Islam Bergerak*, *Pantjaran Warta*, *Darmo Kondo*, and *Oetoesan Hindia* that can be analyzed Islamic journalism in 1912-1917 can develop due to the existence of the organization Sarekat Islam.

The influence of Sarekat Islam's existence is to trigger local figures in each region proving their existence by newspaper propaganda. One of the reasons why Sarekat Islam in some of the *Afdeling* (branches) has a newspaper is for the dissemination agenda of their opinions about the true identity of a Bumiputera. In this case it is about the doctrine of Islam

as a religion of resistance to tyranny. This thought then positioned the newspaper Islam Bergerak as the medium of spreading Islamic socialism ideology. In the writings of an anonymous named Islam-Boeroeh published in June 1918 it is explained that the teaching of socialism already existed in Islam (Islam Bergerak, June 10, 1918) The author invites Muslims to move against the suppression of Dutch colonial Against the natives. The culmination of the teachings of Islamic Socialism version of the movement of Islam began to be seen when Haji Misbach made a caricature of a Dutch who was a farmer of poor farmers in Klaten. Haji Misbach also later wrote that Muslims are obliged to liberated the poor and remove them from the circle of capitalism. (Islam Bergerak, April 20, 1919).

In addition to the newspaper Islam Bergerak, in Surabaya also appeared Oetoesan Hindia led by Tjokroaminoto and his assistant Tirtodanoedjo. In the concept of Oetoesan Hindia similar to Sarotomo, they are moving under the control of the administrators of Sarekat Islam. However, the name Oetoesan Hindia is more famous than Sarotomo, in addition to the figure of Tjokroaminoto, Oetoesan Hindia more often reported news about the development of Islam from various regions in the Dutch East Indies even in the Middle East. Although the Oetoesan Hindia editor with Sarotomo has been conflicted due to the ownership status issue of 1914, it is the only one representing the voice of Muslims in each region. Sarotomo is moving more as the voice of the people in Surakarta, while Oetoesan Hindia is more visible representing the Muslims of East Java. The Oetoesan Hindia movement was much larger after the third Congress of SI in Surabaya in 1915 which placed CSI headed by Tjokroaminoto and SI managers from East Java.

In Batavia the same movement was also seen in the newspaper Pantjaran Warta and Kaoem Moeda in West Java. Pantjaran Warta was moved under the influence of Goenawan and Notoatmodjo, while Kaoem Moeda was led by Abdoel Moeis and R. Wigjadisastra. Both newspapers are the result of the establishment of the management of SI in West Java. Pantjara Warta more representative of Muslims in Batavia and Banten, the newspaper often reported various activities SI such as in Pandeglang and Cilegon. In West Java, Pantjaran Warta often reported problems suffered by members of SI in Bekasi, such as land and labour problems. Many of the laborers who after joining SI became brave against the foreman and there was riots in several plantations in Cakung, Bekasi, Klender and Meester Cornelis. Kaoem Moeda after Abdoel Moeis was elected Vice president of SI at the Third Congress of 1915, more likely to discuss political issues. Kaoem Moeda sounded widely after Abdoel Moeis wrote in 5 series about the third SI Congress in Surabaya 1915 and Goenawan corruption issues (Kaoem Moeda July 1, 1915).

From the four newspapers Sarotomo, Oetoesan Hindia, Pantjaran Warta and Kaoem Moeda have each had problems with the group disagreeing with its appearance. Sarotomo For example was not approved by the opinion authors of Bataviasche Nieuwsblaad and Taman Pewarta, Oetoesan Indies had been troubled with the Chinese in Surabaya. Pantjaran Warta was referred to as a newspaper that sided with the rebels, and Kaoem Moeda in allege had supported the radical movement of Soewardi Soejaningrat. In 1912-1913 in the early days of the paper was formed, there have been many attacks to the local editor and management of the SI.

Conclusion

The conclusion in this study was that the spread of the Islamic Journalism movement in Java in 1912-1917 emerged because of the formation of SI in Surakarta, Bandung, Batavia, and Surabaya. SI's influence cannot be separated from journalistic activities, although every newspaper content in each region is different. For the public, Islamic newspapers have an impact on movement and propaganda, so Muslims have the awareness to unite under the influence of SI. The Islamic newspaper's opinion distribution indirectly triggered indigenous awareness that Islam is a characteristic symbol of the unity of the Javanese people.

The Islamic union that emerged due to newspaper opinion distribution, is increasingly evident after the publication of the Medan Moeslimin and Islam Bergeral. The natives then had

the realization that Islam was a religion that could help them from poverty and suffering. Therefore, some journalists from newspapers such as Sarotomo, Doenia Bergerak and Islam Bergerak utilizing the ideological socialism to unite the poor united under the rules of Islamic religion. This condition is done by Marco, Haji Misbach, and Haji Hisamzaijne who utilize at Doenia Bergeak, Medan Moeslimin and Islam Bergerak as the media of the spread of opinion that indigenous peoples have united. In addition to the influence of SI, the indigenous people have realized that they are human beings who have the right to go forward and think.

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Newspaper

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- Doenia Bergerak 1914
- Kaoem Moeda 1915
- Pantjaran Warta 1913
- Sarotomo 1914 – 1915
- Taman Pewarta 1914 – 1915
- Medan Moeslimin 1915
- Islam Bergerak 1917

SAREKAT ISLAM BANDUNG AND THE *DEMOCRACY* MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

¹Fajar Nur Alam, ²Abdurakhman

^{1,2}History Department
Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Indonesia
(fajar.nur71@ui.ac.id, abimaman@gmail.com)

Abstract

This article discusses the efforts of S.I. (Sarekat Islam) Bandung to implement a democratic government in the residency of Priangan. The movement began from a speech H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto in the second Congress of the S.I. in Bandung in 1916 which asserted to establish self-government (*Zelfbestuur*). The idea from C.S.I. (Central Sarekat Islam) about *Zelfbestuur* has been spread to the city area, as happened to S.I. Bandung in residency Priangan. S.I. Bandung began to take steps by demanding equality for Indigenous people to obtain a decent life. The struggle conducted by S.I. Bandung demanded the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies to grant rights to Indigenous people in terms of ownership of the land that was controlled by the colonial government. Some research about SI Bandung is mostly only researching the role of S.I. characters and events are conflicts only, there has been no research discussing the movement of S.I. Bandung in reacting democracy for Indigenous people at the beginning 20th century through cooperative pathways. The study used the historical method, according to Louis Gottschalk, the step of historical method is Heuristic, Critic, Interpretation, and Historiography. The movement arose due to special privileges to European people by the Dutch East Indies colonial government to have a land of Partikelir land (*Particuliere-landerijen*) in the Priangan. The problem encouraged S.I. Bandung to move cooperatively and constitutionally to obtain equal rights in the possession of the land ownership, and this movement aims to provide a fair and prosperous life of independence for the people of Indonesia.

Keywords: *Sarekat Islam, Bandung, Politics, democracy, Indonesia.*

Introduction

Colonial politics have a view to banishing the progress of indigenous Indonesians both in the field of spiritual and material, with the road so that the colonial sustainability can be guaranteed. The Government of the Dutch East Indies wanted to perpetuate its power in Indonesia (Muljana, 2008, p. 115). Besides, the feud between the indigenous peoples and the increasingly sharp Dutch imperialism, the sufferings of indigenous peoples grew rapidly. The revolutionary politics entered among the more widespread Indonesian people. The policy of ethical politics replaced with a drab atmosphere and provoked hostility between indigenous peoples and the Dutch East Indies colonial government in Bandung (Malaka, 2017, p. 35). From the unrest, Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI) was established in Surakarta (Solo), Central Java, on 16 October 1905, by Haji Samanhoedi (Djaelani, 2017, p. 30-31).

Then Tirtoadisoerjo encouraged Haji Samanhoedi to establish Sarekat Dagang Islam as a cooperative of Javanese batik Merchants (Ricklefs, 2010, p. 359). At the end of the year 1911, Haji Samanhoedi succeeded in collecting batik entrepreneurs in Surakarta to establish a society with the name Sarekat Dagang Islam. This association also forms a trade cooperative consisting of batik entrepreneurs who aim to break down the monopoly of Chinese merchants who provide raw materials for batik companies. In a short time, Sarekat Dagang

Islam Surakarta is developing. Its members are not limited to batik entrepreneurs, but also Indonesian merchants and people in general. Branches following the standing in several places outside Surakarta, including the prominent ones in Surabaya led by H.O.T. S Tjokroaminoto (Djaelani, 2017, p. 37-38). Because Sarekat Dagang Islam is widespread, both in quantity and quality of its members, the word 'dagang' is becoming meaningless. The foundation, which was passed with a notarial deed in Surakarta on September 10, 1912, the word 'dagang' was abolished and subsequently, the association changed its name to 'Sarekat Islam'. According to the results of the Congress the purpose of SI (Sarekat Islam) is not limited to trading efforts only, but also foster and develop economic life, social, cultural and Islamic religion in the Life of society (ANRI, No. 7, 1975).

The existence of Sarekat Islam raises a different sociocultural appeal according to the level and pattern of the development of the community that it touches. In addition to the Sarekat Islam movement that comes with a large scale of events, we also know the "local Sarekat Islam" which has its uniqueness in every region (Abdullah, 1987, p. 240). The widespread movement of the Sarekat Islam was felt also by the people who were in various regions in Priangan, at that time indigenous peoples in the central Priangan area almost in domination by Sundanese people. In the city of Bandung other than Sundanese, there are also Javanese people who most of them work as housekeepers and civil servants. In addition to Javanese people are also the Sumatran people who generally become civil servants, especially the post, telegraph, and telephone officers. Meanwhile, European people are mostly residing in Bandung. Outside the city of Bandung, they are scattered in plantations. Another city that became the center of European residence was: Cimahi and Cicalengka. Chinese people in addition to Bandung are also scattered throughout the residency area. In almost every district the capital and their district parts are there. Other foreign eastern classes (Japanese, Arabic, Indian, etc.) are located only in the city of Bandung. In other areas such as in the district of Bandung, and the District Tanjungsari (Sumedang) annually immigrated to areas of plantation Sumatra and other areas outside the island of Java (ANRI, No. 8, 1976, p. LXXXI).

The early development of Sarekat Islam in Bandung began when Haji Samanhudi encouraged his brother, Haji Amir to establish an organization such as Sarekat Dagang Islamiyah in Bandung. The organization was named Darmo Lumekso or thousands of devotion. (Van Niel, 2009, p. 127). However, the growing organization was Sarekat Islam Bandung Branch which was established in 1912 by Abdoel Moeis, and A. Wignjadisastra, R. Goenawan respectively as chairman, Deputy Chairman, and secretary. These are more popular than Darmo Lumakso figures. These three people in addition to political activists were also journalists (Cheong, 1973, p. 1-4).

A speech from H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto at the second Congress of. I. In Bandung in 1916 which confirms to establish his self-government (*Zelfbestuur*). The idea of C.S.I. (Central Sarekat Islam) about *Zelfbestuur* has been widespread to S. I city level, as did S.I Bandung, from the idea, was then implemented by S.I Bandung in a real action to sue Rights and demanded justice for the indigenous peoples.

The problem statement, research questions, and objectives

Essentially the movement arose due to special rights granting to Europeans by the Dutch East Indies colonial government to possess the land of Partikelir (*Particuliere-Landerijen*) is a land owned by private people The Dutch and indigenous people who got the land prize because they are considered to be given to the Netherlands, while the indigenous people have no right to the *Particuliere-Landerijen*. The policy encouraged S. I Bandung to conduct movement cooperatively and constitutionally to obtain equal rights. S. I Bandung in its movements supports the movement proclaimed by C.S. I to establish self-government for the indigenous peoples and liberating Indonesia. If you look at the above exposure, the question is: what and how is the effort of the Sarekat Islam Bandung in realizing the idea of Democracy (*Zelfbestuur*) which was held by H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

In the article writing about Sarekat Islam Bandung in the democracy movement in Indonesia, certainly did a preliminary study, and found some scientific work about Sarekat Islam, such as the work of Muhajir Salam, *Meretas Jalan Perang Sabil : Gejolak Politik di Priangan Timur 1912-1920*, In *Historia Soekapoera*, Vol. 4 No. 1. Published by Soekapoera Institute in 2016, in addition to the study of Priyayi in Priangan by Yong Mun Cheong, *Conflicts Within The Priyaji World of The Parahyangan in West Java 1914-1927*. Field report series No. 1, Published by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in 1973. Further papers from Yasmis Sarikat Islam Dalam Pergerakan Nasional Indonesia (1912-1927). *Jurnal Sejarah Lontar* Vol. 6 No. 1 Januari - Juni 2009. From some articles of scientific works that have not been focused on the efforts of Sarekat Islam in Bandung in the determination of democracy for indigenous people in Indonesia in the early 20th century, so that this article has a value of novelty, and can Uncover a new understanding of the rise of nationalism in Indonesia.

The role of Sarekat Islam in Bandung has a variety of purposes to enrich the social life, economics, political indigenous peoples in Bandung and other cities in the municipality of Priangan, the steps taken through the cooperative pathway and To align the rights between the natives and the Dutch who reside in Indonesia, such as what was proclaimed by Sarekat Islam Bandung in its purpose of establishing its own government (*Zelfbestuur*). In addition to the conflict between groups, and internal conflicts in the body of local Islam Sarekat in Bandung Priangan make the football lunge Sarekat Islam is not so smoothly realized, if it is associated with the theory Collective action From Charles Tilly as it was formulated, is an event when 'people acting together in pursuit of common interest'. In this case, according to Tilly people act together can happen for two things, namely (a) outside encouragement as expressed in the structural approach, and (b) because of certain individual motivations in society as expressed in the approach Individualist (Tilly, 1978, p. 6).

Tilly prefers to combine the two. Thus, the theory that Tilly builds can be classified in the structural theories used in the structure of the methodology. In this case, the external impetus of the social structure is divided into the first two being interacting with the individual element or social group derived from that social structure as well, while the second in the structuring approach is called Agency (Tilly, 1978, p. 51). When associated with the political turmoil in Bandung involving Sarekat Islam, it can be attributed that in this case Sarekat Islam can be said as a temporary Agency that is a structure that is the condition of social, economic, political Indonesia, in this case Sarekat Islam seeks to ensure that the rights of indigenous peoples are not distinguished by what is in the Dutch, and other Europeans such as land ownership rights, political rights, and the right to the welfare of the Indigenous peoples ' economies.

Based on his research Charles Tilly distinguishes the three types of Collective Action each with its causated factor. The first type is competitive collective action, namely the presence of two or more parties who compete to seize or enforce something. The second is a reactive collective action that is the effort of the community to restore established rights that have been displaced by certain parties, especially countries and its institutions. Furthermore, the third type is Proactive collective action, which is the effort of the community to create a new social structure that was not previously present (Leirissa, 2004, p. 7-8). When viewed from the facts that occurred that the role of Sarekat Islam in Priangan which accompaniments with the political turmoil that occurred, it relates to the collective action of the second reactive collective action, its link when Sarekat Islam was formed at first as an effort to group indigenous peoples in returning the right they should get, in this case, identity politics is initially a strategy to attract as many masses will be But the fact that the political identity is not forever will be a huge wave in opposing the currents of colonialism, but the political turmoil arising from the various groups in Sarekat Islam in Priangan as if eating A struggle to align rights for indigenous peoples.

Methodology

The study used historical methods, according to Louis Gottschalk (2008, p. 39), the stage of historical methods. The method done in this writing by finding a heuristic source by collecting some primary sources such as archives, documents, and some literature related to the theme of the study, such sources are newspapers such as *Kaoem Moeda*, *Padjadjaran*, *Neratja*, and several archival documents from ANRI. In addition to primary sources, this study uses secondary sources such as journal articles, and books relating to the theme of this research. Furthermore, the source of criticism is done in the sources that have been gathered to find an objective and unfocused truth at one point of view and then conduct analysis from various sources That has been verified for in the interpretation of the facts that occur so that the data obtained can reveal the events about Sarekat Islam in Bandung, the final step of historiography (writing) is to write the results Interpretation of various facts gained about the efforts of Sarekat Islam Bandung in realizing the desire to democracy for indigenous peoples in Indonesia in the early 20th century.

Result

Analysis and Findings

Sarekat Islam Bandung

Sarekat Islam (S. I) Bandung which was originally headed by Wignjadisastra, and Abdoel Moeis as representatives, in the movement, is quite responsive in facing various problems that existed in the Society of Bandung at the time, cooperative and non-cooperative was taken by S. I Bandung in carrying out his political strategy. This cooperative step can be seen when Abdoel Moeis was appointed as deputy chairman of Central Sarekat Islam (C.S. I), calling on members of S. I to care for the fate of indigenous peoples in his speech in various regions, the move is increasingly Real when Abdoel Moeis sat as a representative of. I. Bandung in the seat of the *Volksraad* (People's Council).

Studying the objectives of Sarekat Islam listed in the Constitution is invisible to political activity, but the Organization's activities are seen fighting for real rights in the political field. It is undeniable that Sarekat Islam is an organization that championed justice with persistence and suppress the suppression and extortion by the Dutch government. Facing such a situation of life and containing revolutionary elements, the Dutch government began to be vigilant and supervise every step of Sarekat Islam carefully (Yasmis, 2009, p. 27). In the year 1913 most of the pilgrims in the Priangan unite themselves in the organization of Sarekat Islam, the reason for them to join primarily for the protection of Economic competition (Salam, 2016, p. 15).

Some of the characters from Sarekat Islam Bandung such as Wignjadisastra and Abdoel Moeis worked on the *Kaoem Moeda* newspaper which they founded with Mohammad Junus, in 1912. Junus, a descendant of Arabs from Palembang. Wignjadisastra originated from Banten, has inspired this newspaper with its burn within the spirit. At first, he came to Bandung working as a journalist and worked for *Tirtoadisurjo* in Medan Prijaji. He was also never drawn into Central Sarekat Islam but remained at the local level of the Organization until the year 1919 (Van Niel, 2009, p. 162).

The movement of S. I Bandung became one of the concerns of the Dutch East Indies colonial government, because at that time in Bandung, precisely S. I Majalaya was a concern from the Government of the Dutch East Indies. S. I Majalaya was established in April 1913, for 5 years this local S. I did not show extraordinary activities and the increase of members during that was quite relatively slow, but in the year 1918 S. I Majalaya Activities began to add members to the Increased, so the increase of S. I Majalaya members became rapidly soaring. When in January 1918 the number of members was still around 819 people, and in September the members were already 3,351 people. The activities of the addition of the members are carried out especially in villages located in Ciparay district, when they see the composition of

the inhabitants are not many who belong to the S. I, such as in the villages of Rancakusumba, Cibodas, Balekambang, Maruyung, Talun, and Cibeuet. To attract people in these villages to become members, S. I activists tried to attract the influential hajj in the villages. Also assisted by the government officials who are already members of S. I, among others, the head of Cibodas village. The efforts of attracting members in villages in Ciparay district often use violent threats, so by the local government S. I activities are considered to violate security and order. Therefore, local governments try to prevent S. I chairman S. I Majalaya's activities and the head of Cibodas village on hold.

The incident became a concern for Abdul Moeis, in his speech, that the one who happened in Cibodas became a chemist and invited members of S. I United facing arbitrary actions from government officials That has been holding teachers from the village of Cangkring who became the chairperson of S. I Majalaya and the village government officials who became S. I members, among others, the head of Cibodas village. Description Assistant resident of Bandung about the arrest of teacher Mantri from Cangkring village. The head of Cibodas village and other village government officials. They were arrested for being regarded as persons responsible for the occurrence of security disturbances and order in the District Ciparay (ANRI, No. 7, p. XV-XVI).

S. I Majalaya is called the most organized group. Indeed, people in the region were traditionally known as fanatics so much. (De Preangerbode, 26 July, 1922). Despite the enthusiasm of the people of Bandung at that time a lot of flocking in the Association of S. I, but not everything like that, as is the case in the area Cisurupan Bandung There is a religious leaders who strongly reject the presence of S. I, with It is inconsiderate of S. I, it became a great concern, because it is arguably a taboo by the people of Bandung, because the euphoria of the Muslims in Bandung who entered the organization of Sarekat Islam at that time was enthusiastic enough to greet its presence. (Padjadjaran, 3 April, 1919).

The struggle of Sarekat Islam Bandung in realizing a democratic system for indigenous peoples

Tjokroaminoto sees opportunities and uses limited political opportunities as a scene of the struggle. The opening of the Council of Peoples (*Volksraad*) in 1918 was held as the first step to establishing self-government for the Indigenous People (*Zelfbestuur*) who was the goal of his struggle. (Van Niel, 1984, p. 190.194). The two leaders of S. I Tjokroaminoto and Abdoel Moeis, created the *Volksraad* as a forum which allowed them to submit the demands of S. I as decided by Congress. The two cooperate with other representatives who agree to the opinions of both S. I leaders, as together in the Radicale Concentratie which was established as a faction within the Board of the initiative of Ch. G. Cramer of Sociaal Democratische Arbeiders Partij (SDAP), with the intention of accelerating the realization of a real representative institution, with the same purpose as a cooperative institution, Democratische Concentratie, formed outside the *Volksraad*, the body is dominated by the leaders of Islamic Sarekat. (Noer, 1980, p. 130-131).

A variety of S. I ideas compiled by S. I leaders are divided into several points:

- Rejection of various negative prejudice against the Indonesian population and the unequal treatment between the Indonesian people and Europeans, and the foreign easterners.
- A positive appreciation of your own identity.
- Self-determination ideals in politics.
- Anti-capitalism. (Korver, 1985, p. 43).

The political step of Sarekat Islam demands the establishment of regional councils for the extension of the rights of the *Volksraad* (People's council) to transform it into a real representative institution for legislative purposes. The right to vote in the village council must be given to adults who are 21 years of age or older, who can read and write in any language as well and understand a taste of Malay language. For all these rights to function reasonably, Sarekat Islam demands the elimination of forced labor and the permit system to travel. In the field of education, Sarekat Islam demanded the elimination of regulations that discriminate

against the acceptance of students in schools. He also demanded compulsory study for all residents until the age of 15 years, improvement of educational institutions at all levels, increasing the number of schools, incorporating skills lessons, expansion of law schools and schools Medicine becomes a university and grants scholarships to Indonesian youth to study abroad. In the field of religion, Sarekat Islam demands the deletion of all kinds of laws and regulations that inhibit the spread of Islam, salary payments for the Kiyai and Penghulu (government officials who take care of the religion), and the provision of subsidies to Islamic educational institutions and the recognition of Islamic great days. (Noer, 1980, p. 127-128).

In the case of this long-tailed *Particuliere-landerijen*, there were some responses from outside of S. I as S. I assisted the residents who were opposed to landlords and assumed that in such manner would add to the Many members of S. I (Oetoesan Hindia, July 5, 1916). This is the backdrop of the Motion of Sarekat Islam in 1917 and their political struggle since that year in the economic and social areas has become persistent. The political step of the leadership of Sarekat Islam such as Abdul Muis can be seen by his football when fighting for the fate of indigenous people in the *Volksraad* and outside the cooperative movement such as in Sarekat Islam. Besides, criticism of the Dutch East Indies colonial government was also often launched through several newspapers that became the funnel movement of Sarekat Islam. (Azmi, 1982, p. 35).

At the second National Congress of CSI, Abdoel Moeis gave a proposal about the property of *Particuliere-Landerijen* which was initially ruled and managed by the Dutch East Indies government in the running of the Cultuurstelsel, before giving the proposal of Abdoel Moeis First to say that the present situation is different, because the Dutch have realized what was done before such a forced planting policy was a mistake and began to make ethical-political policy, after which he gave A notion of *Particuliere-Landerijen* was to take over his rights for the indigenous peoples, he previously also unsettling policy from the Dutch East Indies government to give the property the right to the lands very easily to Of the Dutch people themselves or to other Europeans. Therefore, he proposed that *Particuliere-Landerijen* was to be owned also by the indigenous people to enrich the lives of many people. Therefore, it should also be discussed who is the heir in the possession of *Particuliere-Landerijen*. In addition to Abdoel Moeis, representatives from S. I Bandung at that time Wignjadisastra also approved the proposal from Abdoel Moeis and is very supportive, in addition, he also gave his suggestion about the title of *Particuliere-Landerijen*, he stated that how If the rented lands are so easy to be by the Europeans, while the natives can hardly get them. Wignjadisastra also strengthened his proposal that. I. Should earnestly ask the Dutch East Indies government so that the natives were also given a place to be landlords. This meeting will be submitted to the Government of the Dutch East Indies. (Neratja 6 November 1917).

Regarding the proposal of the Islam Sarekat about *Particuliere-Landerijen* it turned out to be a concern for the Kingdom of the Netherlands and its People's Council, this is because it is so much talked about in various newspapers from indigenous Indonesia as well as newspapers The Netherlands on the property of *Particuliere-Landerijen*, in addition to many of the discussion is also discussed in the's consultative of Bumiputera Society. In various plans of Bumiputera, Sarekat Islam is the most Santer to talk about this matter at length and ask the hard to run endeavors to eliminate the unkind silence. From the results of the National Congress of Sarekat Islam in Betawi (Jakarta) which proposes about the property of *Particuliere-Landerijen* for the indigenous peoples, and the Government of the Dutch East Indies gave it to the indigenous peoples. The proposal was considered by the Council in the Kingdom of the Netherlands judging if the proposal must be fulfilled in order to eliminate the unrest of indigenous peoples on the property of *Particuliere-Landerijen*, and must give back to the Indian people, then the Dutch East Indies government had to re-buy *Particuliere-Landerijen* which had been owned by landlords and private owners, the government of Dutch East Indies gave other options for the problem, because the price would inevitably rise Higher than the previous price, the government should prepare more money if you have to buy the land that has been owned by the landlord, then the Government of the Netherlands Indies give the view about *Particuliere-Landerijen* , instead of having to prepare a lot of money to buy

back *Particuliere-Landerijen*, it is better to build roads, irrigation and other infrastructure facilities needed. (Neratja 10 November 1917).

In the economic exploitation of the Dutch East Indies plantation, the colonial government used the nobility and the priyayi who were in office under the regent and its ranks as parties who carried out plantation economic activities, mainly because Many of their lands were rented and used as plantations. Then after the opening of the plantation and the rapidly increasing industries, which should be enjoyed by the indigenous people turned out to make the suffering for the indigenous people themselves and ruin the local people's Order of life, and make the sufferings of the indigenous peoples increasingly heavier (Emalia, 2003, p. 8).

Complaints about the difference in the right treatment between Europeans and Indonesians are very often heard, in the middle of 1915, at that time many people in the country were surprised, such as the difference between European and Indonesian salary determination with a diploma are increasingly protested. The Dutch colonial government considered that Indonesians were less of a need for their lives than Europeans because that was the small amount of government. It invites a lot of protests from indigenous peoples including those in S. I which state that Indonesians are as much of their life needs as Europeans to live worthy, and a fact that Indonesians can Suffice with smaller amounts solely due to less acceptance. In the Congress of S. I, 1915 was received a motion that expressed the objection of the Indonesian people against the difference between European and Indonesian people with equal education (Korver, 1985, p. 46).

The pressure of the colonial government felt in every area of life, the most afflicted people were Indonesians as indigenous in their homeland. In the field of court, it is also felt, between Indonesians and other foreign nations there is a difference in legal treatment. A very painful thing was the issuance of the rule of law made by the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies. Actually, for the natives, there have been independent courts adapted to local customary law, but when the problem occurs, the rule of law of the colonial government is often used the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies uses also the system Customary law as long as the benefit of Dutch people. This is what is opposed by Sarekat Islam who also uses separation between the body that makes the law with the body that executes the law. It is necessary to prevent the law executor from making their own rules according to their interests but contrary to the interests of the people of many (Azmi, 1982, p. 29-30).

Discussion

The actions of the colonial government in economics and finance are depressing. Foreign companies get facilities in all forms of activities we certainly will not be able to forget the *Ponale Sanctie*, cooperation and all kinds of work that is imposed on the people of Indonesia both by the Indian colonial government The Dutch as well as from its indigenous peoples who got protection from the Netherlands. Employees and foreign companies are very few paying taxes or exempt at all. The facilities they acquire for the possession of land and mines in the form of soil and erfpacht and concessions are increasing every year. Until the year 1900, the lands were 652,000 ha and the number was increased in 1918 to 845,000 ha. The results that can be picked from this concession are 671 million rupiahs in 1913, 676 million rupiahs in 1918 and 2.257 million rupiahs in 1920. (Azmi, 1982, p. 34).

In the field of finance and taxation, Sarekat Islam demanded that the tax-based proportional and the taxes imposed on the profit of the plantation. S.I also demands government assistance for cooperative associations. The government, according to S.I, should combat liquor and opium, gambling and prostitution, and must also prohibit children from working, and issue labor rules that safeguard workers' interests and increase the number of institutions Health for free. In the S.I Congress in 1917, discussing the issue of the *Volksraad* to be established the following year. Before this Congress, as soon as the government's decision was announced on the issue on March 30, 1917, Indonesian associations established a national committee as an effort to unite activities and actions to select Members of the *Volksraad*, but rapidly this effort was interrupted due to differences in interests between each association. In the environment of Sarekat Islam itself noted differences of opinion about the

participation of this Organization in the *Volksraad*. It can be seen in the Congress of the S.I in 1916, when Abdul Moeis suggested that such participation would allow S.I to submit his views on various issues and to defend the rights of people even though he confessed himself if not fully satisfied with the power and authority possessed by the *Volksraad* (Noer, 1980, p. 129).

Justice is always a disputed issue between the government and the ruled in a colony. Sarekat Islam demands, in this case, a separator between judicial and executive power, and considers it necessary to build a common law for the poor population to obtain legal protection. Sarekat Islam also demands improvement in the field of agrarian and agriculture by eliminating *Particuliere Landerijen*, and by conducting expansion and irrigation improvements. Another requirement is that the industry is very important to be nationalized, namely the industries that have a monopoly system, which has a monopoly system, which fulfills the service and goods that are fundamental to many people. These include textile companies, paper, and other industries that produce iron, gas, water, and electricity. (Noer, 1980, p. 129).

The opposition to the difference in treatment is not only on the privileged position of Europeans. In the circles of S.I launched a condemnation of personal life among high priyayi. In this case it is clearly revealed that S.I. Especially in this case it is clearly revealed that S. I especially in terms of its members from circles (Priyayi bureaucratic) and its members from the middle class is a low Priyayi movement (Priyayi Professional), While the merchants, and other representatives of the Indonesian middle class. The resistance in the S. I to the traditional pattern of social layer, where the priyayi bureaucratic circles occupy a special position, arises among others in the evidence that the fellow man is as strong. In emphasizing factors such as personal ability and development as the criterion for gaining a high position in society, is not measured in terms of birth (Korver, 1985, p. 46).

Sarekat Islam is the first organization to announce the goals and ideals of independence. Opportunities that emerged amid the political supervision of the Dutch East Indies government are increasingly used to disseminate the idea. The struggle was carried out gradually, including in collaboration with the colonial government such as joining the People's Council (*Volksraad*), a pseudo parliamentary institution that was not formed by-elections but rather With the appointment and appointment by the colonial government and not functioning as a legislative institution such as making legislation as well as supervising the mechanisms of government wheel. This Council is more representative of the Bumiputera movement organization which sometimes petitioned and dissent the government despite its limited function, the national movement figures seize the opportunity to establish Political communication between their fellow people with a diversity of background, platform, and political thought. The question posed by the colonial Government reflects their concern and concern for the fate of the colonies (Marihandono, 2015, p . 107-108).

In addition to intrinsic ideological conflicts and increased mobility of status, the intensified struggle for political power is also a third-breaking element that sharpens religious conflicts. In the colonial regime, particularly the very conservative in the policy of transforming indigenous social structures, such as the Netherlands, the colonies tended to be increasingly disconnected from the important political and economic roles in the system. The indirect government, either driven by ethical and administrative considerations, is based on the notion that indigenous institutions are better than other institutions, especially those from the West (Geertz, 2013, p. 522). The struggle of Sarekat Islam Bandung in uplifting democracy for Indonesian people in the early 20th century was taken through cooperative and noncooperative pathways, the representation of Sarekat Islam in the *Volksraad* is a step of S. I Bandung in Creating ideals for democracy this could be characterized by a motion proposed by Abdoel Moeis about *Particuliere-Landerijen*, a non-cooperative line also pursued by several attempts to reject the policy of the colonial government Dutch.

Conclusion

Sarekat Islam Bandung became an organization for the people of Indonesia to fight its aspirations about the equality of political rights for the indigenous groups. The idea of democracy that was originally proclaimed by Tjokroaminoto leader C.S. I was apparently

performed by the branches of S. I in various cities, one of which is Bandung, the leaders of S. I Bandung such as Wignjadisastra and Abdoel Moeis are very loud In voicing the fate of indigenous peoples, they often voiced his opinion of the unrest that occurred in the community through newspapers, not only ceased there, Abdul Moeis became S. I deputy in the *Volksraad* (People's council) and often voiced fate Indigenous peoples through Mosi in the *Volksraad*, although the motion was often not performed by the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies.

The social disparities that occurred in Indonesian society in the early 20th century made a lash for the leaders of S.I, and its members, to move demanding welfare for indigenous peoples. Various problems were lifted to the surface by Sarekat Islam, which was then championed such as issues of land rights, health problems, education, and taxes. To overcome this, S. I Bandung, continued to work by filing for the government of the Dutch East Indies to provide a policy to overcome various problems in the community. Sarekat Islam received both in the Society of Bandung in the early 20th century showed that the collective action undertaken by the Muslims at that time was a practice of cultural resistance to defend the sovereignty space that manifests its weakness Demonstrated in the process of strengthening and growth and development of Islam at that time through Sarekat Islam as a tool of resistance.

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GPR IN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION ERA 4.0

CASE STUDY IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATION AND INFORMATICS IN THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

¹Amri Dunan, ²Bambang Mudjiyanto

^{1,2}Human Research Resources & Development Agency, The Ministry of Communication & Informatics, Jakarta, Indonesia
(amri007@kominfo.go.id, bamb037@kominfo.go.id)

Abstract

In the current 4.0 Industrial Revolution era, Government Public Relations-GPR is required to be able to adapt to the development of advanced technologies such as Artificial Intelligent-AI, Robotic, Drone and Big Data Analytic. This article aims to conduct a gap analysis on the GPR of the Ministry of Communication and Informatics of the Republic of Indonesia. This study uses a qualitative approach with Focus Group Discussions-FGD as the data collection method. Data analysis uses the model of Miles & Huberman (1984) and triangulation for drawing conclusions. The result of this study indicates, the Ministry of Communication and Informatics of the Republic of Indonesia needs to be equipped with AI and Big Data Analytic in implementing communication systems automatically. In addition, it also needs to be supported by experts in the fields of Public Relations, Data Analyst and Data Learning.

Keywords: GPR, 4.0, Artificial Intelligent, Big Data Analytic

Introduction

The existence of advanced technologies such as AI, Robotic, Drone and Big Data Analytic is a challenge for the GPR of the Ministry of Communication and Informatics Republic of Indonesia in improving public information services to be quicker and precise through online media. The results of the 2018 Indonesia-APJII Internet Service Providers Association Survey show that internet users penetrated as many as 171, 17 million of the total Indonesian population of 264, 16 million people (APJII, 2018). Thus approximately 64.8 percent of Indonesia's population have the opportunity to access public policy information through online media. This is in line with the Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2015 concerning Management of Public Communications which aims to absorb public aspirations and accelerate information concerning government policies and programs. Various methods of disseminating public policy information are carried out by the Ministry of Communication and Informatics both offline and online. Specifically for online, the strengthening of publications through social media is carried out by the Ministry of Communication and Informatics by utilizing cyber army in ministries or institutions and endorsers.

Problem Statement

Social media has become one of the most effective GPR tools in building public trust to the government. However, social media is also the most widely used negative content distribution tool. Based on the results of the 2017 Telecommunications-Mastel Society survey, where 1,116 respondents took part, indicates that social media is the highest channel of hoax distribution in the form of writing, images, and videos (Mastel. 2017). In connection with these problems, the use of advanced technology, especially AI to overcome the massive and fast spreading content is urgent for GPR. Therefore, this article would like to answer the research question: What is the

communication strategy of the Ministry of Communication and Informatics GPR in the era of the industrial revolution 4.0? Based on the research question, the objective of this research is to identify the GPR communication strategy of the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology in the era of the industrial revolution 4.0.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Several studies linking the role of advanced technology such as AI in Public Relations-PR have been conducted by a number of researchers. There are those who support the existence of AI in public relations, but there are also those who tend to be otherwise. PR depends on how to build relationships between brands and stakeholders through "personable interaction". According to Scott (2018, para. 9) this did not exist when AI sent the message. He argues the result is a low public perception of its transparency and authenticity. If public relations is the discipline which looks after reputation and reputation is associated with trust (Dolphin, 2004), it can be said that: "Humans build trust with humans - not robots" (Ristic, 2017, para. 10).

A learning algorithm monitored by solid training data may be able to manage some promotions through social media, thereby allowing some social media engagement to be increased (Lynch, 2018, para. 15). Lynch (2018, para. 16) also suggested that AI might be able to look for clues concerning "sentiment from media coverage obtained, sending warnings concerning negative stories as they arise so that PR professionals can respond more quickly".

While Valin (2018, p. 7) notes that although the ability of humans to think critically "will be the least affected by AI", other skills - such as those which should be done through basic research, content development, program evaluation, problem tracking, and many work processes – has already shown a number of AI. One common theme in popular literature is the assumption that AI cannot replace human creativity. However, Amos (2016, para. 7) challenges the idea that creativity is "a unique human endeavor that cannot be deconstructed and replicated by machines". He argues that this is untrue. Computational creativity as one of AI's most vigorous fields of research and algorithms have been developed to make music, write poetry, and develop new formulas independently "(2018, para. 8). Given the newly released IBM technology - titled Project Debater - which allows machines to debate humans (Kelleher, 2018), it makes sense to suggest that AI can support public relations managers in their role as organizational advisers.

Content automation is better known in the journalism industry. The algorithm is used to generate news automatically from structured data. The Algorithm process carries out content automation through five steps. The first step, the available data is collected through software. Second, statistical methods are used by algorithms to identify important events. Third, the classification and priority are determined by software based on interests. Fourth, appropriate elements are arranged as narratives. Finally, stories can be uploaded to the publisher's content management system which can be published automatically. The content automation can be seen in Figure 2 below:

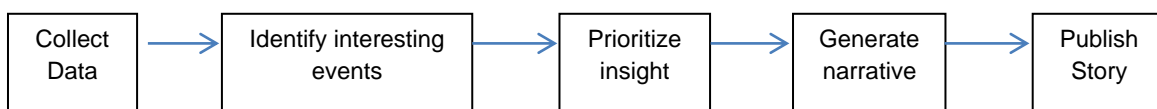


Figure 2 Process Algorithms for Content Automation
Source: (Graefe, A., 2016)

Based on a number of studies conducted above, it is shown that the role of AI in public relations is in an important position in the current era of the industrial revolution 4.0. Nevertheless, the role of Human Resources-HR is still important in the communications industry. The Global Communications Report (2019) shows that 47 percent of respondents who are professional PR estimated that in the next five years HR is still more important than technology. However, 46 percent of student respondents rate otherwise. Meanwhile, 30 percent of PR professionals and 24 percent

of students consider that both HR and technology are two things that are equally important in the world of communications industry (USC Annenberg Center for Public Relations, 2019).

Meanwhile, according to Grunig and Hunt, there are four models used in public relations activities, namely Press Agency, Public Information, Two-Way Communication Asymmetrical, and Two-Way Communication Asymmetrical. The Press Agency model is strongly influenced by the role of press agents who work to influence public opinion by creating news. Sometimes the aim is to manipulate and emphasize public relations practices which focus on promotion, publicity, and public propaganda efforts (Lattimore et al, 2010: 63). While. Public Information model is still dominant in distributing information. Nevertheless, the model is different from the first model since it is not used to manipulate the public and emphasizes more on providing honest information (Butterick, 2012: 32). Meanwhile, the Two-way Communication Asymmetrical model emphasizes the persuasion which can trigger transactions until popularity emerge. The model is still trying to position the public as a party that must change according to the wishes of the institution and not vice versa (Lattimore, et al., 2010: 64).

While the Two-way Communication Symmetrical Model emphasizes on the willingness of both parties to adjust to each other. This model is then claimed by Grunig and Hunt as the best model which can determine the success of public relations practices in institutions. (Butterick, 2012: 34). In accordance with the research conducted by Grunig (1992: 303) regarding the estimation of the application of four PR models in an organization, it is known that the most widely used model in organizations is the public information model. Other PR models that are widely used sequentially are press agent, two-way asymmetric, and two-way symmetric. The most widely used public information model in carrying out PR activities use the media as a liaison between the organization and its public.

Methodology

A qualitative approach was used in this study. Data collection was carried out three times by Focus Group Discussions-FGD. The FGD speaker are among others, the Special Staff of the Minister of Communication and Informatics, the Director of Governance and Public Communication Partnership, the Editor In Chief of Beritagar.id, Head of the National Traffic Management Center-NTMC of the Indonesian National Police Department, academician, PR practitioners, and the Profession Certification Agency. Data analysis was performed using the Miles & Huberman (1984) model. The categorization of the FGD data results was carried out to describe the existing conditions and conditions expected by the Ministry of Communication and GPR of Information Technology. And then, a matrix frame is carried out to identify the GPR communication strategy in the industrial revolution 4.0 era. Triangulation is done to draw final conclusions.

Result Analysis and Findings

This section identifies the existing conditions and conditions expected from the GPR in the Industrial Revolution 4.0 era, in a case study at the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology. Thus, an effective and efficient GPR communication strategy in the industrial revolution era 4.0 can be obtained.

Existing Condition

The GPR communication strategy undertaken by the Ministry of Communication and Information through the Directorate General of Public Communication Information consists of four strategies. The first strategy is Events, which is to synergize activities between K / L / D to educate and literate,

increase news exposure, e.g: seminars, public discussions, and public lectures. The second strategy is Social Media, namely by strengthening social media with publications utilizing cyber army in Ministries / Institutions, endorsers, and a single narrative. The third strategy is Communication Strategy, which is the integration of communication strategies between Ministries / Institutions to compose a single narrative and grand narrative. The fourth strategy is Media Relations, which is merging, coordinating, communicating, and synchronizing media relations activities to optimize media exposure. This was done through the activities of the West Merdeka 9 Forum, Joint Press Conference, Opinion Writing by analysts, and talk shows on television media. According to the Director of Governance and Public Communication Partnership Selamatta Sembiring, the GPR task of the Ministry of Communication and Information is in accordance with Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2015 concerning Management of Public Communication.

"The tasks of the GPR include Program Socialization, Literacy and education to the public, government priority program campaigns, counter narratives, and national branding". (FGD, July 16, 2019)

While the GPR workflow shows that the Ministry of Communication and Informatics is cooperating with the Ministry / Institution / Region-K / L / D, the Office of the President-KSP Staff, Professional Public Relations Staff-THP in carrying out the tasks of the GPR. In the dissemination of information on public policy, the Ministry of Communication and Informatics uses all available communication channels, whether radio, TV, print media, online media, books, media discussion forums, FGDs, seminars and workshops, public shows, panel discussions, blogger festivals, and media social and installation of GPR widgets in 196 local governments and 47 K / L. For social media, a K / L / D social media task force has been formed. According to Selamatta Sembiring there are currently 97 social media task forces in the K / L and 598 social media task forces in the local government.

Deddy Hermawan, special staff of the Minister of Communication and Informatics said the weakness of the GPR is the absence of synergy among K / L / D. The communication channels used by the GPR of the Ministry of Communication and Informatics are too excessive in the dissemination of information. He was apprehensive, too many channels could cause less focus in the dissemination of information in connection with public policy. When in discussion concerning GPR in the era of the industrial revolution 4.0, Deddy Hermawan revealed that content automation, Robotic and AI are not in use by the GPR of Ministry of Communication and Informatics. Based on his observations, no government uses these tools yet.

"From the aspect of production, no one has used the advanced technology yet. But in the community already produces digital hoaxes. Therefore, in the future it is necessary to prepare a GPR using advanced technology. (FGD, July 16, 2019)

Meanwhile, according to an academican of the University of Paramadina Jakarta, Ika K Idris, the current GPR practice has the same message content but with a different package. Government-owned social media accounts tend to disseminate positive information concerning the government. Meanwhile, public participation in social media is important in this digital age, but the interaction of *netizens* in social media does not yet reflect public participation.

"Dialogue has never been part of government PR activities in Indonesia, even in the most possible communication channel: social media. Social media usage counts (followers, likes, shares, comments) are not viable measures of public participation. GPR focuses on disseminating and amplifying messages on social media. " (FGD, July 16, 2019)

The expected conditions

GPR 4.0 is an expected GPR condition in the future. Therefore, the definition of GPR 4.0 in this study is as follows:

"As a form of government communication management between government organizations and the public, both from internal organizations and from external organizations using advanced technology (robots, drones, & artificial intelligence), which is supported by high speed internet and big data analytics". (FGD, July 16, 2019)

Based on these definitions, the second and third FGDs invited the NTMC leaders of the Indonesian National Police and the chief editor of the Beritagar Editor. Both have implemented advanced technology in public relations activities. The NTMC uses AI in collaboration with Google to inform the public regarding traffic accident cases. In addition, it uses 2069 CCTV and drones as well as big data for traffic monitoring.

"We use call center facilities, social media integrated in www.ntmckorlantas, and text messaging ... Then there is also an application, which can monitor motor vehicle data ... we also cooperate with google regarding traffic accident information". (FGD, July 23, 2019)

Meanwhile, Beritagar.id is the first news site in Indonesia to utilize advanced technology in gathering and analyzing various contents for reporting using AI.

"The engine we created to create content automatically. The same thing can be built to help the GPR team of the Ministry of Communication and Informatics in formulating content, after formulating content, how it is disseminated ". (FGD, 30 July 2019)

While the Director of the Professional Certification Institute Bambang Priantono said, in GPR 4.0 the government must make priorities and deliver the correct news in the dissemination of information.

"At the moment, the government must prioritize. The community needs something as a verifier to hold onto If it is the government, it should be the first to deliver the correct news. "

Meanwhile, PR practitioner Jojo S Nugroho said storytelling combined with technology would become a trend in the future.

"When public relations executives were asked which communications trends will be the most important in the next 5 years, digital storytelling ranked above the rest, followed by social listening, social purpose and big data". (FGD, July 16, 2019)

Therefore, in the future, GPR Human Resources besides having skills in the field of PR also has skills related to advanced technology such as Machine Learning (ML) based technology and Natural Language Processing (NLP).

"In technology, there should be a programmer who is good at making machine learning, then big data. The editor must also understand how to be able to make *machine learning*, NLP or NLG. Natural language generation ". (FGD, 30 July 2019)

Based on the results of the FGD above, it can be compared between the existing conditions and the conditions expected from GPR in the Industrial Revolution 4.0 era in the case study at the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology constructed in Figure 1 is as follows:

No	Aspects	Current Conditions	Expected Conditions
1	Human Resources	1. Have GPR Knowledge and skills	1. Have GPR Knowledge and skills 2. Competence in data analysis & data learning, Natural Language Processing (NLP) & Natural language generation (NLG)
2	Communication Systems	1. Two way asymmetrical communications 2. The use of big data is only used for social media monitoring.	1. Two way symmetrical communications 2. The use of AI, robotic, drone, IoT, M2M, non-human, high speed internet 5G, big data analytic in the whole communication process

3	Communication Strategies	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Synergy between activities K/L/D (education & literacy) 2. Strengthening social media (cyber army K/L, endorser, single narrative) 3. Integration of communication strategies between ministries and the compilation of narratives single, & grand narrative 4. Optimization of media exposure 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Automation of content 2. Digital story telling
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Figure 1 Comparison of existing and expected conditions of GPR in the Industrial Revolution 4.0 era in a case study at the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology

Source: Processed data

Discussion

Based on the analysis results above, it was found that there are two communication strategies which can be used by the GPR of Ministry of Communication and Informatics in the industrial revolution 4.0 era, namely content automation and digital story telling.

Content automation is an alternative in the implementation of GPR at the Ministry of Communication and Informatics, especially in anticipating various negative content such as hoaxes and hate speeches which circulate a lot on the internet related to Indonesian government policies. Daily briefs in the form of a single narrative can be created through content automation. Content automation is specifically carried out on data which doesn't require re-verification, such as regarding government regulations and policies that have been established and data from the Central Statistics Agency. Nevertheless, the role of professional public relations personnel with competence in the field of public relations and advanced technology is still needed. So, content production is pure content automation (non-human) and a collaboration between machines and humans is available.

While the second communication strategy is digital story telling. Delivering messages with story telling combined with digital technology is an effective way in the industrial era 4.0. Digital story telling packaged with videos or pictures is the main attraction for *netizens*. Information dissemination through digital story telling can be done faster as some people tend to use social media and messenger applications to obtain the latest information.

The two communication strategies above can be carried out with the support of human resources and communication systems with the use of advanced technology. GPR human resources in the era of the industrial revolution 4.0 are also expected to have data analysis and data learning competencies. The ability of public relations equipped with skills in advanced technology such as AI can support the implementation of communication strategies. Thus, two way symmetrical communications can be created between the government and the public through the use of advanced technology.

Conclusion

The existence of advanced technologies such as AI and big data has an impact on the GPR communication strategy in the era of the industrial revolution 4.0. The use of AI and big data in content automation is needed by the GPR of Ministry of Communication and Informatics to be responsive to various existing negative content. Although every information can be implemented by content automation. Various government policy information which requires depth of a story and having data that needs to be verified certainly still requires the existence of GPR Human Resources.

The second strategy is Digital story telling which can be accomplished by a collaboration between GPR Human Resources and advanced technology. The role of GPR Human Resources is still important since not every information can be created through content automation. Even though AI has now been developed for art works such as music and paintings, the ability of GPR Human Resources such as telling stories and being a good listener may not be irreplaceable. In order to

realize these two communication strategies, GPR Human Resources are required to have capabilities in advanced technology fields such as Natural Language Processing (NLP) & Natural language generation (NLG).

In –depth study in connection with the relationship between AI and big data in the world of public relations is still important in the future. The potential use of AI and big data is expected to facilitate the performance of professional PR and GPR in response to various information challenges in the era of the industrial revolution 4.0 which are full of information uncertainty.

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PHILIPPINE VALUES IN THE SUPERMODERN/HYPERMODERN AGE OF THE INTERNET

Teresa Paula S. De Luna

Department of Speech Communication & Theater Arts, College of Arts and Letters,
University of the Philippines

Abstract

Hypermodernity a condition where we are overwhelmed with so many interests and where pursuits in life, is reflected in the age of the internet. The internet and internet-mediated technologies produced by and from it represents a hypermodern existence that impacts how various Philippine values are currently performed. This paper focuses on two facets of the formation and development of the Philippine values system: the socio-historical perspective, and the impact of a technological innovation on the way we perceive ourselves that extends to how we socialize with each other in our communities. It discusses how the Philippine values system had been formally and technically incorporated into the “mainstream” discourse on the Filipino identity and revisits the proffered lenses within the context of a hypermodern space where the internet, a technological development that disrupted the everyday life of Filipinos in the 21st century, is present. University of the Philippines (UP) students’ narratives on their immersion in the internet world are examined to find out the impact of internet technology on their current values system. Findings reveal how different, yet similar UP students are in their dispositions on being a UP student. The values they possess are reflected in the stories they share on what is UP to them and what it means to be a UP student. Identity and nationhood come up as facets of UPD students’ understanding and practice of their values system. The internet has functioned as and will continue to be a venue where discussions on our identities (not a single one anymore) as Filipinos and our nationhood transpire. Ultimately, these communal socializations continue to remind us who we are and what have we become as Filipinos.

Key words: Philippine values system, culture, internet-mediated technology, supermodernity/hypermodernity

Introduction

The importance of values and its system in every and any society is an established reality. It is considered as a social structure that shapes and reproduces identities. Therefore, we always take interest in finding out the “history” of the values we adhered to, those we currently stand by, and the ones that will endure as our culture and society progresses.

The values that are constructed and conditioned in the socio-cultural system of a community are absorbed and performed by its members. Typically, values are passed on from one generation to another. The community’s ideals and principles are reproduced and reified in the various ways we live our lives. Hence, the very essence of the existence of the values system is anthropological. Values guide us in the conduct of our everyday life and make sense of why we do the things we do. However, in order for us to gain a deeper discernment of values, we probe the context and circumstances of where these are created, developed, reified, reproduced and modified in the history or histories of our socio-cultural communities.

This paper focuses on two facets of the formation and development of the Philippine values system: the socio-historical perspective, and the impact of a technological innovation on the way we perceive ourselves that extends to how we socialize with other people in our communities. It discusses how the Philippine values system had been formally and technically incorporated into the “mainstream” discourse on the Filipino identity. It also revisits the proffered lenses within the context of an anthropological place where the internet, a technological invention that disrupted the everyday life of Filipinos in the 21st century, is present.

Philippine Values System in the 1960s

How do we describe the Filipino? What does it take to be called a Filipino? Indeed, we claim that we have different identities. These identities may be attached to our various ethnicities as determined by our geographical origins or may be imagined (Anderson, 1983) as “one people” for one Philippines. It is within the latter’s viewpoint that this article takes off. As “one people” we locate our identities even before the Spaniards came. Our selfhood continued to be influenced when we were colonized by several foreign countries, namely Spain, America and Japan. It is supposed as written in quite a number of books and scholarly works that as a result of our serial colonization, our identities were “colonized” as well. The way we think and act is “inspired” and “inconspicuously manipulated” by the colonial ideologies. Hence, when they physically left our country, we were excited to discover who we were group of people and to discern what makes as Filipinos outside the clutches of our colonizers socio-cultural conditioning.

The study and practice of anthropology during our colonized years were focused on the “other”. The colonizers wanted to learn about the cultures of their colonies with the aim of subjugation; hence, they wanted to know to go about it in the most effective and least stressful manner. Anthropology was in a sense used as a tool to achieve this. By learning how the “other” “behave”, colonization with the least resistance from the “natives” will most likely be realized. When the era of colonization ended, a dilemma arose: what happens now to anthropology as a discipline and practice? What should be the motivation and preoccupation of anthropologists? The post-colonial scene Philippines no longer had the Western anthropologists who were physically and socio-culturally different from the natives they were “studying”. In their place were the “native” anthropologists who were educated within the colonizers’ paradigm and pedagogy. After completing their education, these new anthropologists began their quest for the Filipino identity.

A vital fragment of our Filipino identity is our set of values. Our performance of our values and principles provides a tangible illustration and demonstration of our being Filipino. It is then no surprise that after the second world war, specifically during the 1960s, Filipino scholars took interest on this subject matter.

In the 1960s, there was a preoccupation of scholars in the social sciences, including Anthropology on the Philippine value system (Magos, 2004). Initial works on the examination of the Filipino values and the Philippine value system include Kaut’s (1961) analysis of *utang na loob*, as a system of contractual obligation among Tagalogs, and Hunt et al’s (1963) exploration of the values in the Philippine social setting. Attention on the “Utang na loob” Filipino trait was extended to other values such as smooth interpersonal relations (SIR) (Lynch, 1964 as cited in Hennig, 1983), *hiya*, *pakikisama* (Bulatao, 1964) and *amor propio* (Hollnsteiner, 1961). Socio political upheavals marked the 1960s and 1970s, which “sparked the crisis of meaning in anthropology” (Tan, 2010 p.16). According to Tan (2010) this was the beginning of the post-anthropology age, a shift from the discipline’s attachment to colonial agenda to “crisis representation”.

There were two schools of thought in making sense of our “being a Filipino”: the Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC) from the Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU), and the group of social scientists, represented by Sikholohiyang Pilipino (SP) from the University of the Philippines (UP),

who negate the claims of IPC. The former was the group that set off the discourse during the 1960s, while the latter challenged IPC by submitting an alternative paradigm as a basis of determining the Filipinos through their values system. IPC was the center for values research when the interest on Philippine values system first brewed during the 1960s (Tan, 1997). The interest is linked to the “1960s modernization theory” that was the trend in the social sciences when the economic state of the Philippines was perceived to be inferior to that of the modern industrialized societies such as the United States and United Kingdom. Specifically, the Philippines back then was considered a third world or “under developed” country. The question of the IPC was that “why are we an underdeveloped country and what is wrong with us? After several years, when political correctness became a dominant discourse that highlights socio-political sensitivity, the “third world” label was replaced by the “developing nation” terminology (Tan, 1997). Most of the Filipino scholars who wrote about Filipino values were mostly trained abroad and thus influenced by western theoretical framings such as those of McClelland (1961), Banfield (1958) and Talcott Parsons (1964) (as cited in Tan, 1997). These perspectives had a premise of economic dichotomies – “good vs. bad state of living” and the “modern vs. backward”.

Initial studies on Filipino values during the 1960s were criticized to be western framed. This was countered by counter arguments and proposals of looking at the Philippine values system in an etic point of view. Thus, the scholarly works on our values system became structured in an “argument vs counter-argument” framework (Hennig, 1983). For instance, Jocano (1966) contradicted Lynch’s (1973) SIR by citing that Filipinos also employ hostile attitudes (strategies) during social interactions. This was again counter-argued by Lynch, stating that more Filipinos favor SIR more to attain the “ultimate Filipino values”, such a social acceptance, economic security and social mobility (Lynch, 1973), rather than using hostility as a social strategy (Hennig, 1983). SIR was further emphasized by Hollnsteiner (1973) by putting forward “reciprocity” as a mechanism to maintain SIR. Shame would be the result of a breakdown in reciprocity (as cited in Hennig, 1983). However, according to a number of scholars there is still a suggestion of indecisiveness in terms of qualifying such values in a variety of situations and contexts that Filipinos engage in. Hence, some academics, especially from the emic vantage point, maintain that there is a “certain tentativeness relative to Filipino values even among the most prominent authors of the topic” (Hennig, 1983).

During the first part of the 1970s, a new trend came about in the social sciences: anthropology that concentrated on the “Filipino soul and psyche” in search of the most truthful presentation and representation of the Filipino (Magos, 2004). SIR was perceived as an intermediate goal to get to the ultimate values. However, this was countered by a different framing by UP’s Enriquez, Salazar, Jocano and Covar. They are social scientists who are mostly educated and trained abroad, and worked on providing a “new” way to view our personhood as Filipinos. Jocano insisted on employing a local framework in examining our selves and our culture. In his article “Re-thinking Smooth Interpersonal Relations” (1966), where during his fieldwork he observed how Filipinos engaged in constant fighting, he put forwarded that perhaps the idea of SIR was mostly implanted by the Americans since they seem to be the ones overly concerned with SIR. Lawless and Tan (1968) critiqued the methodological procedures utilized in the investigation of the Philippine values system that mostly led to the propagation of stereotypes between Eastern and Western societies. Enriquez, who is known for his contribution to the indigenization of social science and Filipino Psychology, suggests using indigenous methodologies (Enriquez, 1979). SP is considered to be the anti-thesis to the 1960s Ateneo-IPC values research (Tan, 1997). Unlike IPC’s modernity and economic freedom, SP’s ideology is based on nationalism, which is said to be derived from Constantino’s idea that the “*causes of our present problems are our past colonial experiences*” (as cited in Tan, 1997). SP’s methodologies were positioned to oppose IPC. However, SP is criticized to be predictable “*along the lines of the richness, complexity and innate goodness of the Filipino vis-à-vis the malicious intents of our former colonial masters*” (Tan, 1997).

Historian and anthropologist Salazar, however, critiqued the concept of “indigenization” extended by the some of the proponents of SP as mainly based on and a reaction to the Western framework. Hence, it only fortifies “othering”. Covar’s *Pilipinolohiya* emphasized using local language in encoding and decoding local knowledge (Magos, 2004 pp 342-343). He used a Manuvu jar as a metaphor for the Filipino personhood. It has three parts—loob, labas and lalim (depth) (Covar, 1995).

Probing and comparing the two schools of thought on the Filipino value system from ADMU’s IPC and UP’s SP, arguments for and against any may probably turn tautological, since the basic premises of their claims are different. IPC’s discussion of Filipino values is strongly hinged on economic modernity, while SP’s is linked to nationalism and nationhood. Paradigms and pedagogies employed by IPC are largely based on Western framings. On the other hand, SP’s take on what makes the Filipino is based on local understanding/perspective, which is based on interpersonal relations and indigenous knowledge. Mostly, discourses during this time adhered to and are attributed to the two factions’ differing ideologies and purposes: IPC is economy-oriented while SP is focused on the “recovery” of nationhood. In other words, there is a difficulty; it is futile to set them in opposition against each other since they do not argue on the same plane. As a result, most of their claims and contentions end up as mere reactions and counters against each other. It is in this light that Hennig, in his article “Philippine Values in Perspective: an analytical framework”, suggests another way of perceiving Philippine values by first recognizing that the Filipino values system is a product of a “culture emerging from a synthesis between historic and prehistoric Asian values and the impact of Western values especially during the American occupation” (Hennig, 1983).

The interest on the Philippine values system in the academic community slightly waned through the years. The reason perhaps has something to do with the “never-ending” debates without arriving at an agreeable (for both sides) compromise (Hennig, 1983). Then again, perhaps the very nature of any values system should be examined to explain why it is always perceived as provisional. Making sense of values systems is always contingent on the “current” social, cultural and political context of the community. What preoccupies community members at the moment, what is important to them?

Fast forward to 2005. Yacat (2005) conducted a research on Philippine values guided by the SP framework and Covar’s Loob at Labas methodology in probing the question “Who is the Filipino?” He emphasized the role of cultural identity (not just national identity) in determining who is the Filipino. Although the study is conducted and analyzed within the lens of Psychology, its overall results tackle a collective set of human behaviors—values. Yacat’s discussions brought us back to the 1960s-1970s debate. He floats the conclusion that understanding the concept of national identity is a complicated and contested undertaking that brought about positive and negative consequences throughout the ages (Salazar, 1998 as cited in Yacat, 2005). National identity is usually discussed within the contexts of intergroup tensions and or the production and reproduction of stereotypes (Yacat, 2005, p 20). In the Philippine setting, national identity and issues related to it are attached to socio-political-historical context. Contributions from Constantino’s discourse on the miseducation of the Filipino, Enriquez’ (1977) evaluation of Filipino values and Doronilla’s (1982, 1989 and 1992) empirical studies on national identification (as cited in Yacat, 2005) show how we Filipinos locate our understanding and appreciation of national identity.

Yacat, however, in his relatively recent investigation delineates national identity from cultural identity. He employed a cultural perspective that looks at culture as a process of meaning-making that involves five “moments”: representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation (du Gay, et al., 1997). He employed three thematic contexts where he examined Filipino values: *pinagmulan* (socio-political dimension); *kinalakhan* (cultural dimension); and *kamalayan* (psychological dimension). The central question asked was “Are you a Filipino?” “Why

do you say so?" Results show that being Filipino is usually unexamined, assumed and naturalized. When asked to further explain, the following are revealed, a Filipino is someone who recognizes and accepts the self as Filipino, takes pride in being a Filipino, recognizes and accepts fellow Filipinos, has empathy for fellow Filipinos and involved in the affairs of fellow Filipinos.

Yacat's (2005) inquiry shows how we Filipinos continuously negotiate our "being" Filipinos in a variety of contexts because it is unexamined but at the same time assumed and naturalized. The former two are products of social conditioning, while the latter is the ambivalent part of understanding the Philippine values system. "Assumed" means we accept that what is written on textbooks and fed to us by the "dominant" groups in the society about how we "should behave" are true. "Naturalized" would mean that for a number of years we have been following what the "dominant" groups in the society prevail on us, hence we succumb to the belief that these values are "given, normal and expected". Yet these values are considered to be "unexamined". What kind of examination to we need to conduct to find out what kind of values Filipinos have?

Theoretical Lens

Technology and values system

There are many variables that may be examined that can explain why values are affected by contradictions and inconsistencies. Technology is one of those variables. The impact of technology on the conduct of our everyday life is reflected on the values we appropriate to our actions.

Through the years, since the beginning of the Filipino scholars' interest on our values system, technological innovations have been developing in our society, consequently affecting how we manage of daily habitual living. One such technological invention that has drastically altered our being human is the internet. The internet unsettled the spaces where we perform our being humans. It therefore follows that it has also disturbed our impression and expression of our values and principles as Filipinos.

What happens when the internet infiltrates the conduct of our everyday lives? Are the values proffered during the 1960s and 1970s by both IPC and SP still present in the new extended and expanded spaces (because of the internet) that we Filipinos intermingle in? This article examines narratives of UP Diliman students pertaining to the human to machine relations they have with gadgets that allow them to enter cyberspace, the socializations they engage in online spaces and other needs that are answered by the internet along with its internet mediated technologies (IMTs).

Culture Change

Changes in the ways we live our lives are unavoidable. How these changes will transpire and be carried out are almost always dependent on our beliefs, principles and ideologies in life. These philosophies, which are inculcated in our system since we were born and while growing up, guide and inform our personal and social actions. Our socio-cultural system composed of social structures make possible for the manifestation of our values in different contexts. For instance, social conditions somehow direct how IPC's *SIR* (Lynch, 1964) should be carried out. What acts are permissible and will most likely create this social environment where we gain the "ultimate values" of social acceptance, social mobility and economic security. On the other hand, how can we perform our nationhood? What mechanisms embedded in our social structures maintain and propagate our values that strengthens our nationhood? Bourdieu's (1990) habitus explains this process of cultural modification. The habitus' "structured structuring structures" in a society that form and develop our dispositions may reproduce our embodied values or may also transform our conduct of life (Bourdieu,1990). Socio-cultural alterations occur when there is

“something new” introduced to the community. In this instance, the internet is that new component that has been adopted by community members.

Our adoption of and adaptation to the internet has impacted our community including the social systems and structures that operate it. Because of the internet, our social world has become more supermodern/hypermodern. Augé describes supermodernity/hypermodernity as a state and stage in a society of “overabundance” (Augé as cited in Paans, 2011.) Overabundance refers to excessive material, technological and social “happenings” that we partake and engage in. A supermodern society, he says, is composed of *spatial abundance... overabundance of events and increased manifestation of individuality*, which is attributed to the increased possibilities of moving to and moving around spaces and places and to the proliferation of agencies for interactions and socializations (Paans, 2011). Supermodernity is characterized by a transient, transitory and permeable existence (De Luna, 2017). Although Augé originally located the idea of supermodernity during the time when internet was not as popular as nowadays and when its technology was not as sophisticated and wide ranging as we know presently, he was already able to capture the resulting state of sociocultural context that internet will give birth to. Augé originally referred to parking lots and airports as the consequent spaces of supermodernity. He calls these spaces as non-places where there is almost an absence of social interaction, do not contribute to identity and do not inform history. On the other hand, he talks about anthropological places as the opposite of non-places (Augé, 1995). At first glance, online spaces may seem to be non-places, however if we probe deeper the variety of socializations and interactions that we join in different online spaces, one may say that cyberspace is also a site where we shape our selves. Again, values are fundamental components in determining our selfhood and nationhood.

What then is the impact of the internet on the production, reproduction or modification of the Philippine values system?

Methodology

Internet and the Philippine values system

To find out how much impact (if there is) the internet has on the Philippine values system, I interviewed twenty UP Diliman students on their immersion to the internet world. I wanted to know how deep or shallow their embodiment of the internet and of other technologies because of it. Subsequently, I examined how this embodiment is positioned in the students’ habitus. Findings reveal how different yet similar UPD students are in their dispositions on being a UPD student. The values they possess are reflected in the stories they share on what is UP to them and what does it mean to be a UPD student.

Discussion

Before UP

Before being part of the UP community, my informants’ disposition of the university mostly came from their parents and relatives. They all agree that being part of UP is an honor and a privilege. A number of my informants, state that being in UP is a responsibility. It is likened to an obligation that has to be fulfilled such as “continuing the tradition” of the family, which is composed of UP graduates. For some students who are the first to become UP students in the family, they also feel the burden of “making it good” in UP since they suddenly become members of the clan who have to maintain its “impressive” reputation. In the beginning, UPD students welcome this responsibility with pride, however there are times when this “positive” circumstance becomes a

burden for them. Students feel this the most when they are “having a hard time” with managing their academic and non-academic UP life. (value of family)

Being UP

The life of a UPD student is hard. It is typically during difficult times that our values and principles are displayed the clearest and strongest. It is through the experiences of hardships that close communal interpersonal relations are forged and maintained, it is through “sufferings” that we feel the need to belong and identify with something or someone and it is through the collective experience of an anthropological place that we create or contribute to history.

Being a UP student from the perspectives of the UP students themselves center on the aspects of the quality of UP education and the quality UP students. Current UPD students think that UP and UP students belong to these categories of conditions and attributes: Honor and excellence, *Matalino* (intelligent), *May pinaglalaban* (have something to fight for), *Masipag at madiskarte* (hardworking and resourceful), *Astig* (strength in character), Affordability. These perceptions relate to pride towards one’s identity and abilities, love for one’s country and fellowman and awareness of the realities of life.

The UP student is thrust into engaging in different interpersonal interactions. Some of these exchanges may be in the personal level while most are within the context of being a student of a big and daunting academic institution. As the student enters the university she tries to keep and maintain the state and conduct her previous relationships while embarking on establishing new ones. She carries with her values that guided her in how she “participates” in these relations. The internet, an unavoidable technology that is useful in both academic and non-academic settings plays an important role in how UPD students navigate university life, especially when it comes to interpersonal relations. Connectivity, communication and extension of selves are the areas in their day to day activities where the internet has gained access and consequently shaped their dispositions.

The internet has effected change in the way we connect and communicate with each other. One student reveals that he is more comfortable communicating online than offline. He shares that he has two personalities on the internet: one for those who he interacts with in both offline and online social spaces and the other for those he met and communicate online. However, some claim that their relationships do not change because of the internet. The internet for them is an avenue to extend and expand their lives. One student says “*I usually talk to the same people... we just continue what we talk about whether online or offline*”. The internet opened spaces where we exercise our being human. It has consequently created additional existences that may be considered as extensions of the traditional offline lives. Students relay how IMTs have added dimensions to almost all aspects of their lives.

There are three areas of their lives that have been greatly impacted by the internet: self-realization, family and friendship. Due to engaging in the online world, students have come to realize several issues and points about their identities and personhood, especially when they compare their online selves to their offline personalities. Students’ family relations are also impacted by IMT. Especially for those who have permanent addresses in the province, IMTs give them assurance and comfort that they remain connected and can still function as a family despite the barriers of time and distance. UPD students find the internet vital in connecting with family and friends. Through Facebook and Skype, these UP students are able to make possible that their relationships with their loved ones are nurtured. For some, they call this act as maintaining social obligations that extends to their former friends in high school. Technology made it possible for us humans to invent a variety of ways of communicating. The internet produced and continue to produce different avenues for communication and interaction between and among people. Friendship is one of the initial aspects of students’ lives where IMT has permeated. Current students were typically initially introduced to the internet world through gaming and social media.

Internet gaming made students relate to “strangers” as if they are friends and acquaintances since all gamers have the same goals and respect and follow the same “rules of the game”. They share a sense of affinity toward one another even if they do not know much of each other in the face-to-face setting. Friendster, a defunct social network platform, is one of their earliest memories of engaging with IMT. It is also with this aspect their lives that they feel IMT has impacted a lot.

Just like any social space, rules are inevitably, sometimes unintentionally established by those who circulate and create communities in these spaces. Although all rules navigate both offline and online, my informants clarified which spaces these rules are initiated and generated. There are specific online circumstances that necessitate online imperatives, such as listeners’ expectations on feedback, i.e. meanings attached to how you respond online, such as when you do not respond right away means something or when you do not respond at all, etc. Due to the effect of IMTs on our daily activities, we have the tendency to preserve what we are used to and resist change. For instance, a student laments that “*time is lost online*”. This statement may suggest a certain longing for a face-to-face intermingling with loved ones, even those who we are not very close with. It may also refer to not being able to manage time since there are so many online spaces to go to, one tends to forget how much time is already spent in cyberspace. However, all the students I interviewed agree that both online and offline realities have melded. When offline and online spaces intersect the realities of both realms are melded.

Since interpersonal relations have been affected by the presence of internet in the everyday existence of students, students’ perceptions of their own lives are also impacted. Their accounts and outlook on the specific bearing of IMTs, include both positive and negative sentiments. In order for a UP student to survive and succeed UP she/he must be responsible. Responsibility does not only concern academic work but all those that affect and implicate the life of a student while she or he is an undergraduate of the university. This includes those non-academic activities such as organization work and occasions where family and friends are part of. A student explains that somehow it is inevitable to go online because it is part of being a responsible student/classmate since these platforms are needed to complete group projects. For instance, the use of Google Docs where all group members can write and collaborate in real time in composing a group paper. Personal sentiments are also involved in the students’ utilization of and adaptation to IMT. This is inevitable since IMT is implicated and enmeshed in the everyday life of the everyday student users. A student comments that arguments that arise online are more difficult to resolve compared to the face-to-face scenario since it is “less personal” therefore “less sincere”. Apprehension is a specific emotion that is highlighted as a “negative” impression that the internet generates. There are many apprehensions that UP students may have of the internet, such as those that relate to safety and security, on the ability to focus, on health, on distractions, on trade-offs and on discoveries are talked about.

- a. Safety and security – Cyber security is almost everybody’s concern. For most UPD students they worry about false presentation, which mostly transpire on social media.
- b. Focus and attention – The students’ ability to concentrate and stay focused is sometimes compromised by the internet because there seems to be so many things that they must attend to.
- c. Health – Due to the many things that students have to do in the melded offline and online world, sometimes their health is also affected such as inability to concentrate and lack of sleep due to the numerous tasks and interests that they have to take part in.
- d. Distractions – With a variety of stimuli available, students are challenged how to manage their time and resist distractions so they can accomplish the tasks they have to do.

Along with these themes that emerged from the narratives of UP Diliman students about their experience of the internet, several remarks, observations and judgments came out that provide us with a clearer perspective of how the internet affects our existence. A student observes that due to convenience that IMTs give, people are not anymore used to having difficulties in getting things done, “*hindi na sanay mahirapan*” (not anymore used to hardships). Someone affirms this by saying that people want things done easy and fast, “*gusto ng mga tao agad-agad*”

(people want instant gratification) the value of patience is lost. Another imparts that there are less face-to-face “chickahan” (chit-chat) because of too much focus online activities. In relation to impressions on what has become of the attitudes and behaviors of people when they present themselves and interact with one another online, one student expresses dismay by his discovery, “*Marami palang walang kwenta...* (haters and people displaying superiority over other people), “*tuloy, nag-ha-hate na rin ako*” (this makes me hate too). Another student reinforces this feeling by stating, “*Dami pa lang ignoranteng tao!* (there are many ignorant people), “*it has degraded my faith in humanity*” (referring to believers of fake news”.

Conclusion

Moving forward

Examining the narratives of the students, what values are identified that govern and regulate the life of a UP student within the merged online and offline social world? UP students value their selfhood individually and collectively. They have pride in their identity as individuals who navigate both the internet and the physical worlds. They think highly of their schoolmates whom they perceive also adhere to the tenets of honor and excellence and social consciousness; hence, they also view themselves in connection to the UP community they belong to. They are proud to be UP students because they get the best education without having to pay exorbitant tuition fees compared to the other universities in the Philippines. However, they are mostly proud of being a UP student because their parents are proud of them. UP students understand that technology makes one’s life “easier” or more comfortable; however, they are equally aware that there are trade-offs for comfort and convenience, such as the lack of depth of communication they have with loved ones. The internet also affects their social relationships whether favorably or unfavorably. Opinions on the subject matter reveal how students value relationships in the community.

Do these values seem familiar? Do they resemble the values submitted by both IPC and SP? Are there new values that emerged due to the internet? IPC proposed that the ultimate values of Filipinos are social acceptance, economic security and social mobility. It would seem that in this hypermodern online and offline existence, social acceptance is not anymore given importance. Perhaps social acceptance during the time IPC presented these values was contextualized in just “one society”, a single social space where everybody is located in. However, the many varied spaces that the internet generated, provided individuals as many socio-cultural spaces that they can handle. It is true though that IPC’s SIR is still considered essential in living a communal life, but there are circumstances on the internet, especially in social media spaces that offline social rules are bent, even disregarded in cyberspace. Economic security is still considered central amongst students since they associate being in UP with a (financially) “good future”. This idea is of course already implanted to them by their parents even before they became UP students. There is parental influence on their idea of (financial) success. Perhaps this is the reason why students view that having access to internet, which provides them aid in their schoolwork, gives them extra advantage of getting a high grade. Graduating with high grades relates to getting financially stable jobs. On the other hand, the internet opens the doors for creativity and innovation that can also translate to “success”. Social mobility on the other hand can now be achieved in many ways compared to the social conditions during the 60s and 70s. One does not have to be a doctor, a lawyer or an engineer to be successful. Internet innovations gave opportunities for people to gain success in “new” fields, such as information technology and other internet/online based businesses.

How about national identity and nationhood? Has internet technology contributed to their propagation? Since it is apparent that UP students take pride in being part of an institution expressed both in offline and online spaces. This extends from the UP identity to the Filipino

identity. I believe that the internet may have and will continue to function as a venue where discussions on our identities (not a single one anymore) as Filipinos and our nationhood can transpire. Ultimately, these communal socializations will continue to remind us who we are and what have we become as Filipinos.

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TRANSFORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE SECTOR IN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION 4.0 ERA IN INDONESIA

Ahmad Budi Setiawan, Amri Dunan, Bambang Mudjiyanto

The Center of Research and Development of Informatics Application,
Information and Public Communication,
The Agency of Human Resources Research and Development,
Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, Indonesia
(ahma003@kominfo.go.id, dunan@kominfo.go.id, bamb037@kominfo.go.id)

Abstract

The era of the industrial revolution 4.0 has made many significant changes in almost all sectors of the economy. The industrial revolution 4.0 also had an impact on the agricultural sector. The new era brought by the 4.0 industrial revolution is digital agriculture. Digital agriculture relies on sensors, robots, digital maps of water conditions in real time, maps of soil nutrient conditions and pests for fertilizer water applications, and green pesticides. Agricultural Technology 4.0 is an agricultural phase where practices, methods and techniques are based on digital technology, including Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and the internet, where each process is integrated and connected directly with outsiders, through the transmission and communication of data into automation and autonomous systems. The scope of agriculture in the era of the industrial revolution 4.0 is the agricultural value chain. The elements of technology in agriculture 4.0, according to the value chain, among others; bio and gene technology, agricultural technology, food technology and ecommerce for food products and foodstuffs. Changes that occur in agricultural technology that significantly changes the business processes of agriculture raises new opportunities and along with obstacles and challenges in their use. This qualitative study discusses further the transformation and development of the agricultural sector in the era of the industrial revolution 4.0 in Indonesia.

Keywords : Industrial Revolution 4.0, Agricultural, Transformation, Disruption

Introduction

The development of existing technology, can not be denied, has brought many changes in the development of industry in Indonesia. The emergence of the term industry 4.0 is clear evidence that the development of the industry today is inseparable from the development of the technology used. The industrial sector that develops along with technological developments certainly has an impact on a country's economy, and brings people into the digital economy era. The era of the digital economy has been ongoing since the 1980s. During the old digital economy (in the 1980s - early 2000) personal computer (PC) and internet technology was the key to business efficiency and was the beginning of the development of e-commerce.

The transformation that took place in digital technology certainly also brought the old digital economy towards a new digital economy (beginning in the 2000s). The presence of new digital economy is characterized by the presence of mobile technology, unlimited internet access, and the presence of cloud technology (Van Ark, Erumban, Corrado, & Levanon, 2016). Indonesia is a country that has great potential for the development of the digital economy. The results of research conducted by Google and Temasek stated that "The Indonesian internet economy, the largest and

fastest growing in the region, reached \$ 27 billion in 2018 and is poised to grow to \$ 100 billion by 2025." According to the results of the study, one of the things which supports the development of the internet economy in Indonesia is the large number of internet users in Indonesia (Google & TEMASEK, 2018).

Along with the development of the era, technology continues to develop in various sectors including the agricultural sector. Not a few farmers who change direction from conventional farming patterns, then follow the agricultural patterns in accordance with the times. The start-ups in Indonesia saw the problem and were determined to continue to maintain the agricultural industry in Indonesia.

Agricultural Technology 4.0 is an agricultural phase where practices, methods and techniques are based on digital technology, including Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and the internet, where each process is integrated and connected directly with outsiders, through the transmission and communication of data into automation and autonomous systems. Referring to the meaning of the word agriculture, it means that the scope of agriculture in agriculture 4.0 is the agricultural value chain. The elements of technology in agriculture 4.0, according to the value chain, among others; bio and gene technology, agricultural technology, food technology and ecommerce for food products and foodstuffs. The position of ICT and digital in these technological elements is as an integrator, functioning as a messenger and messenger, communicator system and data processing of the activities of each value chain.

The agricultural era 4.0 is an agricultural era where agricultural actors can interact directly with each value chain node, consumers, suppliers, distributors and retailers, where every activity is recorded so that predictions, dosing and tracking can be done, with an automatic control system and can be done with distance far away (Eriyatno & Kolopaking, 2019). The concept of agricultural development that has been developed at this time is the concept of intelligent agriculture, also commonly called smart farming or precision agriculture. This concept refers to the application of ICT in agriculture. The main purpose of implementing the technology is to carry out optimization in the form of increased yields (quality and quantity) and efficient use of available resources.

Problem statement, research questions and objectives

Indonesia, although it is now moving into an industrial country, it cannot be denied that its roots are agricultural countries that depend on agricultural products. Ironically, local farmers in Indonesia get very little support from consumers, traders, or the government. This of course makes farmers difficult and encounters many problems. One of the dilemmas faced by local farmers today is the price that is not balanced with what they get and the lack of exposure so that generally their level of welfare is low and it is difficult to get capital, so many of them are trapped into the practice of bonded labor by loan sharks. For this reason, it is necessary to take a strategic step by establishing a financial institution that can provide business and consumptive funds managed by leaders in the farming community and gain the trust of member farmers. This strategy aims to realize the financing and funding of farming in the activities of protecting and empowering farmers.

Along with the massive development of information and communication technology, the use of technology in the agricultural sector is carried out in the agricultural business process from upstream to downstream. Until the advent of the industrial revolution 4.0, the transformation of agricultural technology replaced almost all the agricultural business processes that had traditionally been carried out. Although many of the conveniences offered by system automation through the presence of the 4.0 industrial revolution, were not necessarily accepted easily by farmers. This study aims to describe the revolution that occurred in the agricultural sector in Indonesia, especially in terms of the use of information technology. Thus, the question in this research is how is the technological transformation and development of the agricultural sector in the era of the Indonesian 4.0 revolution in Indonesia.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Technology Development and Development 4.0

The emergence of digital technology and the internet marked the commencement of the 3.0 Indonesian Revolution. The process of the industrial revolution if examined from the perspective of a British sociologist named David Harvey, is a process of compressing time and space. Space and time are increasingly compressed and increasingly peak in the revolution stage 3.0, namely the digital revolution (Harvey, 2012). Time and space are no longer apart. At the stage of the previous industrial revolution, namely the second revolution (Revolution 2.0), with the presence of machine technology that can create a car (vehicle), making time and distance closer. Revolution 3.0 unites the two. Therefore, the digital era now carries the side of the present (real time).

In addition to bringing the present, the 3.0 industrial revolution changed the pattern of relations and communication of contemporary society. Business practices also inevitably have to change so as not to be swallowed up by the times. However, the third industrial revolution also has a side to watch out for. Technology makes factories and industrial machines prefer machines over humans. Moreover, sophisticated machines have more production capabilities. Consequently, the reduction in human labor is inevitable. In addition, reproduction also has extraordinary power. In just a matter of hours, many products are produced. Very far if done by human power. Then in the 4.0 generation industrial revolution, humans have discovered a new pattern when disruptive technology (disruptive technology) is present so quickly and threatens the existence of incumbent companies. This era is marked by its presence; Internet of Things, Big Data, Artificial Intelligence, Human Machine Interface, Robotic and Sensor Technology, 3D Printing Technology. History has noted that the industrial revolution has claimed many lives with the death of giant corporations.

In a survey conducted by the World Economic Forum (Future of Jobs Survey 2018), it was found that there were 4 (four) technological trends that would dominate the industry in 2018-2022, namely: high-speed mobile internet, artificial intelligence, big data analytics, and cloud technology. The four technologies are believed to influence the development of the company's business. Based on the survey, until 2022, it is estimated that there will be 92% of companies globally that will adopt the use of big data analytics as one of the main technologies. Likewise, a sizable proportion will occur for the use of other technologies along with the Industrial Revolution 4.0, such as; internet of things, machine learning, and cloud computing. The following is a technology trend that the industry will adopt globally until 2022 based on the Future of Jobs Survey 2018 project conducted by the World Economic Forum (Figure 1).

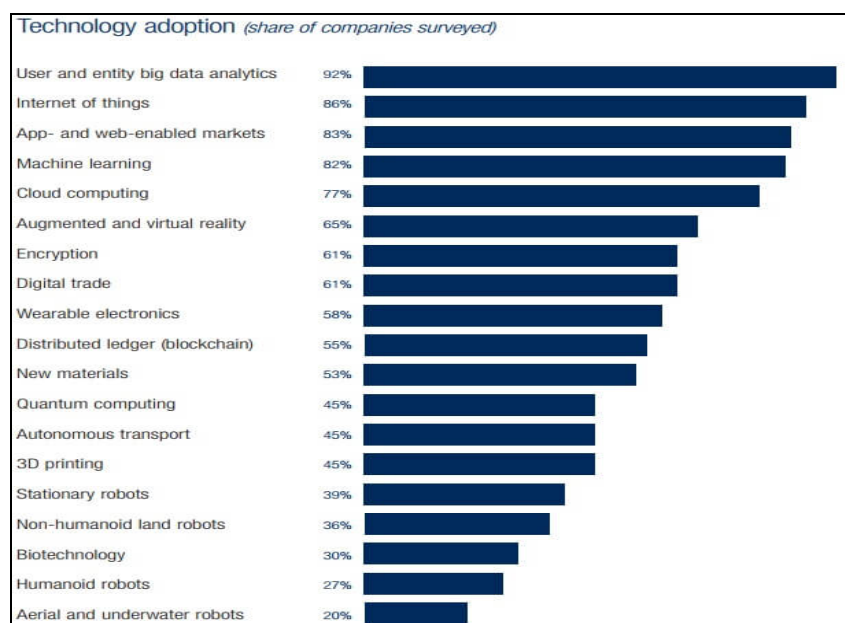


Figure 1. Technology Trends That Industry Will Adopt Until 2022

Source: Future of Jobs Survey 2018, World Economic Forum

Digital Economy

The digital economy was first introduced by Tapscott (Tapscott, 1997). According to him, the digital economy is a social phenomenon that affects the economic system, where the phenomenon has the characteristics of an intelligence space, including information, various access to information instruments, information capacity and information processing. The components of the digital economy that were identified for the first time were the ICT industry, e-commerce activities, digital distribution of goods and services.

Meanwhile, the concept of digital economy according to Zimmerman (Zimmerman, 2000), is a concept that is often used to explain the global impact on the rapid development of information and communication technology that impacts on socio-economic conditions. This concept becomes a view of the interaction between the development of innovation and technological progress that has an impact on macro and micro economics. Sectors affected include goods and services when developing, producing, selling or supplying them depending on the extent to which digital technology can reach.

The digital economy was born and developed as the use of information and communication technology is also increasingly globalized in the world. According to Dalle (2016) the history of the world economy has gone through four eras in human life, namely the era of agricultural society, the era of the machine after the industrial revolution, the era of oil hunting, and the era of multinational corporate capitalism. The four previous economic waves have an exclusive character and can only be reached by certain elite groups. The wave of the digital economy comes with a sloping topography, inclusive, and stretch the quality of opportunity. This characteristic has the concept of competition which is an industrial spirit that is easily elevated by startups who prioritize collaboration and synergy. Because of this, the digital economy is a 'sharing economy' which elevates many small and medium businesses to enter the world business.

In the digital economy, companies offer their services according to certain services that are in accordance with certain specific requests or special offers, offers have been characterized as private and individual or private offers (Bloch et al., 2006). In order for the digital economy to benefit society and businesses, an appropriate regulatory framework is needed so that a competitive and balanced market climate develops ideas for creating products and innovations. The hallmark of the digital economy is doing global trade and cutting through many intermediary chains. It is expected that there is no barrier to entry so as to provide market participation.

In creating a better protection framework for consumers, it is necessary to balance business interests and capacities, especially for small and medium-sized companies. If the regulation is not balanced, it can cause high turn-over for business people, namely the exclusion of business players who lose in competition from circulation. This can also affect the freedom of choice of consumers. Therefore rights and obligations between consumers and business people must be balanced from both parties.

Methodology

This research is a qualitative method research that uses a case study approach. Qualitative research produces and processes data that is descriptive in nature, such as interview transcriptions, field notes, images, video footage and others. In qualitative research it is necessary to emphasize the importance of closeness to people and research situations, so that researchers gain a clear understanding of reality and real life conditions.

While the case study is a comprehensive description and explanation of the aspects of an individual, a group, an organization (community), a program, or a social situation. Case study researchers attempt to examine as much data as possible about the subject under study. In this research, the focus of the study is technological transformation in the era of the industrial revolution 4.0. The case study in this research is how the industrial revolution occurred in the agricultural sector.

A. Research Stages

In this study there are two stages of research, i.e:

1) Research Preparation Phase

Researchers conduct literature studies to understand the substance and explore further research problems. Based on this, guidelines for in-depth interview questions and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) questions were formulated based on problems faced by the subject. These in-depth interview questions and FGDs contain basic questions that will later develop in the discussion.

The researcher then looks for informants that fit the characteristics of the research subjects. For this reason, prior to the interview and FGD, the researcher asked the informant about his preparedness for the interview and discussion. After the subject is willing to be interviewed and discussed, the researcher makes an agreement with the subject regarding the time and place for discussion.

2) Research implementation stage

The researcher makes an agreement with the informant regarding the time and place to conduct interviews and discussions based on the guidelines made. After the interview and discussion are conducted, the researcher transfers the recorded results based on the discussion in written form. Next, the researcher analyzes the data and interprets the data in accordance with the steps outlined in the data analysis method section at the end of this chapter.

B. Data Collection Technique

In this study, 2 (two) data collection techniques were used, i.e :

1) In-depth Interview and Focus Group Discussion

In-depth interviews (in-depth interviews) were conducted by two parties namely communication between the researcher and the informant. While the FGD was conducted by presenting stakeholders and practitioners and academics relevant to the object of study.

2) Observation

Besides discussion, this study also conducted an observation method by observing and recording systematically the elements that appear in a symptom or symptoms in the object of research.

In this research observation is needed to be able to understand the process of discussion and the results of the discussion can be understood in its context. Observations to be carried out are observations of the subject, subject behavior during the interview, subject interactions with the researcher and matters deemed relevant so as to provide additional data on the results of the interview.

Result

Analysis and Findings

At present Indonesia is considered as the country that is least prepared to face a digital future. Based on the results of the 2017 Digital World IMD Ranking, Indonesia ranks 59th out of 63 countries worldwide. There are three assessment indicators in the assessment, namely knowledge, technology, and readiness to face the future. The most alarming assessment comes from indicators of readiness to face the future, meaning that Indonesia's ability to adapt to digital developments is the worst in the world. In addition, in the Asian Digital Transformation Index forum that discusses about digital infrastructure, human resources, and industrial connectivity, from 11 countries in the Asian continent that were given an assessment, Indonesia was in the last position in 2016. Indonesia got a score of 16 from the average score a total of 45.8. Thus, Indonesia is considered far behind other countries in terms of digital transformation.

This is inversely proportional to the enormous potential for digital economic development in Indonesia. Internet users in the country in 2016, according to the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association, amounted to 132.7 million people. That is, 1 out of 2 Indonesians are already

connected to the Internet network. With such a large number, Indonesia is one of the largest Internet users in the world. The growth of Internet users in Indonesia is the largest in the world with an achievement rate of 51% in one year. The growth rate of Internet users is far above the world average of 10%. Not to mention if you look at cellphone ownership, use of social media, middle class growth, majority of young population, urban population, e-commerce growth, and economic growth of the information and communication services sector in Indonesia which is very large and will continue to grow in number . According to 2017 Central Statistics Agency data, Indonesia's gross domestic product (GDP) is controlled by the information and communication sector with a weighting of 9.8%. The development of this sector also outperformed the service sector, trade, mining which has been a priority sector producing GDP for Indonesia (Figure 2).

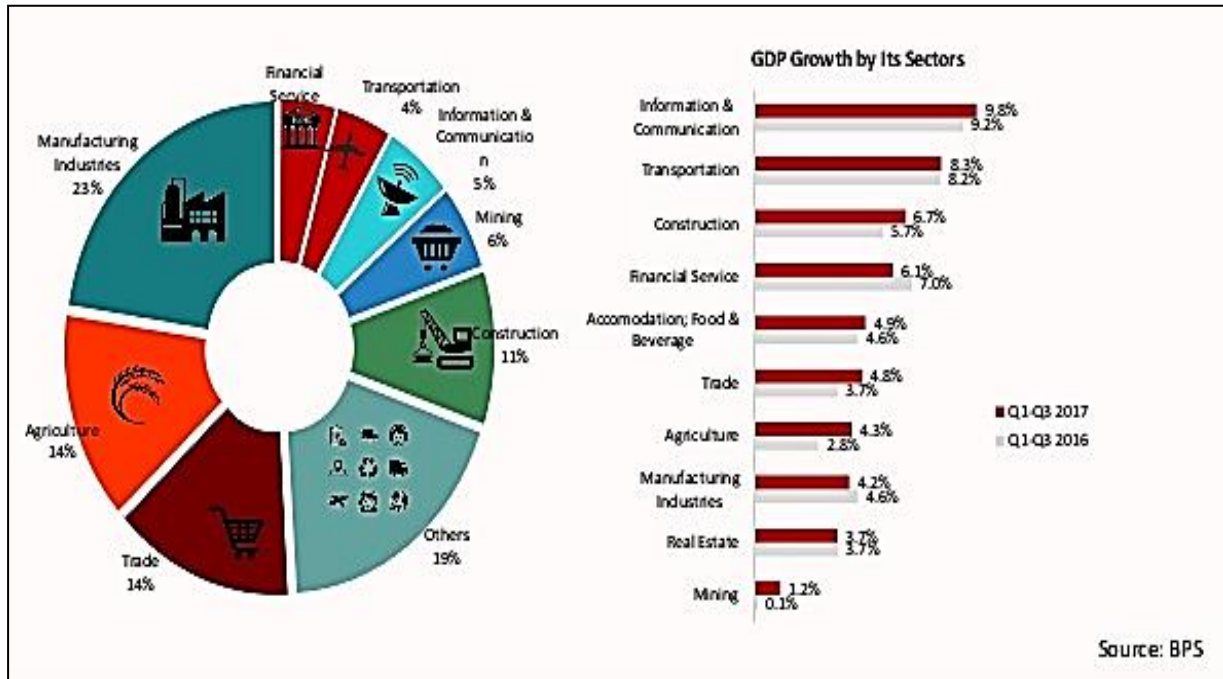


Figure 2. Indonesia's GDP per Sector Year 2017

The above description reinforces the justification that Indonesia needs a strategy towards the development and development of the digital economy. The government needs to be present to support the communication of information technology (ICT) ecosystems to be able to develop productively on the basis of the regional diversity of regions as the driving force of the digital economy. This needs to be done considering that the development of the digital economy is so dynamic that it is difficult to predict. Improvement of infrastructure and digital access in the form of the spread of broadband to the village, doubling the bandwidth to support economic activities, providing free wifi at many points, and making digital infrastructure funding schemes have been implemented very well by Kominfo, but not yet on the inclusiveness of ICT use. The acceleration of the full digital transformation needs to be done through the development of priority sectors that have the greatest leverage.

The Potential of Agro Industry in Indonesia

The determination of the direction of long-term national industrial policy refers to the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) 2005-2025 (Law No. 17 of 2007). Whereas the medium term refers to the 2010-2014 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) and the 2015-2019 RPJMN. Industrial development is also regulated in detail in the 2015-2035 National Industrial

Development Master Plan (RIPIN) because it refers to Law No. 3 of 2014 concerning Industry. The industrial sector plays an important role in encouraging economic growth, poverty alleviation, and job creation to reduce high unemployment. Riedel (1992) revealed that the industrial sector is considered a panacea to overcome the problem of economic development in developing countries. The same thing was stated by Soekartawi (2005) and Saragih and Krisnamurthi (1992) which stated that the development of the agro-industrial sector was important because it would produce products that had added value and had a large market share. However, the implementation of industrialization did not always experience success. For example, industrialization in Indonesia collapsed during the 1998 crisis. This was because the industries that were developing at that time were large industries that did not pay attention to small businesses and were not based on agriculture (Tambunan and Priyanto 2005). Therefore, Indonesia as a country that possesses abundant natural and human resources must develop an industry based on its comparative advantage so that it can become a competitive advantage

The development strategies developed by the government will gradually be adapted to the conditions of structural economic transformation characterized by economic development (Todaro and Smith 2006). The transformation process has taken place in Indonesia, where the agricultural sector which has contributed greatly to GDP has been dominated by the industrial sector. This transformation began to be seen since 1991, in which the contribution of the manufacturing sector was 19.95%, whose value was greater than the contribution of the agricultural sector, which amounted to 18.43%. In 2015, the contribution of the industrial sector reached 21.52% of GDP. The biggest contributor in the industrial sector is the agro-industry sector. Despite this, its contribution to PBD has continued to decline every year since 1999 (BPS, 2016). In 2015, agro-industry remained the dominant subsector in terms of contribution to the industrial sector's GDP, which was 58.62%. Nationally, this sector was able to contribute 12.62% lower than the agricultural sector which contributed 13.08%. The movement of contribution and growth in agro-engineering can be seen in Figure 2.

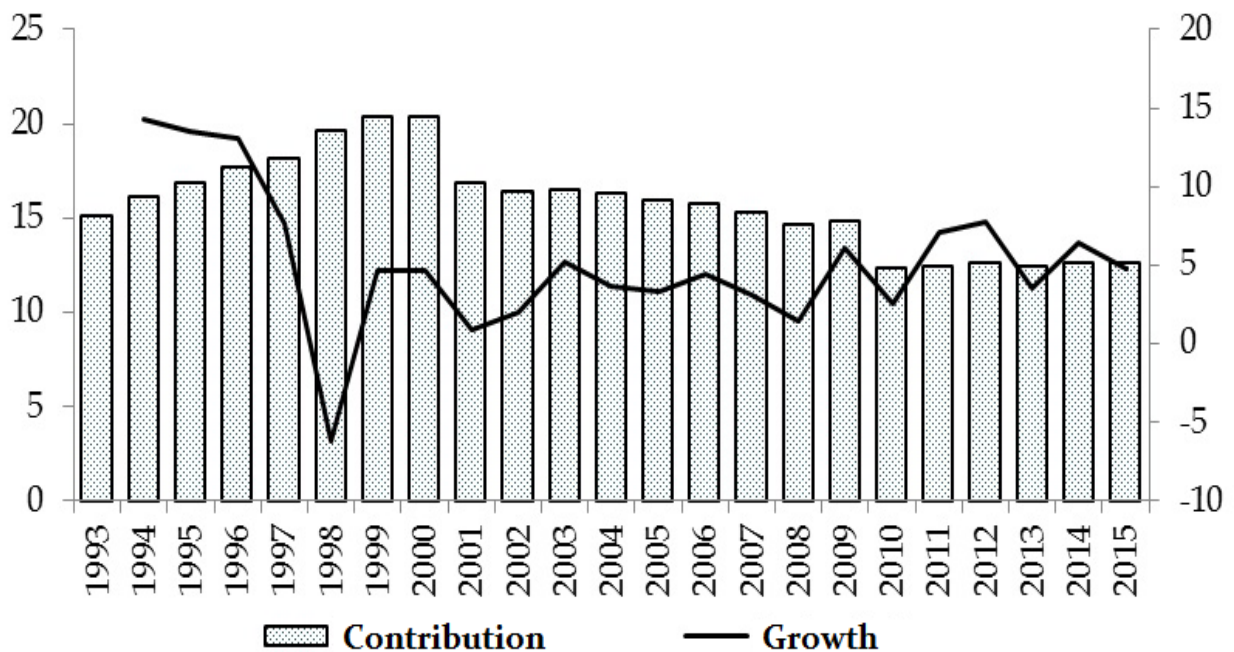


Figure 2. Agro-industry Growth and Contribution to GDP (%)

Based on Figure 2, the contribution of agro-industry consistently decreases every year. The growth of this sector experienced a significant decline in 1998 as a result of the economics crisis and

politics that happened at that time. From 1999 to 2015 the average agro-industry growth of 4.22% was below the national economic growth, which was 5.04%. The decrease in contribution and the relatively small growth of agro-industry must receive special attention from the government to encourage the industry to prevent de-industrialization. The role of the government is to provide a comprehensive set of rules and regulations that provide incentives for the agro-industry and infrastructure business world. These rules can be in the form of tax policies, export duties, labor regulations, permits, land issues, and others, in accordance with agreements with the business world. Special treatment is given so that the business world has a long-term perspective in the construction of a new economic growth center (MP3EI, 2011).

Problems in the Agriculture Sector

Although there are so many opportunities offered by technological advancements to facilitate farmers' business processes from upstream to downstream, there are still many obstacles in the use of technology among farmers. Background, level of knowledge as well as geographical factors are factors that inhibit them from using technology. The following are some of the problems with technology acceptance among farmers:

1. **Human Resources.** In fact, most farmers aged over 40 years and more than 70 percent of farmers in Indonesia have only an elementary school level education or even below. Low formal education causes knowledge in agricultural processing to not develop and monotonous. Farmers only process agriculture as usual without creating the latest innovations for the sake of increasing abundant food yields.
2. **Agricultural Land Conditions in Indonesia.** It is undeniable that population distribution and development in Indonesia have not been fully equitable. This is evidenced by the large number of "sleeping land" or land that has not been exploited by the community in remote areas, while land in a strategic area is in fact a struggle with high prices. Given the skyrocketing land prices, the area of ownership of agricultural land for farmers in Indonesia is on average small. In fact, most farmers can only work on other people's land so the results must be divided in half. In addition, the impact due to conversion of agricultural land to non-agriculture which reaches 150-200 thousand per year also causes farmers to lack land to grow crops.
3. **Technology Is Not Completely Accepted by the Community.** The system of technology transfer from traditional to modern in agricultural management has not been widely accepted by farmers who still prefer to use traditional equipment rather than sophisticated technology equipment. Besides being limited in cost, limited knowledge is also a factor that hinders the pace of technology to expand the agricultural sector at large. This problem is also caused by digital divide between urban and rural communities, where farmers are generally located in rural areas. In developing countries like Indonesia, information technology infrastructure is not evenly distributed throughout the region. Information technology infrastructure, such as access to telecommunications and the internet, can only be reached in urban areas. Thus the adoption of technology can only be largely felt by urban communities. Rural communities including farmers have not been able to feel the impact to the fullest, even in certain areas not touched at all.

Discussion

Agro-Industry 4.0 in Indonesia

Strengthening software technology in particular rests on big data analytics and genetic algorithms. This requires collaboration between knowledge engineers and data science. System 4.0 method is prepared to be able to work serving the interests in the realm of management and decision making processes. System Method 4.0 must avoid system problems with complex mathematical solutions, but can digest complexity with procedures that are easy to understand. Therefore, according to

Eriyatno (2019), the definitive limits of the 4.0 system are as follows: (1) The absorption of knowledge from experts / experts formulated in operational research techniques, such as optimization; (2) Setting the knowledge base as a modeling process that understands operational research techniques; and (3) Utilization of a knowledge base to compile reasonable education, where the use of conceptual program packages can determine what data and observations are made. The concept of executive support system (ESS) on system platform 4.0 can be seen in Figure 3

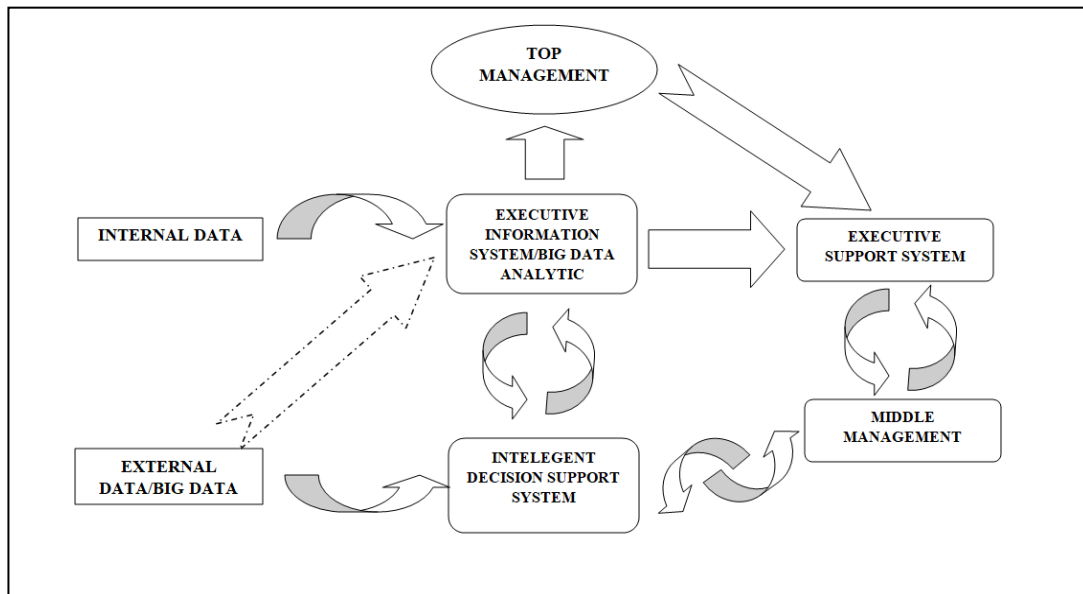


Figure 3. The concept of Executive Support System (ESS) on the System Platform 4.0
(Source: Eriyatno, 2019)

Indonesia, although it is now moving into an industrial country, it cannot be denied that its roots are agricultural countries that depend on agricultural products. Ironically, local farmers in Indonesia get very little support from consumers, traders, or the government. This of course makes farmers difficult and encounters many problems. One of the dilemmas faced by local farmers today is the price that is not balanced with what they get and the lack of exposure so that generally their level of welfare is low and it is difficult to get capital, so many of them are trapped into the practice of bonded labor by loan sharks. For this reason, it is necessary to take a strategic step by establishing a financial institution that can provide business and consumptive funds managed by leaders in the farming community and gain the trust of member farmers. This strategy aims to realize the financing and funding of farming in the activities of protecting and empowering farmers.

Along with the development of the era, technology continues to develop in various sectors including the agricultural sector. Not a few farmers who change direction from conventional farming patterns, then follow the agricultural patterns in accordance with the times. The start-ups in Indonesia saw the problem and were determined to continue to maintain the agricultural industry in Indonesia. Agricultural Technology 4.0 is an agricultural phase where practices, methods and techniques are based on digital technology, including Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and the internet, where each process is integrated and connected directly with outsiders, through the transmission and communication of data into automation and autonomous systems. Referring to the meaning of the word agriculture, it means that the scope of agriculture in agriculture 4.0 is the agricultural value chain. The elements of technology in agriculture 4.0, according to the value chain, among others; bio and gene technology, agricultural technology, food technology and ecommerce for food products and foodstuffs. The position of ICT and digital in these technological elements is as an integrator, functioning as a messenger and messenger, communicator system and data processing of the activities of each value chain. The agricultural era 4.0 is an agricultural era where agricultural actors can interact directly with each value chain node, consumers, suppliers,

distributors and retailers, where every activity is recorded so that predictions, dosing and tracking can be done, with an automatic control system and can be done with distance far. The concept of agricultural development that has been developed at this time is the concept of intelligent agriculture, also commonly called smart farming or precision agriculture. This concept refers to the application of ICT in agriculture. The main purpose of implementing the technology is to carry out optimization in the form of increased yields (quality and quantity) and efficient use of available resources.

Meanwhile, the Agribusiness sector is a sector where e-commerce diffusion tends to be slow. Leroux et al. (2001) point to barriers to the development of B2B electronic markets in the agricultural sector, namely: the complexity and diversity of agricultural products, interpersonal face-to-face contact that has traditionally been important in transactions, company consolidation which reduces the need for coordination of markets fragmented by electronic commerce. Difficulties in developing the electronics market in the agricultural sector are explained by Fritz et al. 2004. In their study, 85 electronics markets in the agricultural sector were identified in Europe and the United States in 2000. They found that after two years of continuing operations in only 25 markets. The rest of the electronics market has changed their business model or closed down. In terms of the type of owner, the electronic market can be divided into private property, consortium property, and public (third party property). Each of these types has a unique ability to attract market participants. It is believed that the factors contributing to the development of electronic public markets are homogeneous products with fragmented goods and market characteristics that require electronic coordination (Kaplan and Sawhney 2000). Compared to the public electronic market (owned by third parties), the private-owned electronic market and the consortium can more easily attract market participants, because large companies can encourage their buyers or suppliers to participate in the electronic market. However, as the case studies of several electronic markets have shown, even the consortium and the private electronics market face many problems and obstacles in their application in companies outside of agribusiness.

4.0 industrial revolution in the agricultural sector was more dominant in Europe. This is caused by the demographic disaster, which is a condition where the number of people of productive age is less than the population of non-productive age so that the population must be replaced with technology. Modern agriculture and agricultural operations work far different from those of a few decades ago, mainly due to technological advancements, including sensors, devices, machinery, and information technology. Agriculture now routinely uses advanced technology such as robots, temperature and humidity sensors, aerial imagery, and GPS technology. This sophisticated device and precision farming and robotic system enables businesses to be more profitable, efficient, safer, and more environmentally friendly. This technology can also be adopted in agricultural processes from upstream to downstream.

Conclusion

Based on the population pyramid, Indonesia will face employment issues for young people. The digital agriculture economy is predicted to accelerate the preparation of young people in the regeneration process of farmers. That is, they are not traditional farmers, but CEOs of agricultural businesses on a digital basis. It is estimated, without doing so, the interest in developing the agricultural sector will disappear and will pose a serious threat to the fulfillment of Indonesia's food in the future. The development of e-commerce on an agricultural basis will indeed be a milestone in increasing the scale of the digital economy. However, at this time the Agricultural Platform is still limited to facilitating operations on the trade side of commodities and agricultural products. Opportunities to improve the economy of digital agriculture will be even more increased if the agriculture sector adopts e-commerce intelligence technology, supply chain mechanisms, and adequate agrological systems.

Development of micro farming financing has the opportunity to increase the scale of the economy of digital agriculture. Things that need to be considered in this case are two things, namely the accessibility and accountability of financing services. Through the development of TekFin, micro agriculture can access funding sources quickly and easily compared to conventional financial institutions. In addition, TekFin in agriculture has better financial reporting accountability.

The development of the digital agricultural economy is related to the application of technology and improving the quality of human resources in the agricultural sector. Therefore, digital economic development recognizes the diversity of progress between regions in Indonesia. Not all regions have the same speed in implementing Technology 4.0, both in terms of production, farmer's work ethic, processing, to marketing agricultural products. Thus, the economic development of digital agriculture needs a social approach, in the form of a variety of digital literacy by region. The implementation of Big Data is needed that functions as a hub for various government institutions related to the agricultural sector and various other parties to work together. This process is important because the agricultural sector requires not only collaboration between ministries and institutions in government institutions, but also requires collaboration with the private sector, non-governmental organizations and institutions that facilitate farmers.

The government can facilitate the real efforts to increase the scale of the economy of digital agriculture through a piloting (action-research) approach. Two areas that need to be focused are the provision of a Platform for financing (TekFin) and logistics for agriculture (e-Logistics). In conducting action research in the field of TekFin it can be in the form of magnification of scale and refinement of the existing Agricultural Platform and achieving success. Whereas action research in the field of e-Logistics is carried out by determining superior products in regions that have successfully developed them and require a good and efficient logistics system. In the context of e-Logistics, Communication and Information is expected to support the collaboration of an agrological system that involves multiple parties. With the scheme of the process to form a chain of partnerships that are parallel and fair in supporting the development of the digital economy, especially agriculture 4.0 in the future.

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UNDERSTANDING RURAL DEVELOPMENT FOR OFFERING AN ALTERNATIVE NOTION OF SUSTAINABILITY: AN EXAMPLE FROM INDONESIA PERSPECTIVE

¹Nursyirwan Effendi and ²Eka Fauzihardani

¹Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIP), Andalas University - Indonesia

²Doctoral Student in Economics, Faculty of Economics, Andalas University - Indonesia
(nursyirwan@soc.unand.ac.id, effendi.pdg@gmail.com, ekafauzi674@gmail.com)

Abstract:

In the current Indonesia, the issue of rural development is mostly back role of the central government post-1999 regional autonomy policy by implementing program of rural development fund (*program dana desa*). Consequently, the central government mostly takes control financially over rural development programs, meanwhile, local developmental initiatives should correspond to government's rule and guidance in using this development fund. This mechanism is relatively not giving local communities to create freely any development programs which are suitable to their own needs and conditions. Seeing as a strategy, local communities creatively then articulate their traditional entrepreneurial culture to fill developmental activities to catch up better-off condition beyond the state-led programs. This culture includes such as operating local rural markets, agricultural products artisan trading, local product crafts and operating small shops. By activating the entrepreneurial culture, it can be regarded as local initiatives in the community development. In addition to it, local communities also use their property rights assets, e.g. social forest, land, rice fields etc., for supporting their *rural* development activities. This paper is based on field research conducting in 2018-2019 in some *rurals* in west Sumatra, Indonesia. The purpose of the paper is to provide a descriptive study on alternative understanding of sustainability, which is commonly concerning with environmental issue, rather to know function of such culture and social assets as capitals for sustaining social development at the *rural* level. It may contribute an enrichment of sustainable development ideas by describing on-going development process in the *rural* context.

Keywords: *rural development, rural development fund, sustainability, entrepreneurial culture, social-cultural assets*

1.0 Introduction

Implementing rural development is a part of national policy and can be understood in various ways. It is about enlarging people's choices in underdeveloped, rural areas to live better despite their circumstances or "backwardness" (Barfield, 1997). It is also considered as a way to not only fight against poverty and to have long-term economic and social development, but also as a determined action by an individual, culture, or society to achieve perfection (Israr, Yaseen and Ahmad, 2017). Rural development is not only concerned with enhancing the quality of life socially, economically, and environmentally for *rurals*, but also using on land-intensive natural resources, e.g. agriculture and forestry with poor community participation and imprudent strategies (Chanie,

Meseret, Yuan Pei, Zhang Lei, Bao Zhon, 2018, pp.79). Essentially, rural development, in either its programmatic implementation or meaning, has the same objective: to improve sustainably communities' quality of life.

A number of scholars have provided relevant and important research on good rural development practices. Rural development can actually increase poverty if the fragmentation and conversion of agricultural land to industry is not done cautiously (McCarthy and Robinson, 2016, p. 5). In this sense, the process of rural development must avoid the risk of land conflict and land dispossession and not prevent sustainability. In a case in Tehran, rural tourism was used as a rural development practice to create more jobs and generate income for the rural inhabitants (Azimi, 2015, pp. 2). Sustainability in this sense is creating employments for *ruralts*. In southeastern Bangladesh, infrastructural facilities were used as the driving force of rural development. They are means to achieving broader development goals (Hossain, Begum and Papadopoulou, 2015, pp. 36). Moreover, they argue that rural development is multifaceted, due to the many factors than can drive the development process. Four main factors include rural market development, accessibility, community development, land resources and relative location (Hossain, Begum and Papadopoulou, 2015, p. 38). In the Indian context, rural development as part of globalization affects and transforms rural communities with an attention to education, technology and culture (Kaur and Dhiman, 2018, p. 39). Culture can be a main barrier to the process of globalization and rural development, yet education and technology can transform such cultural barrier among *ruralts* to accept globalization (Kaur and Dhiman, 2018, p.39). Rural development employs education and technology to empower *ruralts* to participate in the modern world.

Nevertheless, rural development mostly emphasizes the desired results and outcome, but not accentuates resources to practice development process. The questions are how rural development is implemented practically? What resources are capitalized for making development running? Resources for capitalizing rural development are important to be understood, though less studied so far. This article will deal with the issue of resources of rural development with the assumption that these are able to make the development workable and sustainable. On the one hand, in the Indonesian context, rural development has become highly attention to the central government to uplift *rurals* to the welfare level by launching the program of rural development fund (*dana desa*) as financial resource of development since 2015. After three years of the program, the central government has provided the fund up to IDR 187, 65 trillion for 75,436 *rural* units in all over Indonesia. This is a kind of governmental resource. On the other hand, every single *rural* has sustained their resources by utilize local assets and communal properties, such as land, forest, agricultural gardens etc. and other entrepreneurial activities to live on economically and socially.

Based on these two aforementioned resources, rural developmental practices could be understood as a two-sided picture relating to institutional forces of development, which are the government and the community. This article will describe how, on the one side, governmental resources of rural development have implemented a recent national development program, known as the rural development fund (*program dana desa*). On the other side, local community use socio-cultural assets and entrepreneurial activities among *ruralts* to support their rural developmental practices.

This article is aimed at understanding the convergence of “top-down” and “bottom-up” resources and their effect on development practices at the *rural* level. At the end of the article, I try to offer an alternative notion of sustainability implementing in the current rural development in Indonesia. It will strengthen the assumption that community development, although the government takes an important role, but it is indispensable from community culture and indigenous capability (Williams, 2004).

2.0 The Research Project and Methods

This paper is based on the research field of rural development by taking a case in the *rural* of west Sumatra province. Research setting is *nagari* or a local cultural term for a *rural* in the west Sumatra. *Nagari* is basically defined as an autonomous entity of customary community established by a social structure of clans (*suku*), Islamic belief, and its own territoriality. Based on statistical data in 2018, 924 *nagaris* are existing in the province of West Sumatra now (*Biro Pusat Statistik*, 2018). In practice, each *nagari* performs its own local government which is a structurally servient governmental organization under the regency government. Meanwhile, the regency government is a subordination of provincial government that is a representation of the central government. Traditionally, the *nagari* is acknowledged by the Minangkabau as a territorial unit in customary law (*kesatuan masyarakat hukum adat*) (Effendi, 2005: 23). One *nagari* chosen for the research location is *Pandai sikek nagari*.

The *Pandai Sikek nagari* is one of salient pictures *rurals* (*nagari*) in west Sumatra province well-known as the central producer of traditional woven cloths, known as *songket*, and of entrepreneurial culture in which its craftsman and artisan community. *Songket* is one of the traditional cloths of the Minangkabau and also regarded as the brocade family of textiles of the Malay world. It is hand-woven in silk or cotton, and intricately patterned with gold or silver threads. This *nagari* is also one of *rurals* in Indonesia receiving funds from the central government to undergo rural development since 2015.

The *nagari* has 5.391 inhabitants with an area of 2.200 hectares. With its relatively low population density of 247 people per square kilometer, this *nagari* is divided into four sub-*rurals*, or so-called *orong*, namely: Pagu-pagu, Tanjung, Baruah, and Kototinggi. Politically, the *rural* is under a local government, known as *Pemerintahan Nagari*, and is chaired by a *rural* head, or a *wali nagari*. This chair organizes several sub-units of administrative affairs and is supported by the heads of sub-*rurals* (called *Kepala Orong*). To support themselves economically, the major occupation of Pandai Sikek families is agriculture, especially horticulture (69%). The rest are involved with various other occupations including government employees, artisans and craftsman, traders and entrepreneurs (Pandai Sikek Statistical Figure, 2017). Socially, this *rural* has a strong Islamic religious life. Four big mosques (each of them located in a *orong*) hold services for daily prayers. In addition, a few small mosques (*musholla*) are also available for public use. Traditional Islamic schools, known as *Pesantren Haji Miskin*, and three Islamic junior and senior high schools (*Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah*) along with the availability of four Koran houses (*rumah tahfidz*), strengthen the religious atmosphere in the *rural*. Geographically, the *rural* is nicely located in a mountainous highland area surrounded by two mountains: Merapi and Singgalang. The temperature of this highland area and its surroundings are within a comfortable range of about 23°C to 28°C, compared to other West Sumatran lowland areas which are on average between 32°C or 33°C. To reach this *rural* from the capital city of the regency, Batusangkar, requires a 40 km drive. It is located about 88 km from the provincial capital city, Padang, a 3-hour drive by car driving on challenging narrow, winding, mountainous curving roads.

For gaining data, qualitative research methods were chosen. We collected information from 25 selected informants. In-depth interviews were conducted in their own homes or at their places of work. We also observed their daily activities, from morning to evening. In order to gain a general understanding of the empirical social atmosphere of the *nagari*, we often walked around in the *rural* and sometimes stopped off at traditional coffee stalls, called *lapau*. Here, men commonly spend a great deal of time chatting and socializing while enjoying coffee, tea and traditional foods. From the *rural*'s perspective, the *lapau* is a place not only for enjoying food and drink, but also to hear the local rumors and other information circulating around the *rural*. Sometimes we also took part in participant observation of a few of the *rurals*' activities, such as weaving and wood crafting work, agricultural field activities, market place crowds and *rural* meetings.

In order to further understand development practices in the *rural*, we also conducted Focus Group Discussions (FGD) with 22 other selected informants based on the main criteria that they are active participants in various developmental activities in the *rural*. Among the informants were local figures (*tokoh masyarakat*), rural entrepreneurs, customary (*adat*) functionaries, the *nagari* and sub-*nagari* chiefs, heads of affair units of the *nagari* office, and some selected *rurals*.¹



The location of the research

Collected data were documented through various media; field notes, interview transcripts, an recorder as well as a number of photos. Data was analyzed qualitatively based on Creswell's (2003) explanation as well as Hammersley and Atkinson (2007).

Result: Findings and Analysis

Rural Development Meanings from Insider's Perspective

After experiencing the implementation of rural development fund (*dana desa*), a number of the *rurals*' insider perspectives on what rural development means to them nowadays are provided.

Table 1. Rural Development Meanings and Notions Behind It

Meanings	Notions
1. <i>Rurals</i> ' activities for helping establishment of common buildings or facilities for collective purposes.	Physical and action elements
2. Physical and mental buildings; Changing physically and mentally in meeting every community need to create a better life.	Changes for a better life

¹ For the FGD planning, 30 participants were invited, however, only 22 people attended. There were various reasons for their absence. The FGD was conducted in the hall at the *nagari* governmental office.

3.	Building a better <i>rural</i> through community mentality, facilities and economy to create welfare in the future.	Building a better sustainable condition
4.	Releasing or giving freely a piece of owned land for building communal facilities.	Altruism
5.	Building capacity of the <i>rural</i> for increasing potentiality by means of establishing <i>nagari</i> enterprises (<i>Bumnag</i>).	Enterprise for community
6.	Ideally, the <i>nagari</i> should be independent from external financial sources for its own development by maximizing contribution from existing rural entrepreneurs in the <i>rural</i> .	Independency to external source of development
7.	<i>Rural</i> development means for economic building, development of human resources and community mentality, infrastructure, physical building, and partnership.	Alternatives of programs and practices
8.	Creating from nothing, enhancing what already exists and improving its condition.	Creative and Innovative
9.	Maintaining human resources that coincide with the cultural tradition of the <i>rural</i> .	Culture
10.	All kinds of activities which benefit all <i>nagari</i> members.	Beneficial programs
11.	Enhancing quality of life of community by means of livelihood alternatives, education and works.	Quality of life
12.	Any process done to build the many spheres of the <i>nagari</i> , such as facilities, mentality, customary law, religion, characters and economies of community.	Internal and external strengths

Source: Own Data, 2018

Meanings in the table are formulations were taken from informants' statements and rephrased by the researcher.

Notions were derived from the researcher's parsing of the formulations and were triangulated with informants.

Based on those meanings, the community have wide range of understandings on development practices in their own village. They expect development doing from physical projects, building sustainable better condition, creative, beneficial enterprise to innovative programs. In this sense, rural development is no longer a single comprehension among community. An official formulation or a single general meaning of what rural development is does not appear. As a matter of fact, diverse insiders' perspectives on rural development reveal a alternative potential for notion of sustainable rural development practices.

In doing so, community are obviously articulating their traditional social practices and local customs that are significant enough to support many developmental activities in the *rural*. They are:

1. Mutual helps (*gotong royong*).
2. Social fiestas, a local art stage and religious tray art (*salawat dulang*) for collecting endowments.
3. *Rural* meetings and discussions (*musyawarah nagari*) to talk about planning of developmental activities in the *rural*, attended also by Islamic local leaders and youth.
4. Doing voluntarily fund raising activity among *rurals* (*julo-julo*).

5. Collecting alms and charity on religious holidays to self-finance the *rural*.
6. Collecting remittances from migrants of the *rural*.
7. Developing local arts and performances for the sake of maintaining customary laws.

3.0 Government's side of rural development and its regulation

From historical time, *nagari* development has been started with the launch of "back to *nagari*" (*kembali ke nagari*) program since 2000. At that time, it was the period of re-creating *nagari* following the national policy of the regional autonomy in response to the Indonesian democratization movement in 1999 (Benda Beckmann and Benda Beckmann, 2001). The West Sumatra provincial government followed this policy further by producing a regional regulation (*Perda*) no. 9/2000 which defined the *nagari* as an administrative governmental unit. The regulation were revised to No. 2/2007. During that time, rural development was mainly emphasized to fix up local institutions or organizational structures of *nagari* government under the surveillance and authority of the regency government. By doing so, a kind of modernized governmental system was slowly injected into the *nagari* government replacing the previous traditional customary format of the *nagari* system (Effendi, 2005). The principle of separated authorities in the *nagari* government (the executive unit), legislative representative assembly (*BPAN*), and judicial assembly (*KAN*), were also implemented.

Since then, *nagari* development has been dependent on the decisions and financial support of the regency government in which particular funds provided for *nagari* development come from the regency regional development budget (*APBD*). The role of the central government of Indonesia does not work directly with a local *nagari* government, therefore it is the regency government that represents the central government's interests and control over the *nagari*. This situation underwent up to 2015.

Today, after the government regulation (*undang-undang*) no. 6 in 2014 on *rurals* (<http://kemendes.go.id/>), rural development programs were mostly taken over the central government, especially under the rules of the Indonesia ministry of *rural* and transmigration along with the ministry of internal affairs. As a result, the central government provided the allocation of huge fund for all *rurals* to enhance their local development. This fund is called rural development fund (*dana desa*). The first fund was implemented in 2015 in which the central government provided money for 74.093 *rurals*, reaching up to IDR 20.766.200.000,- in all of Indonesia. In 2016, the budget for the funds increased to IDR 46.982.080.000, - given to as many as 74.754 *rurals*. Based on planning for 2017 and 2018, these rural funds were again increased to IDR 60 trillion per year, allocated to around 74.954 *rurals* (Kemenkeu RI, 2018). The central government provides these funds in order to realize the strength of economic capital in the development process at the *rural* level.

In the province of West Sumatra, 880 *nagari* consisting of 126 *desa* (a type of *rural*) administrations and 754 of *nagari* administrations, received the funds. In 2015, IDR 267.003.839.000,- worth of funding was allocated and in 2016 the amount increased to IDR 598.637.609.000,- . This total amount was calculated based on formulas made by the *Kemenkeu* (the Ministry of Finance) of the Republic of Indonesia. Based on these funds, in the year 2015 each *nagari* and *desa* received an average of IDS 600 million of rural funds. However, in 2016, the funds of each *nagari* and *desa* grew to IDR 800 million (BPM Sumbar, 2016). According to the Indonesian Ministry of Finance, the allocation of rural funds to West Sumatran in 2017 is between IDR 720.442.000.000, - and IDR 1.2 billion provided to the 928 *nagari* and *desa*.

The allocation of these funds are, allegedly, imbalanced. The allocation in West Sumatra compared with other neighboring provinces is relatively low. In 2015 West Sumatra (with 5.3 million inhabitants and 880 *nagari* and *desa*) was allocated only IDR 600 billion while the neighboring province of Aceh (with 4 million inhabitants and 6,000 villages) was allocated IDR 5 trillion (BPM Sumbar, 2016).

Notably, funds received by the *nagari* and *desa* are regarded as a significant resource that can finance development goals to achieve better life for communities. However, for *nagari* development, rural funds are still not an optimum way to uplift community welfare.

One informant, a head secretary of Pandai Sikek *nagari* office, said (P, 44):

...the *rural* fund we got from the central government in a way was already actively impacting our planned development programs for the *nagari* even if the program's financial needs were greater than the amount of such *rural* fund... it is okay though...we are able to have regular programs each year...

The amount allocated by the rural funds (~ IDR 600-800 million) when compared to the total population in each *nagari* and *desa* (~ 3,500-20,000 people) prove insufficient. For example, the Pandai Sikek *nagari* infrastructure program aimed to build a *rural* road costing ~ IDR 100 - 200 million per km. The funds alone were not enough to finance the project for the length of entire *rural* (~ 5 to 10 km long). Rural funds are also regarded as insufficiently able to finance development programs that increase community welfare in various other fields (e.g. social, economic, cultural, education, communication, technology, etc.).

The descriptions above indicate that funds are a current orientation of rural development. It is argued that *rural* funds are significantly needed by *nagari* governments; however, their allocated amounts are insufficient for financing all of a community's development needs.

The head of Pandai Sikek *nagari* (Har, 60) said:

In the past, support from the central government was quite low. In 1960s, *rural* development could be achieved through community participation. Some of *villagers* were even giving away part of their properties to the *nagari* for common and collective benefit. The given land was used for building community halls, rural markets, and open fields for community events (such as a football field). As everyone knows, mosques in our *nagari* stand on the property belonging to a particular clan. I am quite sure that the *nagari* development was actually able to be done because social altruism was practiced by the *rurals*. My community has a high social beneficence... I am proud of it.

The Pandai Sikek *nagari* government has received allotments from the rural funds since 2015. Every year the amount of funding is increasing. In 2015 the amount was IDR 600 million, then increased to IDR 700 million. The *nagari* government received IDR 800 million in 2017 and in 2018 that amount increased to IDR 850 million. The *nagari* government should spend the funds on programs in the following spheres according to the ministry of internal affairs (*Kemertian dalam Negeri*) regulation no. 114/2014 about the basic guidance of rural development:

1. Governmental administrative needs.
2. Physical building and infrastructure development.
3. Community empowerment activities.

The Pandai Sikek local government has also set priorities for fixing *rural* roads and official buildings, increasing agriculture production, providing workshops on community development, and supporting religious activities. It should be noted that the fund should be implemented not only for benefiting a single developmental need, such as just for infrastructure or for community empowerment, but also for various needs that can impact local community empowerment.

Based on these facts, it can be argued that rural funds are though already promoted many local development activities, but it is still seen as the central government exercising its control over the *nagari* as *rural* governments follow rules and guidelines for any single rural development program. The funds are explicitly provided, yet their implementations should follow up the governmental rule of game.

4.0 Community's side of rural Development: sustaining Socio-cultural Assets and Entrepreneurial Culture

From the community's perspective, two important aspects of community practices that benefit the atmosphere of rural development, outside of the rural fund program, are socio-cultural assets and activities of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurial culture is regarded as one of the many Minangkabau characteristics as a market society (Kahn, 1993; Effendi, 2005). Social cultural assets in this sense include communal land, customary houses (*rumah adat*), community forests, social organizations, matrilineal kinship structures, and more. Meanwhile, the existing entrepreneurial culture consists of weaving and producing traditional *Songket* cloths, involvement in rural markets, producing local crafts and wood carvings, and the opening up of kiosks or shops for trade.

Socio-cultural Assets. Socio-cultural assets are actually a convergence of communal properties (*harta ulayat*) which belong to collective individuals under social grouping based on lineage or clan. These assets are utilized as sources of development by means of social capital. The role of the matrilineal social structure is an advantage for communities to get together in for daily activities and gives an opportunity to use those assets for income. For example, a piece of communal land, about 800 square meters, belongs to the *Tanjung* clan of Pandai Sikek *nagari* and was rented for IDR 400.000 per year to a local entrepreneur for a 10-year lease. The land was then opened up by the entrepreneur for tourism and was modified into a garden where various fruits, mainly strawberry and dragon fruit, were cultivated. Every weekend, the spot is visited by local tourists, especially students who learn about garden plants, who pick strawberries and enjoy juices and other fruit beverages in the serene atmosphere.

Other social-cultural assets are educational institutions and examples of cultural heritage that are established by communities without claiming any funds or financial support from the local government. Here is a picture of independent social ventures that shows the ability of the community to take advantage of social needs while at the same time activating development practices in different social spheres.

Tabel 2. Existing Socio-Cultural Assets

No.	Name	Activities	Address
1.	Koran House 1 (<i>Rumah Tahfiz Sohibul Quran</i>)	Islamic religious education for children	<i>Jorong Koto Tinggi</i>
2.	Koran House 2 (<i>Rumah Tahfiz Surau Dakwah</i>)	Islamic religious education for children	<i>Jorong Tanjung</i>
3.	Koran House 3 (<i>Rumah Tahfiz Haji Miskin</i>)	Islamic religious education for children	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
4.	House for Collecting alms (<i>Laziz Haji Miskin</i>)	An Institution of searching for collecting and donation from communities	<i>Jorong Koto Tinggi</i>
5.	<i>Haji Miskin Education Foundation (Yayasan Pendidikan Haji Miskin)</i>	Running Islamic Schools at the junior and senior high level	<i>Jorong Koto Tinggi</i>
6.	Customary Religion and Youth Institution (<i>Lembaga Unsur Alim Ulama, Cadiak Pandai, Bundo Kandung, Pemuda Nagari</i>)	<i>Nagari</i> Institution built for all social and cultural elements in the <i>nagari</i>	<i>Kantor Wali Nagari, Sawah Janggi Jorong Tanjung</i>
7.	LPM, BPN, KAN Pandai Sikek	Organizations of governmental institutions	<i>Kantor Wali Nagari, Sawah Janggi Jorong Tanjung</i>

		servicing social, cultural, and judicial community needs	
8.	Islamic traditional boarding school (<i>Pondok Tarbiyah Islamiah</i>)	A special Islamic school with dormitory for students	<i>Jorong Koto Tinggi</i>
9.	Elementary School for Koran <i>Uswatun Hasanah</i>	A special school for reading and understanding Koran at the elementary level	<i>Jorong Koto Tinggi</i>
10.	Islamic Senior High School (<i>MAN</i>)	State Islamic School	<i>Jorong Koto Tinggi</i>
11.	Islamic Traditional Herbal Healing (<i>Bekam Ruqyah</i>)	Servicing healing with Islamic traditional methods	<i>Jorong Koto Tinggi</i>
12.	Islamic Kindergarten <i>Hidayatul Islamiyah</i>	Pre-school education	<i>Jorong Koto Tinggi</i>
13.	Rural Library <i>Bina Ilmu</i>	A library open to the public but privately owned and operated	<i>Jorong Koto Tinggi</i>
14.	<i>Haji Miskin</i> Cemetery	A cemetery preserving the memory of <i>Haji Miskin</i> , a Minangkabau Islamic Hero during the Dutch Colonial Era	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>

Source: Own data, 2018

The table shows the existence of socio-cultural ventures that have been established by the Pandai Sikek *villagers*. They maintain these assets and tend to be self-organized. Based on data from research, the *nagari* government provides no funds to supporting their sustainability, while the government benefits from the flourishing social activities that occur in the *nagari*. A number of *villagers* regard these social assets as a representation of their social welfare in the *nagari* as well as a way of establishing their own social identity.

Entrepreneurial Culture. Entrepreneurial culture in the context of the *nagari*, refers to the existence of entrepreneurial activities that have been passed down from generation to generation as part of daily economic activities and local economic institutions. Typical rural entrepreneurs are family-owned business and rural entrepreneurs who are embedded in social structure (Granovetter, 1992, Rutten, 2001) and they are obviously practiced in the *nagari*. One cultural practice in the rural context that sustains communities economically are entrepreneurial rural activities (Rutten, 2001, 2003). Culturally, such enterprises produce many kinds of products attached to ethnic identity, such as the case of traditional woven cloths (*tenun*), craft engraving, as well as culinary products.

In the broader context of Indonesian ethnic groups, ethnic identity is articulated by attaching its name to many material products, such as Acehnese embroidery, Minangkabau and Palembang traditional Songket, Sumba cloths (*tenun ikat*), Jepara and Bali carvings, Betawi coconut rice (*nasi uduk*), Padang coconut-stewed beef (*rendang*), Palembang fish balls (*mpek-mpek*), etc. (Effendi, 2003). I argue that entrepreneurial culture in Indonesia produced by rural entrepreneurs is closely linked to their ethnic identity.

The community in Pandai Sikek *nagari* practices three main kinds of entrepreneurial activities in the spheres of agriculture, business, and trade. In terms of agricultural activities, they plant horticultural plants such as tomatoes, vegetables, and chilis. In terms of business, they run small and middle scale enterprises that produce traditional woven *Songket* and wood carving (*ukiran*). In terms of exchanging activities, they trade in traditional markets and open up kiosks.

Especially for the traditional woven cloth production, the Pandai Sikek *nagari* is famous throughout Indonesia and other countries like Malaysia and Singapore. These entrepreneurial

activities have long been an iconic symbol in Indonesia – the depiction of a Minangkabau woman weaving a *songket* is printed on the IDR 5000 banknote.



Picture 1. An Indonesian Banknote IDR 5.000 depicts a Pandai Sikek woman weaving a Songket.

By producing this traditional cloth, such entrepreneurship in the *rural* represents also a picture of sustaining cultural heritage. The century old tradition of weaving traditional cloths has been passed down through generations of women and young girls.

An informant (Et, 46) said:

...Since elementary school girls in Pandai Sikek have been learning from their mothers to weave *Songket*. All young girls here in the *rural* can weave. It is a shame if women here cannot weave *Songket*. This skill is a tradition originating from our ancestors, and therefore young girls today practice this skill after returning home from school...

Interestingly, the transfer of this skill is prohibited to people who are not originally from the Pandai Sikek *nagari* or other outsiders. It is a “hidden social rule” in the *nagari* that the skill of weaving traditional cloth is only to be learnt and inherited by Pandai Sikek persons of origin. The traditional activity of learning weaving *Songket* is called *Sari Pati*, and this tradition is still sometimes practiced by communities today. *Sari Pati* refers to a set of various natural objects as requirement for learning weaving that are rice, betel nut, areca nut, and paper money notes (IDR 1.000 in olden days, or IDR 10.000 today) must be provided by each apprentice. As long as the learning undergoes, the objects put under the bench are believed to help the apprentice with the lesson easily and eliminate mistakes, while mitigating eye soreness as a result of staring at yarn strands for hours.

One informant laments (SM, 62):

...for me the tradition [*sari pati*] should be maintained. When I teach my daughter how to weave, I put the *sari pati* under her bench. As you now this tradition has been passed down by our ancestors here in the Pandai Sikek *nagari*. Unfortunately, the tradition is not really carried out on a regular basis nowadays, it is pity, isn't it?....

Songket products are mostly sold inside the *rural* at cloth and souvenirs shops or at special galleries and also outside the *rural* such as at Bukittinggi cloths market located about 10 km from the Pandai Sikek *nagari* and souvenir shops in Padang, the capital city of West Sumatra. At least no less than 50 shops and galleries are open in the *nagari* now and make Pandai Sikek famous

as a central place to sell and buy *Songket*. It is also a tourist destination specifically for national and international tourists who want to buy *Songket* and other hand-made souvenirs.

Songket is quite famous for its shimmering weave and glamorous look. Therefore, it is expensive, costing anywhere from IDR 2.500.000 (about 200\$US) up to IDR 15.000.000 (1000\$US). The price of a piece of *Songket* cloth depends on the weave motif, features, and colors. The more complicated it is, the higher the price.

There is a specific way to weave this traditional cloth. Weavers can work as employees or independently as a professional weaver. As a professional weaver, the salary is based on each piece of cloth woven. The salary for each woven cloth is anywhere from IDR 400.000 to IDR 600.000 and can take as long as one week up to one month to weave.



Picture 2. A Gallery and Souvenir Shop in which *Songkets* are sold.

Along with producing entrepreneurial culture through *Songket* weaving, other members of the *nagari* are busy with various economic activities, including:

1. Planting horticulture such as carrots, chili, cabbage, celery, tomato, and more.



2. Wood carving (*ukiran*) for house decorations and *adat* houses, as well as wood-made household utensils.



Picture 4. One of the Wood Carving Products: A tissue box

3. Opening small shops or kiosks, selling daily food and snacks. In the *rural*, there is a large number of small shops operated by members of the community on a household basis. Small shops and kiosks are opened in a space that is part of their house.
4. The rural market is another local economic institution which functions as a place of trade for the buying and selling of natural products, daily food, and other manufactured goods. The marketplace is open once a week on Sunday. This marketplace is called *pasa Pandai Sikek*.

Table 3. List of Entrepreneurial Activities in the *Pandai Sikek Nagari*

No.	Entrepreneurship	Kind of Business Activities	Address
1.	Nan Sari Galeri	Weaving and <i>songket</i> production and selling	<i>Jl. Guguak, Jorong Baruah</i>
2.	Centre of Horticultural seeds "Pak Iwan"	Greenhouse and seeds development for agricultural plantations	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
3.	Razqa Art	Producing and selling <i>Songket</i> and Minangkabau wood carvings, a Gallery	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
4.	Weaving House "Indah Karya"	Producing and selling woven cloths and <i>songket</i>	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
5.	Credit Bank of <i>Nagari</i> / Center of Money Lending Pandai Sikek	Finance and Money Lending	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
6.	Wood Workshop	Producing and selling wooden household utensils	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
7.	Coffee Shop "Telaga Reski"	Selling food and beverages	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>

8.	Traditional Cloths Gallery "Nan Sari"	Producing and selling woven cloths and <i>songket</i>	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
9.	Cloths production "Satu Karya"	Producing and selling woven cloths and <i>songket</i>	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
10.	Souvenir shop "Pak Datuak"	Souvenir production, workshop and selling	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
11.	House of "Songket and Sulaman"	Producing and selling woven cloths, <i>songket</i> and Souvenir Shop	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
12.	Nella Souvenir Shop	Poducing and selling <i>Songket</i> and Souvenir Shop	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
13.	Khadijah Songket	Producing and selling woven cloths and <i>Songket</i>	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
14.	House of Souvenirs "Lima Saudara"	Selling Souvenirs	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
15.	Workshop of wood carvings "Chan Umar"	Wood carving and production for decoration	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
16.	Gallery "Limpapeh Pandai Sikek"	Producing and selling woven cloths, Songket and Souvenir Shop	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
17.	Sikumbang Songket	Producing and selling woven cloths and songket	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
18.	Pandai Sikek Art	Producing and selling Songket and Souvenir Shop	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
19.	Weaving Cooperation "Pandai Sikek"	Finance and Money lending for producing Songket	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
20.	Tradisional cloths production "Etek Rahma Silungkang Pandai Sikek"	Producing and selling woven cloths and Songket	<i>Jorong Baruah</i>
21.	Wood carving "Tanpa Nama"	Producing Minangkabau wood carvings	<i>Sawah Janggi, Jorong Tanjung</i>
22.	Art and workshop "Rumah Pusako"	Producing and selling woven cloths and Songket	
23.	Wood Production and carving "Saciok Bak Ayam"	Wood carving and decorations, and production of wooden household utensils	<i>Jorong Koto tinggi</i>

Source: Own data, 2018

Based on the above description and taking a look at entrepreneurial activities listed on the table above, such enterprises are already deeply embedded into the social and cultural identity of the communities. As a result, development practices in the *rural* were significantly supported by the already existing entrepreneurial characteristics held by many members of the *Pandai Sikek nagari*. It is argued that development practices of this *rural* can be represented by the income generated from entrepreneurial culture. Such culture may be regarded as local entity for making developmental activities sustainable in the sense of making life for a better condition.

5.0 Discussion: An alternative notion to Rural Development Sustainability

Rural development in the West Sumatran context is regarded as phenomena of government and community interests taking place within the same sphere but in the different sides. The development process is taking place due to stimulation by the governmental program for *rural* funds, nevertheless also benefiting from socio-cultural assets and already existing entrepreneurial culture. Clark, arguing from the anthropological development perspective, regards community development as a space of participation that is sustainably preserved on already existent culture (2002). Development is also a cultural process run by the community itself with variation due to unique cultural and social patterns. Hence, development is not only funds provided by the government, but the need for social and cultural resources in development is also important (Clark, 2002, pp. 123). Even more so, culture is the main asset in development (Dove, 2011). In this sense, we argue that the current concept of rural development has been based more on the utilization of local culture and strengthened by self-employment as a form of participatory process in the community. This helps development become a sustainable social movement that advances the welfare of the community, as opposed to measuring economy alone, such as financial support from the government.

Especially in the case of entrepreneurial culture, which can be argued is a state of innovative undertakings usually associated to the urban industry, but has, however, long been existing even in the rural context. What rural entrepreneurs have accomplished is the creation and exploitation of new economic niches embedded in ethnicity (Carrier, 2005, pp. 366). The most distinguishing characteristic of entrepreneurs is their innovative nature as coined by the Schumpeterian perspective (Nair and Pandey, 2006, pp. 49). Clamp and Alhamis (2010) substantiate Schumpeter's idea that an entrepreneur is a change agent in the economy who either serves new markets or creates new ways of doing things. Referring to this, and put into the case of the *Pandai Sikek nagari*, the picture of entrepreneurial culture can represent rural individuals as sustainable and creative community.

Based on the above description, it is clearly understood that current rural development can be formed in combination of governmental and community resources in order to be sustainable for a long term. As a matter of fact, it is already practiced in the West Sumatran context. From this point, the interplay of government and community is important for the sake of sustainable rural development. Therefore, government intervention through the program of rural development fund is not an external factor that erases local culture and social identity.

6.0 Conclusion

Current rural development practices in Indonesia needs a convergence of actions between the central government and the local community. The rural fund program (*dana desa*) in cooperation with social-cultural assets and entrepreneurial culture can be seen as a kind of rural development model of sustainable practices. These are also the elements for sustainable rural development from authors' perspective point of view. Hence, rural areas are places of dynamic social, cultural, economic and developmental interplay and no longer isolated from external factors that offer support. Rural communities have proven ready and open-minded toward their

changing situations, including the reality of possible dependency on governmental support for their ongoing, sustainable development. Their local culture is however still able to be maintained.

Notes on the Corresponding Author

Nursyirwan Effendi is a lecturer at the Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at Andalas University, Padang, West Sumatra, Indonesia. His research interests include ethnicity, entrepreneurship and rural development.

Author's postal address:

Jurusan Antropologi, FISIP- Universitas Andalas, Kampus Limau Manis Padang, Indonesia
Home address: Jln. Marapalam Raya IX no.12 Padang 25125, Sumatera |Barat Indonesia

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STRENGTHENING ICT AND GOVERNANCE TO ACHIEVE 2030 SDGS: LESSON LEARNT FROM RIDWAN KAMIL AND COMMUNITY INITIATIVE

Sri Sunarti Purwaningsih and Nina Widyawati

Research Center for Society and Culture, Indonesian Institute of Sciences
(nartipurwa@yahoo.com, sris005@lipi.go.id, widyawati11@yahoo.com)

Abstract

Achievement of 2030 SDGs is the commitment of many countries, including South East Asian countries and Indonesia in particular. Indonesia as other South East Asian countries has been doing a great effort to achieve the 2030 SDGs. Among other goals, Goal 9 that related to industry, innovation and infrastructure in which information and communication technologies is an important way to facilitate sustainable development. This is in line with the Industrial Revolution 4.0. Well established Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and governance that is involved local government and civil society. Bandung, West Java Indonesia, is one of the good example of the smart city when it was Ridwan Kamil (RK) as the Mayor. RK, the former mayor of Bandung who used ICT as the tool to improve public services with the use of e-applications. RK also communicate directly with his community members through social media account initiated by a civil society (RK Watch). Interactive activities through ICT, especially social media are able to accelerate public services. Most issues raise on this account concerning to the delay in responding public services related to the target of SDGs namely infrastructure, environment, health and population administration. This paper will discuss some issues on how ICT able to cut bureaucratic line and to accelerate public services; negotiation between lovers and haters in relation to public service priorities; type of public services related to SDG's topic. Data used for this paper drawn from our research collected by using a set of qualitative approach and methods such as indepth interviews and focus group discussions.

Keywords: ICT, governance, SDG's, Ridwan Kamil Watch.

Introduction

Industrial Revolution 4.0 era (4.0 era) has become an inevitability. The government of Indonesia has continued preparing to enter this era. Indonesia has signed the convention of World Summit on Information Society (WSIS). Among others, one of the content of the convention is that in 2015 half of the world population would be connected to the internet. Data of the *Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia* (Internet service provider association) or APJII shows that in 2018, the internet users in Indonesia was 171 million that means 64,8 percent of the total number of Indonesian population has been connected to the internet (CNBC Indonesia). This shows that Indonesia has highly committed in implementing the WSIS's convention. In a meeting in Geneva in 2016, one of the important outcomes of WSIS Forum was that "WSIS Action Lines Supporting Implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals"/ WSIS Action Lines / Sustainable Development Goals Matrix – WSIS Forum 2016 Outcomes. In the tenth anniversary World Summit on Information Society (WSIS) Forum held in Geneva on the 8th – 12th April 2019 a theme that was discussed was "Information and Communication Technology for achieving Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This shows the close relationship between the progress of ICT and the target achievement of SDGs.

The 4.0 era is a continuation of the 3.0 era or often called as the era of automation because its emergence was triggered by machines (computers) that move and think automatically. Meanwhile, the era of 4.0 is a combination of automation technology and cyber technology, therefore in addition to automating data exchange it can easily be done. In this era, downloading and exchanging data

between institutions is carried out through the internet and is done in real time. 4.0 era runs because of the development of the Internet of Things (IoT), which is a machine or smart object that has intelligence to make decisions while Artificial intelligence (AI) is a tool or subject that has the ability as human intelligence. Through this tool communication takes place from machine to machine, data collection, and data transfer. One of the important things in the industrial revolution 4.0 is the ability of fast and reliable data. The presence of smart machines create jobs that usually done by humans is now done by machines or robots. This applies to all business processes in all types of institutions, including bureaucracy, therefore various aspects of human life change.

The development of smart machines is used for various needs including public services. Cities that already use smart machines for public services are called smart cities. Smart cities are cities that use ICTs to provide services both inside and outside the organization to improve the efficiency and quality of decision making. In managing smart cities, infrastructure is needed, namely internet connections, networks and smart devices (one of them is IoT and AI) in governance. According to Martins (2017), one of the objectives of intelligent city is improving the quality of life of its citizens through transparency of government policy.

Bandung is one of the smart cities in Indonesia. Development of smart city in line with some agendas of WSIS Action Line, that are infrastructure developments, improvement of ICT for development, increase access of knowledge, capacity building and application of e-government. E-government is one of the Bandung City government programs that has been running since the 3.0 era in sustaining the running of smart cities. E-government is the implementation of smart governance: the use of ICT in the activities of government organizations while the smart city widen scope for people to be smart, smart environmentally, and also smart branding, smart economy, smart living as well as smart mobility as stated in the smart city wheel (Cohen, 2013). Smart governance is only done by the government while smart city is by the whole community.

In running the smart governance, the city of Bandung has 216 applications and platforms. Several applications related to participation are available for planning, service and monitoring. Through the platform and applications are expected interactivity between government and residents stranded. One application of planning is *e-musrenbang*¹. The presence of application and platforms in the governance arouses the Bandung promoting citizen participation in development since participation is the main aspect in a smart city. Smart governance applied in e-government is a form of relationship of government and society that produced transparency and accountability.

In the city of Bandung, the relationship between the government and the community is not only done through the official application and platform of the city of Bandung. The mayor of Bandung, Ridwan Kamil is a figure who is expert in using social media and also in communicating with his community, especially millennials generations. Ridwan Kamil often socializes his programs through Instagram and Twitter and monitors feedback from the public.

As citizens of smart city, community members individually and communities are actively participate in the realization of smart governance in terms of planning and monitoring government program and in getting the service. One of the communities that runs the function of policy analysis and monitoring is the Ridwan Kamil Watch. The Ridwan Kamil Watch is a group of Facebook with closed membership of about 15,000 members. Activity of the Ridwan Kamil Watch is in the form of e-participation in smart city.

The combination of infrastructure, smart government and smart citizens is expected to strengthen the development agenda that is aspired to improve the benefit of the world's population as stated in the 2030 SDGs. Through e-government applications all levels of society can access information can be involved in the decision making process related to the 17 objectives of the SDGs. One application that can facilitate decision making is budget planning related to basic services especially education and health that can be done through *e-musrenbang* (Hege and Brimond, 2018). So far, NGOs have been very instrumental in encouraging the achievement of 2030 SDGs. Hege and Brimond gave an example of what happened in Sweden where civil society organizations were invited to parliament to participate in the budget debate in parliament. In Bandung, program that

¹ *Musrenbang* (*Musyawarah perencanaan pembangunan*) : forum to provide opportunity for the community to be participate in policy making process

related to health services is *Layad Rawat* and another program of social assistance called *Sabilulungan*.

In the IR 4.0 era, civil society could do a review of budgeting without any invitation of the parliament. ICT facilitation allows civil society to debate virtually. This is done by civil society members of the Facebook community Ridwan Kamil Watch who conduct analysis and monitoring of the budget. This allows all people including the ordinary people can get access to express their aspiration related to the need of development in their area. This condition would not happened in the past because only special invitees, in particular local bureaucrat religious and community leaders who attended to the *musrenbang*. So, this era is more accessible for everyone who is the population of a given city or district to be involved in participatory policy decision making process. This is in line with the principle of SDGs that is 'no one left behind'.

Problem statements, research questions and objectives

The 4.0 era open the opportunity to everyone to participate in any policy making process using the available digital technology. With the use of advance technology to give wider opportunity in expressing their aspiration, it can be predicted that not all people will get the benefit of it. However, there will be a group of people who may not be able to access the technology, which is called digital divide, including women, old people, the poor. The questions that arise are how the government address this problem and how the government interact with the people in his administrative boundary could accept the proposed policy/program? The important of this paper lies on the fact that to achieve the target of 2030 SDGs the government should facilitate his people to get involved though the use of ICT. Therefore, it is important to know how to achieve the target of SDGs in the 4.0 Era especially when the link between the Ict and the achievement of SDGs has already been highlighted by the WSIS forum in 2016. Therefore, it is important to discuss about how the achievement of SDGs target can be accelerated by strengthening the ICT and its governance. In this case, the Bandung City Government apply the use of technology to provide the opportunity for the people because the use of the technology ease people to be involved in the decision making process made by the government so that leave no one behind. However, the use of advance technology need special skills and infrastructure required. Therefore, the policy of using the technology can be challenged by the ability of people to use the internet in accessing the local government policy/program.

The paper is aimed at discussing about the interaction between the City Government, the Mayor of Bandung, and the smart people who are Ridwan Kamil's Instagram and Twitter followers as well as members of Ridwan Kamil Watch, carry out the decision-making process, disseminating the program, analyzing and evaluating an online government program to achieve the target of 2030 SDGs.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), also known as the Global Goals, were adopted by all United Nations Member States in 2015 as a universal call to action to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure that all people enjoy peace and prosperity by 2030 (UN, 2015). SDGs have 17 integrative programs or goals SDGs that link one another where each outcome will related to another so that the socio-economic and environmental development in sustainable way. To achieve the target of SDGs, countries who signed the convention have committed that they have to implement related programs to all people in the country and 'no one left behind'. By doing so, it is expected that in 2030 there would not be anyone who is in the poverty condition, hungry and free from any form of discrimination and violence.

In line with the target of SDGs, Indonesia continues making effort to achieve the target and have a motto of "Change Our world: Agenda for 2030 SDGs". As the other countries concern, in making and implementing the program Indonesia encourage people to be actively participate in the related programs. The formulation of the program has also be developed by including the all actors of development such as government, Civil Society Organization (CSO), private sector, academia and

others. The target of SDGs have to be achieved not only by the central government but also government in all level.

According to the SDGs Center (Bappenas, 2015) there are four pillars in SDGs namely social development pillar, environmental development pillar, economic development pillar and governance and law development pillar. 1) The social development pillar focuses on the fulfillment of human basic need right that high quality, in justice, and equal in order to improve the well-being of all the population. 2) The environmental development pillar focuses the achievement of sustainable environment and natural resources management 3) The economic development pillar focusses on the achievement of high quality of economic growth through sustainable job opportunities and entrepreneur, innovation, inclusive industry, adequate infrastructure, clean and affordable energy and supported the relevant partnership. 4) The governance and law development pillar focusses on the realization of legal certainty and effective, transparent, accountable and participatory governance to create security stability and achieve a state based on law. Sustainable development goals are design to be participatory.

In order to achieve the target goals, it is not only the Government responsibility, but also the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), the private sector, academics, and so on. One important thing in the SDGs is the key principle of 'Leave No One Behind'. Not Leaving One Person is a key principle of the SDGs. With these principles SDGs must at least be able to answer two things, procedural justice, namely the extent to which all parties, especially those who have been left behind, can be involved in the entire development process and substantive justice, namely the extent to which development policies and programs can or are able to answer the problems of citizens, especially the marginalized groups (Bappenas, 2015). The spirit of inclusive development is commitment of the country concern.

The context of SDGs in the Industrial Revolution 4.0 era cannot be separated from the service provider side, namely the government. The most basic aspect from this era is the level of ICT infrastructure availability. Therefore, building a durable infrastructure, support inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation. One targets stated in the goals 9 is that 'Significantly increase access to information and communication technology and strive to provide universal and affordable access to the internet in less developed countries by 2020'. Therefore, it is important to relate between SDGs in the context of IR 4.0 especially when it focusses on Smart Cities.

The subject of this study is the City of Bandung, which is one of the smart cities in Indonesia. Smart city is a concept that was developed since the 2000s. This concept includes the development of urban areas which are integrated with the development of ICT. The use of ICT makes governance efficient and thus improves public services. The implication of improving public services is that the quality of life of people increases and the economy develops in a sustainable manner. To achieve this, Cohen developed 6 dimensions of the smart city called the smart cities wheel consisting of:

- Smart Governance: Enabling supply and demand side policies, Transparency and open the data, ICT and e-government.
- Smart Living: Healthy, Safe, Culturally Vibrant and Happy
- Smart Mobility: Integrated ICT, Prioritized clean and non-motorized options, Mixed-modal access,
- Smart People: Embrace creativity, Inclusive society, 21s Century education
- Smart Economy: Entrepreneurship and innovation, Productivity, Local and Global inter connectedness
- Smart Environment: Green Buildings, Green Energy, Green Urban Planning

The Smart City Wheel chart is as follows:



(Source: Cohen, 2013)

The position as a data provider can be seen from how smart the city government is in governance. The most basic thing in seeing the quality of governance is seeing how public services are delivered through e-government. E-government is the use of ICT in government organizations is in relation to both internal external or organization in order to provide services to the government institution, business and society. The relation is as follows:

- Government to government (G to G): exchange of information between central or central government with local governments.
- Government to Business (G to B): relations with businesses.
- Government to Citizen (G to C): relations with the community.
- Government to Employee (G to E): relations with employees.

(Grondlund 2008 and Indrajit, 2002)

E-government provides many benefits both in terms of service providers and service recipients. These benefits are: a) efficiency in terms of financing; b) promote a positive business climate because competition is fair; c) transparency and accountability in the decision making process; d) improve service; e) information as a means of empowerment for open access to information (Dash and Pani 2016 Elysia, Wihadanto and Sumartono , 2017).

A public service can be well adapted if the recipient of a public service is a smart community. Therefore the active participation of citizens in the decision making process in designing programs, especially budgeting, is crucial. After the program runs analysis and monitoring is required. In the 4.0 era, this can be done through e- participation used for analysis. E-participation can be done if an application or platform is available that allows citizens to participate online. Smart city is a city that listens and meets the needs of its citizens (Macintosh, 2004 in Vrabie and Tirziu, 2016).

The implementation of Smart city is line with some goals of the Sustainable development goals (SDGs). Indonesia, is one the countries who ratified the convention to achieve SDGs by 2030s as declared on the 25th September 2015, in the same time with the event of United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) the UN Office, New York, Unites State of America. The SDGs consist of 17 goals and 169 targets. The objective and targets of SDGs is the inclusive and multi-dimensional sustainable development goals in which the icon is 'leave no one behind'. (Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional/ Bappenas).

Methodology

The data used for this paper mainly taken from the study conducted in Bandung City in April 2015 with the use of qualitative approach. Primary data drawn from in-depth interviews with several key informants including Ridwan Kamil followers and Ridwan Kamil watch admin. In addition, the study also use the secondary data taken from the application and platform related to e-government and personal accounts Bandung Ridwan Kamil.

Result

Analysis and Findings

Bandung City Government As a Service Provider

Bandung city is one of the metropolitan cities in Indonesia which administratively under the West Java Province. Data from the Local Berau of Statistic show that in 2017 the total number of population in the city was 2.497.938 people (bandungkota.bps.go.id). Since being elected as a mayor in 2013 Ridwan Kamil began building ICT infrastructure as a basis for developing smart cities including expanding broadband services, installing 10,000 free wifi access points in various public areas. The development of ICT infrastructure in the city of Bandung is the foundation in creating an information society. This is in line with WSIS Action Line C2. Infrastructure development is expected to help achieve the SDGs goals 1, 8, 9, 11 (see appendix 1 & 2).

ICT development in Bandung City conducted to prepare the Bandung Smart City program. Bandung City has a population of 40 years of age and under about 60 percent of the total population. The city also has 80 colleges and universities that form as capital for building Bandung smart city. The construction was carried out through 3 stages, namely: 1) Smart city 1.0: digitization, 2) Smart city 2.0: the development of a more interactive and 2-way system for example: system complaints, permits, and 3) Smart City 3.0: development of machine to machine communication system (Tempo, 2017).

Development of smart city which is based on machine-to-machine communication in line with the demands of the industrial revolution 4.0. Smart city development involving government, people and all stakeholders used in the development needs is in line with WSIS Action Line C2. This is expected to have an impact on achieving SDGs goals 1, 3, 5, 10, 16 and 17 (see appendix 1 & 2).

To improve its public services, the Bandung City Government developed an information technology based service system. The purpose of developing this system is to create smart governance. In 2018, the city of Bandung has 216 service applications that have operational status (<http://data.bandung.go.id/dataset>). Based on the assessment of some applications that are operated by city working unit (*Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah/SKPD*) in the city of Bandung as the following:

- Government to government (G to G) : exchange of information between government institutions , (bandung.go.id)
- Government to Business: through online system, civil servant's performance can be monitored, thus their productivity will be easily assessed by the city government. <https://dpmpstsp.bandung.go.id/izin/>. This site is embodiment of smart economy where the city of Bandung can increase the opportunity, productivity, local and global interconnectedness.
- Government to Citizen : *E-Musrenbang* , is an application and social media forum for smart people to channel their aspirations. <https://id-id.facebook.com/pages/category/Community/E-Musrenbang-Kota-Bandung-.1748724562123245/>.
- Website sabilulungan.bandung.go.id is the application for social assistance applicants. Through this application the social assistance process can be monitored by the public concern.
- Layad Rawat dinkes. bandung.go.id is a form of smart living that need to assist people for health support.
- Government to Employee : system performance remuneration information : kinerja.bandung.go.id

From some of these applications there are several applications that have played important roles in achieving the goal of 2030 SDGs. These applications are:

- **Formal Forum for Development Planning Process: E-Musrenbang**

E-Musrenbang is the formal forum to discuss about the development planning proposed by the government to facilitate the active participation of citizens in the decision making process. The program comes with the publication of the Law No. 25 of 2004 on National Development Planning System. The *Musrenbang* is used to develop a strategic plan (5 years) and annual development plan. Village (*desa*) is the bottom government unit to implement the *musrenbang*. Meanwhile, data on development planning which is the result of deliberation at the local level serve as the basis for formulating Village Development Plan (Djohani, 2008).

Since 2017, the Government of Bandung City launched an *e-musrenbang*. The results of the citizens' deliberations are included in the application (Akbar, 2018). Data entry is carried out at the level of neighborhood groups. Then, the data is verified at the village level, whereas validation is done at the district level. When the data is ready, it then submitted to the city level. *E-musrenbang* is usually integrated with e- budgeting (Akbar, 2018). In the city of Bandung the *e-musrenbang* application is connected to the "Bandung Command Center". *E -musrenbang* is assumed to better than the conventional *musrenbang* because it can reduce the face to face meeting. The previous *musrenbang* only attended by the local elite and a segment of people such as women, the old and the poor were usually not invited to the local *musrenbang*. Apart from this, the attendees sometimes could not express their critic directly if there is any dispute. Meanwhile, in the *e - musrenbang* participation of marginalized groups such as women and poor groups is expected to increase. Programs that in line with WSIS Action Line C2 (capacity building). Through capacity building it is expected can accelerate the achievement of SDGs goals 1,2,3,4,5,6,12,13,14,16,17 (see appendix 3).



- **Health Services: Dinkes.bandung.go.id and (@ LayadRawat119**

The City Government of Bandung has a service called Layad Rawat, which is a health service for those whose services are provided at the resident home. This facility is given to residents who have difficulty in reaching health facilities such as hospitals or *puskesmas* (community health center). Constraints to reach the health facilities are generally factors related to the geographic condition despite the economy factor. Layad Rawat an innovative program which was inaugurated Mayor of Bandung on July 26, 2017. This program is line with the WSIS Action line C7.iv (ICT application in e-health) that was expected to accelerate the achievement of SDGs goals 1, 2, 3, 5.17 (see appendix 1&2).

Information about Layad Rawat can be seen through Bandung Health Office website or via Twitter (@ LayadRawat119. From the available information (@ LayadRawat119 for each month almost 2000 incoming calls to 119. The Layad Rawat care services can be categorized in 2:

- planned visits : it is a basic visit for patients who require regular visits (the data of the patients derived from the community health center).
- Un-planned visits are the service based on the request of citizens (AyoBandung.Com, 2019) . Although information about Layad Rawat can be obtained through the website or Twitter platform, but to get services can be done through the call center.

- **Social assistance : <https://sabilulungan.bandung.go.id>**

Sabilungan is a grant aid or social assistance that communities member need to reduce their poverty. This program is line with the SDGs goal number 1, to eradicate poverty. However, because this social assistance is given by the government of Bandung City in the form of cash money, it might prone to corruption. This is indicated by the case of former mayor and the district secretary before Ridwan Kamil who became a suspect in a bribery social assistance (CNN News, December 23 , 2013). In preventing the re-occurrence of this case, Ridwan Kamil created the sabilulungan.bandung.go.id site. Through this site the donation process can be monitored transparently. This social assistance is used for community empowerment in the fields of education, health, and construction of worship places, etc. This program is a manifestation of the Government-Citizen WSIS Action Line C7i (e-government) interaction and is expected to strengthen the achievement of SDGs goals 9, 16, 17 (see appendix 1&2)

- **Informal Forum for Development Planning Process: @ridwankamil and Ridwan Kamil Watch**

Ridwan Kamil is the Mayor of Bandung in 2013-2018. He is an expert in using social media to communicate with his community. Ridwan Kamil created Instagram that has followers for around 11.1 million. He also has Twitter @ridwankamil that has about 3.8 million followers. He make a dialogue with citizens often through his Instastories or life in Instagram. In addition, the social media is also used to socialize various government programs.

Due to the high number of his followers, the socialization of his proposed program has been done successful as it was supported by his huge number of follower. The followers of Ridwal Kamil's Instagram are generally his 'lovers'. Having a modern and innovative city style, Ridwan Kaiml is considered populist by the millennial age groups. Therefore many millennial generation becomes his followers. Sentences that are used for socialization his programs targeted to the millennial generation usually in the form of very popular phrases, for example: "Dispose of the waste of its place, throw garbage on the appropriate place. *Selamat Malam* (good night)" (@ridwankamil, 12 January 2014). When socializing Ridwan Kamil's health program, he used the following formal sentences :

"Residents of Bandung, contact 119 for LAYAD RAWAT services. This is the services of doctors and health workers who come to people's homes.

Only for lower middle class citizens. He uses a philosophy "Humanizing of humans" . (Ridwan Kamil's Facebook, December 10, 2017)

The similar word is used to socialize social assistance programs:

" [Sabilulungan.bandung.go.id](https://sabilulungan.bandung.go.id), the embodiment of a corruption-free government with transparency in the mechanism of grants and social assistance.

With this website, the distribution of funds can be more easily and clearly accounted for. Technology is used for the common good.

Please share to support the socialization of online social assistance". (Ridwan Kamil's Facebook, December 25, 2013)

Despite the benefit of using social media in socializing his programs, however, there are also weaknesses emerges due to the use of mixed function of social media in term of using account Ridwad Kamil as a Mayor of Bandung and Ridwan Kamil as an ordinary person who has account for media to communicate with others.

He used the social media as the Mayor of Bandung to disseminate his proposed programs in order to gain inputs or feedbacks. However, he also posted his personal activities such as selfie photos his immediate family. In his social media, he often called his wife 'love' , or showing intimate photos with his wife. To some netters, it does not really matter about what Ridwan Kamil was posting. In the

contrary, some other netters do not agree for Ridwan Kamil to use the same social media account to post personal activities and formal usage for disseminating programs proposed by Ridwal Kamil as a mayor. This also happened, whenever Ridwan Kamil criticized the community. The criticism was conveyed by Ridwan Kamil as mayor or as a member of the community (ordinary people).



@ Ridwankamil's profile

Ridwan Kamil Watch is a Facebook community whose members is closed. Members of this group (at the time of the field research) was about 15,000 people. One of the requirement to become a member of this community is a citizen of Bandung and he/she must be approved by the Facebook community administrator. The Ridwan Kamil Watch was founded in 2013, shortly after Ridwan Kamil was appointed as the Mayor of Bandung. The aim of the group was to oversee the development of the city of Bandung and the performance of Ridwan Kamil. The founder of this group thought that Ridwan Kamil had the potential to have a higher political career than his current position as a mayor during the study was conducted 2018. This assumption was proven as the time of this research that Ridwan Kamil was running for the position of governor of West Java (Ridwan Kamil is now the Governor of West Java). Ridwan Kamil Watch became bigger than at the time it was established after Ridwan Kamil at his own request to become a member of the group in 2014. Because Ridwan Kamil has many followers, some of his followers are interested in becoming Ridwan Kamil Watch members. It could be said Ridwan Kamil is an endorser of this group. By the end 2018, Ridwan Kamil has been appointed as the governor of West Java Province.

This Ridwad Kamil Watch has a function as a watch dog, therefore its interactive activities is very high. Discussions among member of the groups are very dynamic. Meanwhile, in order to defend from 'haters' about his policies, Ridwan Kamil answered the questions very well and by showing the adequate data. Sometimes defended to the 'haters' but other times he diverted the issues. The purpose of establishing this group actually as a watchdog to evaluate his programs so that the leadership of Ridwan Kamil would be successful in leading the city of Bandung. Ridwan Kamil's political promise was one of the most discussed issues. Because its contents was assumed to be very critical of his policy, Ridwan Kamil Watch members are also considered as 'haters'. The most valuable discussion was around the problem of traffic jams, flooding, the arrangement of street vendors. The issues of health, education and social assistance are also often discussed. For programs that work well, netters sometimes appreciate them. For programs that are considered good such as education and health issues.

The issue of education especially that was criticized by the Watch was the admission of new students in state schools. In 2015 Ridwan Kamil issued its policy that every student has a certificate stated that if she/he poor, she/he cannot be denied to be a student in a public school, his/her national test scores should not be considered. The practice of this policy became misuse by a certain group of people to pretend as a poor people by asking a certificate of being poor from the neighborhood administrators. In some cases, the well-off families got the certificate by bribing the administrators. Consequently, many prospective students could not entered the qualified public school. Finally, this policy was revised by increasing the class capacity so that the school could accept students who passed the school passing grade. As a result of this policy the number of students exceeded the capacity and the learning process was less than optimal. Actually Ridwan

Kamil's intention to help poor groups to enter state schools is very good, unfortunately this policy is misused by the community.

Discussion

- **Problems of Community and System Readiness**

In terms of technology adoption, the Bandung community is quite ready because it is an urban area that has adequate infrastructure. As a student city and its inhabitants are known as creative people, Bandung was also declared as a cyber-city (jabarprov.go.id, 2013). In 2015, Ridwan Kamil as the mayor of Bandung City planned his administrative territory as silicon valley (CNN, 2015). The improvement of ICT infrastructure and the availability of systems (e-government) is not always directly proportional to e-participation. The initial assumption that smart governance provides space for all levels of society including marginalized people to actively participate in program and budget planning and monitoring is not always true. People do not have a substantial ability to analyze program and budgets that are involved in the planning and monitoring program was carried out by NGOs. Other problems can be seen from the system side. Many applications are not ready and the system is fragmented, for example: e-budgeting is separate from e-planning. An informant said that: "from the point of view of governance such an initiative would be wasteful. And not necessarily in accordance with community needs. Because the initiative arises more from the government, not digging from the bottom". Even then, the informant acknowledged that several systems were very positive including online licensing.

If the City Government of Bandung want to achieve the target of 2030 SDGs, the community should be empowered their ability in the use of technology as well as the system needed. What have been done by Bandung City Government and the community initiative @ridwankamil and Ridwan Kamil Watch are the well pioneer in trying to achieve the target of SDGs especially through the improvement of IT infrastructures and system. However, it should be sustainable improved and user friendly so everyone can use it.

- **Problem of Interactivity**

E - *musrenbang* is a good system. However, there are some disadvantages. An informant said that although the *musrenbang* was conducted online, there should still be a face-to-face meeting at the neighborhood and village level. In addition, the results of the meeting should be uploaded to the e-*musrenbang* application. This was intended to give a chance for the public to be able tracing which proposals were deleted and which ones were accepted. Apparently, there was no offline or online activity because the community can only done tracking. Interactivity offline also decreased. E-*musrenbang* put forward transparency but less attention to the importance of interactivity, even - sometimes lessen face-to-face meetings. Even if there was a consensus derived from face-to-face meeting, the nature of the meeting was a formality because community member just upload the proposal. A research conducted by the Initiative Association showed that in some cases, attention or community enthusiasm in *musrenbang* was decreasing, although from the positive side transparency increased (interview 24 April, 2018). The informant explained that this system could be developed to complement the existing internet features. It could also integrate the system with social media so that interactivity and transparency can be done simultaneously. If the existing features can be improved and the interactivity increases, the strategic plan of development can be well formulated. This contribute to the effort of achieving the target of SDGs. This will not leave anyone behind in participatory policy making process.

- **Problem of Generation**

The involvement of civil society as the government partners in organizing e-governance is still mostly done by the X generation and part of the small Y generation who are generally Non-Government Organization (NGO) activists. The method of advocacy has been changed, but the activists remain the same. The way of old-era activists advocated to the government tended to go

down to the community and did community empowerment. In some cases, the old era activists did a protest on the street. On the contrary, in the 4.0 era the pattern of activism changed towards digital activism. In this era, Y and Z generation are very good at playing digital media, especially social media. Unfortunately, these generations rarely do the activity of expressing their aspiration through the social media. Several people in the Y and Z generations have started to express their interest in activists even though is not on political or budgeting problems. The Y generation have their own pattern of activists such as making an application to encourage small and medium enterprises (SMEs). The common people is also less interested in macro issues. The discourse of long-term planning ever been in existence but the response was very inadequate. Realizing this problem, the old generation activists want to bridge the gap with Y generation, however, they have not found a proper solution. Encouragement of Y and Z generation to aware of expressing their aspiration for sustainable development is need.

- **Problem of Democracy in the 4.0 era : Haters Vs Lovers**

The 4.0 Era open opportunity to promote transparency and accountability. But the question of democracy must still be questioned. In the case of Bandung the followers of Ridwan Kamil who were mostly lovers who always defended Ridwan Kamil's policies. It was hard for lovers to accept the criticism directed to Ridwan Kamil. When there were netters who criticized the policy of Ridwan Kamil would be regarded as the haters and they would be bullied. The number of followers can be used as a political power figure. Ridwan Kamil was confident because of his big huge of follower. The expertise of Ridwan Kamil to play social media sometimes weaken the position of community. This can be seen when the netters who criticized are bullied by lovers, unfortunately Ridwan Kamil did not respond it.

The lovers should differentiate between constructive and destructive critics. This is because the aim of critics to the policy is to improve the policy itself. The use of data to criticize was not used to attack personally. As netters, they feel that they have the right to criticize the programs. Destructive critics is generally done without presenting adequate data and it was often associated with the weaknesses of the characters being criticized. According to the informant, letting lovers criticize can be interpreted as undermining millennial contributions in criticizing policy. According to informants, millennial generation should be far more critical because they live in the era of cyberspace. Unfortunately sometimes millennial persecute people who do the critics. The lovers would seek identity of the people who did the critics by googling and after knowing his/her identity then the actor would be persecuted by Ridwan Kamil lovers. In the context of the democratic era, doing criticism or deliver argument is a common activity.

The 4.0 Era provides opportunity to use social media as a channel to express political aspiration in a proper way. If the netters could use wisely so the 4.0 Era give wider opportunity to accelerate the achievement of SDGs targets.

Conclusion

There is a linkage between the use of ICT and the achievement of the 2030 SDGs target. Therefore, one of the Government of Indonesia effort to implement the program-related target of the 2030 SDGs. This effort is relevant as Indonesia also entering the era of 4.0 where automation technology and cyber technology is combined. The combination of the two such as the development of smart machines is used to improve the service for public needs. The use of adequate ICTs especially in improving the efficiency and quality of decision making process. In addition, it also important to improve the quality of life for all people without leaving anyone behind as the key principle of SDGS.

Bandung City Government under Ridwan Kamil who was the Mayor, has committed to help the Indonesian Government in achieving the target of SDGs. Ridwan Kamil has tried to have a breakthrough in increasing community participation in policy making process by providing wider access to use internet in expressing people's aspiration. In the past, a development planning forum called *musrenbang* usually face-to-face meeting, Ridwal Kamil has been succesfull in mobilizing

resources to support his ideas through the use social media (@ridwankamil Tweeter and Ridwan Kamil watch. He has huge number of followers and they became his 'lovers' that continuously support his proposed policy/program. Even so, he also face many 'hatters' who opposed or criticized his ideas. There are four problems that he needs to solve it namely, problems of community and system readiness, problem of interactivity, problem of generation, problem of democracy. If the problem can be solved adequately together with the sustainable improvement of ICT infrastructure and system, it can be expected that the effort will contribute to the acceleration in achieving the 2030 SDGs target.

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Appendix 1

SDGs (With sub-goals) and WSIS Action Lines Matrix

Sustainable Development Goal (Please press ctrl+click to see SGDs)	Relevant WSIS Action Line (Please press ctrl+click to see rationale)
Goal 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere (1.4, 1.5, 1.b)	C1, C2, C3, C4, C5, C7 e-business, C7 e- health, C7 e-agriculture, C7 e-science, C10
Goal 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture (2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.a)	C3, C4, C6, C7 e-business, C7 e-health, C7 e- agriculture, C8, C10
Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages (3.3, 3.7, 3.8, 3.b, 3.d)	C1, C3, C4, C7 e-health, C7 e-agriculture, C10
Goal 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all (4.1, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.7)	C3, C4, C5, C6, C7 e-learning, C7 e- employment, C7 e-agriculture, C7 e-science, C8, C10
Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls (5.5, 5.6, 5.b)	C1, C3, C4, C5, C6, C7 e-business, C7 e- health, C7 e-agriculture, C9, C10
Goal 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all (6.a, 6.b)	C3, C4, C7 e-science, C8
Goal 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all (7.1, 7.a, 7.b)	C3, C5, C7 e-science
Goal 8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all (8.1, 8.2, 8.3, 8.5, 8.9, 8.10)	C2, C3, C5, C6, C7 e-business, C7 e-employment, C7 e-agriculture, C8, C10
Goal 9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation (9.1, 9.3, 9.4, 9.a, 9.c)	C2, C3, C5, C6, C7 e-government, C7 e-business, C7 e-environment, C7 e- agriculture, C9, C10
Goal 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries (10.2, 10.3, 10.c)	C1, C3, C6, C7 e-employment, C10
Goal 11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable (11.3, 11.4, 11.5, 11.6, 11.b)	C2, C3, C5, C6, C7 e-environment, C8, C10
Goal 12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns (12.6, 12.7, 12.8, 12.a, 12.b)	C3, C4, C7 e-employment, C7 e-agriculture, C8, C9, C10

Goal 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts (13.1, 13.2, 13.3, 13.b)	C3, C4, C7 e-environment, C7 e-agriculture, C7 e-science, C10
Goal 14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development (14.a)	C3, C4, C7 e-environment, C7 e-science
Goal 15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss	C3, C7 e-environment, C7 e-science
Goal 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels (16.2, 16.3, 16.5, 16.6, 16.7, 16.10, 16.a, 16.b)	C1, C3, C4, C5, C6, C7 e-government, C9, C10
Goal 17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development (17.6, 17.8, 17.9, 17.11, 17.14, 17.16, 17.17, 17.18, 17.19)	C1, C3, C4, C5, C6, C7 e-government, C7 e-business, C7 e-health, C7 e-employment, C7 e-agriculture, C7 e-science, C10, C11

Appendix 2

WSIS Action Lines	SDGs
C1: The role of governments and all stakeholders in the promotion of ICTs for development	Goal 1, 3.8, 3.d, Goal 5, 10.c, 16.5, 16.6, 16.10, 17.18
C2: Information and communication infrastructure: an essential foundation for the Information Society	1.4, 8.2, 9.1, 9.a, 9.c, 11.5, 11.b
C3: Access to information knowledge	Goal 1, Goal 2, Goal 3, Goal 4, Goal 5, Goal 6, Goal 7, Goal 8, Goal 9, Goal 10, Goal 11, Goal 12, Goal 13, Goal 14, Goal 15, Goal 16, Goal 17
C4: Capacity building	1.b, 2., 3.7, 3.b, 3.d, 4.4, 4.7, 5.5, 5.b, 6.a, 12.7, 12.8, 12.a, 12.b, 13.2, 13.3, 13.b, 14.a, 16.a, 17.9, 17.18
C5: Building confidence and security in the use of ICTs	1.4, 4.1, 4.3, 4.5, 5.b, 7.1, 7.a, 7.b, 8.1, 9.1, 9.c, 11.3, 11.b, 16.2, 17.8
C6: Enabling environment	2.a, 4.4, 5.b, 8.2, 8.3, 9.1, 9.c, 10.3, 11.3, 11.b, 16.3, 16.6, 16.7, 16.10, 16.b, 17.6, 17.14, 17.16
C7 ICT Applications: i. e-government	9.c, 16.6, 16.7, 16.10, 17.8
C7 ICT Applications: ii. e-business	1.4, 2.3, 5.b, 8.3, 8.9, 8.10, 9.3, 17.11
C7 ICT Applications: iii. e-learning	Goal 4
C7 ICT Applications: iv. e-health	1.3, 1.4, 1.5, 2.1, 2.2, Goal 3, 3.3, 3.8, 5.6, 5.b, 17.8, 17.19
C7 ICT Applications: v. e-employment	4.5, 8.5, 10.2, 12.6, 17.9
C7 ICT Applications: vi. e-environment	9.4, 11.6, 11.b, 13.1, 13.3, 13.b, Goal 14, Goal 15
C7 ICT Applications: vii. e-agriculture	1.5, 2.3, 2.4, 2.a, 3.d, Goal 4, 5.5, 8.2, 9.1, 9.c, 12.8, 13.1, 13.3, 17.16, 17.17
C7 ICT Applications: viii. e-science	1.5, 4.7, 6.1, 6.a, 7.a, 13.1, 13.2, 13.3, 14.a, 15.9, 17.6, 17.7
C8: Cultural diversity and identity, linguistic diversity and local content	2., 4.7, 6.b, 8.3, 8.9, 11.4, 12.b
C9: Media	5.b, 9.c, 12.8, 16.10
C10: Ethical dimensions of the Information Society	1.5, 2.3, 3.8, 4.7, 5.1, 8.36, 9.1, 10.2, 10.3, 11.3, 12.8, 13.3, 16.7, 16.10, 17.6, 17.7, 17.8, 17.18, 17.19
C11: International and regional cooperation	17.9, 17.16, 17.17

PRELIMINARY STUDY ON PATTANI'S MAK YONG COMMUNITY IN RAMAN DISTRICT, SOUTHERN THAILAND

Syafiq Faliq Bin Alfian

Hiroshima University
(narutosefa@gmail.com)

Abstract

Mak Yong, recognised by UNESCO as one of the intangible cultural heritage of Malaysia has indeed seen its progress since its revival in the 1970s by some of its prominent artists such as Khatijah Awang of the Sri Temenggung troupe fame. Sadly, although Mak Yong belongs to the region of Kelantan-Pattani, the art form has seen its greater decline in its southern Thailand counterpart. This could be as a result of the political climate aside from the inclination of the local towards Sunni Islamic values that forbid some of its ritualistic elements. This is apparent especially in the neighbouring state of Kelantan where Mak Yong has already been banned to be performed in public since early 1990s, unless it adheres to the Syariah law. However, in the context of the forms' existence in Pattani, despite its resilience towards the test of time, it has not gained as much attention compared to the Kelantan counterpart. Most case studies in the past were based on the Kelantanese group (Sheppard, M.: 1974, Yousof, G-S.: 1976, 1992, Nasuruddin, M. G.: 1995). As such, this paper aims to record a proper preliminary study regarding some basic elements of Mak Yong in the region through one particular community in the district of Raman in Yala Province, Thailand. The data obtained from the interviews will be cross-checked with other relatable studies in the past while some data will be compared to the Kelantanese Mak Yong to create an understanding towards the forms' worldview constructed by its community. It is hoped that through this study, Mak Yong, regardless of its locality; Riau, Kelantan or Pattani, could be seen as a chance to construct a better epistemological view of the Malay northeast culture of the Malay Peninsula that had once peaked in popularity as a form of entertainment.

Keywords: Pattani, Mak Yong, Performing Arts, Traditional, Dance Theatre.

Introduction

In the past, studies conducted on Mak Yong and its community was heavily concentrated in Kelantan, the east coast state of Malaysia. Through the early works by notable scholar such as Mubin Sheppard (1972, 1976), it sparked the interest of other scholars such as Ghulam-Sarwar and Ghouse Nasuruddin to follow suit on the subject and explore its discourses, eventually leading to the recognition of the art as an intangible cultural heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 2005. Since then, the art form is no longer alienated from the minds of the public particularly in the education sector where it has since become one of the important academic curriculum taught at the Akademi Seni dan Warisan Kebangsaan (ASWARA), Universiti Teknologi Mara (UiTM), University of Malaya (UM) and Sultan Idris University of Education (UPSI).

Problem Statement

Unfortunately, due to the political climate of the southern region in Thailand, this Malay heritage is unable to receive such recognition at the national and consequently international level. As a result, its development was then hindered which slowly led to a greater decline among its community. The rise of Pattani's Sunni Islamic values in the consciousness of the southern Thai Malay community also complicates the interaction between the Mak Yong

community and the general public around them. Islam forbids ritualistic practices as it implies the spiritual dependency on another than the one true god, Allah. This is also reflected in the neighbouring state of Kelantan, through the banning of the art form since more than 20 years ago. The recent progress (Abdullah, S. M.: 2019) shows that due to its importance in gaining attraction from local tourism, the state government of Kelantan has granted permission for it to be performed without any ritualistic elements and if it adheres to the Syariah Law such as the cover of Aurah especially for women who perform and the segregation of male and female audience.

Fortunately, despite the local ban and restrictions made in Kelantan, the art form has flourished in other parts of Malaysia especially in the capital state of Kuala Lumpur, since the ban was not implemented. Over the years of public and international interest, recent efforts have been made to gather the artists and researchers alike in a festival of Mak Yong that was held in The Mak Yong Spiritual Dance Heritage Conference in 2011 (Mohamad, Z.: 2012). The importance of this conference was significant towards the appreciation and understanding of the art that has transcended beyond boundaries of nations in Southeast Asia. Among the groups that performed at the conference besides Malaysia were from Riau Island, Indonesia and Pattani, Thailand.

Research Questions and Objectives

What has become of the groups from Southern Thailand since then? This is one of the questions that drove this study as the narrative of Mak Yong in Thailand is rarely heard of in regional studies. For the purpose of this study, one particular community in the Raman district of Yala Province, Thailand was chosen as the fieldwork location. A focal person of this study, Saman Dosormi is the key figure of this community that helps to focus and manage the group. He even set his own house as a cultural hub called 'Kemeng Folk Museum Chalermraja Cultural Center' for any activities not only pertaining to Mak Yong, but other local traditional Malay culture and practices as well such as Wayang Kulit, Menora and Silat.

Methodology

Through Saman Dosormi's network, a total of six artists within the community was interviewed to obtain valuable information pertaining to the livelihood of the community in the area. The information from the interviews was then abstracted and analyzed with some references made to the previous extensive research on the art. Among the information vital to this study are to look at the oral history of senior Mak Yong artists in order to gather new information regarding how the performance was conducted in the past, the passing of knowledge from their predecessors, travel patterns, economic background and main differences between the Pattani and Kelantanese Mak Yong. Using these initial data, we will try to find the connection between Mak Yong and Main Puteri in discussing issues of inheritance and cultural evolution process. For this purpose, we will also add Mak Yong Riau as a case study for comparative study and reference. However, it is important to note that this paper will only serve as a preliminary study on Pattani's Mak Yong and to differentiate it with its Kelantanese counterpart despite having the same historical foundation in the past. Falling under different political identity, each community developed their own unique style of approaching certain aspects of the performance, despite having very similar roots to which we will visit shortly.

The Respondents

The six respondents of this study other than Saman Dosormi are Mok Noh, Che Din, Mok Moh, Che Teh, Mok Timoh and Wori. Besides Wori - who is the new generation of Mak Yong performer, the rest are the seniors in this community between the ages 60 – 80 years old. Che Teh and Che Din are siblings while Mok Moh is Che Din's wife and Mok Timoh is married to Che Teh. Mok Noh is currently the leader of the three Mak Yong groups left in the

area, while the other two are led by Kak We and Che Jenab. In this community, Saman Dosormi is the key member of this community in bridging the old generation with the current one, as he is not only knowledgeable in the local Malay customs and traditions, but also able to speak and read Thai language due to his education background unlike most of the senior members of the community. Through his network, the group is able to perform not only at institutions of higher learning such as in Prince of Songkhla University, but also at official government-related events. Without such connections, the community might resort to shamanistic healing rituals of Main Puteri as a means to earn a living although it could not be said that all members of the community have the knowledge to perform it. Che Din explained that while he desires to do shamanistic healing of bomoh, he could not perform as a Peran in Main Puteri as he said it requires a different set of skills. Mok Noh too expresses the same concern towards this approach as she only inherited the knowledge of playing Pak Yong and Mak Yong's conventions, not Main Puteri.

Usually the key members of the group will discuss the arrangements prior to the event on whom should be included in their next performance. Currently, in the case of Mok Noh, she will first discuss with Saman Dosormi should he receive offers of a slot before reaching out to the rest of the members on their availability. It can be said that a particular Mak Yong group will not have its own permanent members, rather, it is a loose collective of members within a small community in order to achieve its objective of artistic pursuits. In the past, members of this Mak Yong community had participated in a performance either as one or collaborated with other Mak Yong artists and communities in other areas. There are no obligations to each of them in performing only with the group. Most of the time, the network is shared through family connections. Due to the nature of their activity, each member of the community may have separate experience and influences in the course of their performance activities in the past. This is apparent in the case of Che Teh who was once involved in a local Bangsawan show, another form of local traditional theatre. Another example is Wori where he had once traveled to Japan for his Dikir Barat performance. Despite these individual differences, the community sticks true to its traditional roots when performing Mak Yong and adhere to its rules, conventions and traditions.

Results

The Role of Mak Yong in the Community of Raman District

In this community, Mak Yong serves not only as the livelihood of its members but also as a means to connect with their spirituality and healing purposes. Despite having access to public health facilities, the locals believe that some sickness could not be treated via modern medication. In the case of Wori, he once had a fever for a year at the age of 10. Through the introduction of spiritual healing of Main Puteri by his granduncle, the sickness was treated and ever since then, he saw Mak Yong as a way to regenerate his spirituality, as a means to refresh one's soul. It is interesting to see that a similar case was experienced by Mok Timoh as well, where she was healed by Che Teh's sister, Kak We. The healing process serves not only to revitalize spirituality but also as a 'gate' to initiate new members into the community. Both Mok Timoh and Wori come from different generations but the invocation acts of Main Puteri's spiritual healing had opened the path to their inclusion in the community and much later on in Mak Yong's performances. This may be one of the few reasons why Mak Yong is still being practiced until today as it serves not only to spiritually heal the local people but also invoke their interest and believe into the art before eventually becoming part of that network. This cycle of healing-initiation has kept the tradition alive and being practiced despite the friction between the pre-Islamic beliefs and the Islamic tradition being practiced by most of the southern Thai Malay community. Wori noted that the public usually shuns such sickness like 'Angin Mak Yong' and he mentioned that his household too has negative views about the sickness. Despite such criticism, he insisted on performing, as he believes in its benefits.

Other than personal experience, the clash between the two belief systems; Pre-Islamic and Sunni Islamic has been going on for some time in the consciousness of the locals via oral

history. Among the oral history shared on Mak Yong is the connection to a place named Bukit Sekam in Pattani or officially called Ban Sakam in Mayo district of Pattani Province. It is said that the place was once a bustling center of Mak Yong activities in the past. Due to the local Raja that wanted the people of the palace to study Islam and adhere to its values, there were asked to leave the practice of the art and buried all their Mak Yong instruments and costumes at the hill after one final performance. It is said that this final performance lasted for seven days and seven nights. One day, heavy rain fell to the region and the people were afraid that it might cause flooding. In order to stop the rain, they went to Tanjung Mas (Officially: Tanyong Mat) in Ra-Ngae district of Narathiwat Province to perform in order to avoid the sound of the percussion to be heard from afar.

Another narrative shared by Saman Dosormi is on the decline of the seven kingdoms in Pattani during King Rama II in the early nineteenth century. In the past, each territory was governed by a local ruler and had their own Mak Yong group and when it was slowly dissolved, each group returned to the rural villages where they kept their traditions and culture. The pattern and social progression is similar to that of the Kelantanese Mak Yong whereby the Mak Yong of Sri Temenggong village was once supported by the palace and now had lost its elite class support and slowly dissolved and dissipated into the lower class dramatically after World War II.

Our next question at hand is on the perseverance of such a belief system that has its strong hold on the society despite being shunned by some sections of the local demography that believe in the Sunni Islam Sect. Is there a connection between the cycle of healing-initiation of Mak Yong and Main Puteri towards the resistance of strict Sunni Islamic values? Despite the decline in a number of Mak Yong practitioners and groups, the healing rituals of Main Puteri have created a strong defense against the greater rate of decline in Mak Yong practice. Saman Dosormi further explained that while the Mak Yong group in the area are left with three, Main Puteri traditions are still going strong with practitioners still playing for five to seven consecutive nights around two to four locations per month. Other locations that have strong Main Puteri tradition is Sungai Golok, located about 120 km from Raman and is part of the border between Thailand and Kelantan. The members of the community will usually perform at least once in a year at the Kemeng Folk Museum. The differences in economic background are also apparent as they have their own vehicle to move around and making it easier to manage their logistics for any performance. The Raman community however, will need to depend on Saman Dosormi to pick every member for a performance, as they do not have the means to travel long distance. Further investigation is needed to look at the pattern and the cycle of wealth circulation of the economy in the practice of Main Puteri in the rural areas.



Figure 1: Mok Noh, photographed at the Kemeng Folk Museum (2019)

Mak Yong's Artistic Inheritance

Traditionally, Mak Yong in the Raman community was inherited through the extended family system. Often, the parents or grandparents will inherit the skills from their forefathers before passing it on to their child or immediate family. Occasionally such in the case of Wori, he received the knowledge after being healed by participating in the Main Puteri healing ritual. In most cases such as Mok Noh, Che Din, Che Teh and Mok Moh, each person will undergo a few stages in the inheritance. The first and foremost is the nurture stage where most of them follow the family in every performance as they are too small to be left by themselves. Che Din recounts that most of his early childhood is that he lives in a 'panggung' and that Mak Yong has since become second nature to him. While Che Din started his training with musical instruments around the age of 10 years old. Mok Noh on the other hand, started training as a performer around the age of 13 years old before becoming the lead Pak Yong at the age of 15 years old. Despite the early nurture of the art in the family, it seems that there are no obligations for each member to only dedicate himself or herself in Mak Yong as Che Teh also developed his own interest in Bangsawan.

Comparatively, it is interesting to see that Mok Noh and Che Din forged a different path where one specializes in performing as Pak Yong while the other becoming Peran and playing musical instruments. It seems in this early observation that gender plays a vital role in assigning a character for family members. Saman Dosormi and Che Din recalled that in the past, the role of Pak Yong was mostly played by a male lead. This could be due to the social norm at that time whereby having a female lead could invoke a negative social implication such as arousing male attraction irregardless of the marital status of the said lead female. The traveling nature of Mak Yong groups in the past makes it difficult for females to be in the leading role. Mok Noh stated that one of the traditions of the Mak Yong group in the past was that the group would never leave their musical instruments even after the performance has ended in spite of its location. Depending on the location of the performance stage, which could be in the middle of a paddy field or cattleshed, the performers will spend the night and sleep where they kept their instruments.

Che Din and Che Teh recalled a rare example of a female Mak Yong lead back in the day through the encounter with a performer called 'Anak Ular'. Both Che Din and Che Teh explained that this mystery figure could not be identified clearly as she wore a veil that closed her entire face except her eyes. Che Muda who was the leading man of the group at that time wanted to see her with his own eyes as she also performed in the same area but could not due to the veil that she wore. It is believed that she came from Narathiwat and may bear the name 'Mek Jah'. This describes how the female performer's appearance in public, intends to avoid the attraction of the male audience outside of a performance despite the entertainment aspect of this traditional theatre shown to the public.

Unfortunately, even though most senior members of the community dedicated their life to the art, it could not have the continuance in the next generation within their immediate family such as their children or grandchildren. This resulted in the gradual decline of the art in the region. Further study is definitely needed in order to look at the pattern of decline of interest among the senior members' next of kin. Mok Noh, Che Teh and Che Din reflected upon this loss of interest in their children and grandchildren by stating that they are the last of the senior members in the community around the area. It seems that the fate of the art lies within the effort of Saman Dosormi in inheriting the knowledge and continuing the cycle before it will be passed down to the next generation after his.

Analysis and Findings

Differences Between Raman and Kelantanese Mak Yong

Generally, according to Mok Noh, there is not much of a difference between their version of Mak Yong and the Kelantanese version. Although the same could not be said about Riau's Mak Yong, as it seemed strange to Mok Noh who had observed the performance at the

Mak Yong Spiritual Dance Heritage Conference in 2011. Aside from the noticeable language used in the performance that is different from the east coast dialect, the missing Rebab as an instrument in the musical ensemble is another point of deviation. In comparing the Kelantanese and Pattani Mak Yong, Che Din gives a subtle yet important explanation in the conduct of the performance, particularly in the music aspect of the performance. It seems that the Kelantanese Mak Yong adheres to the musical structure played in a performance whereas Pattani's Mak Yong have more freedom to play the music without depending too much on the aspect of time. Their approach in playing music concerns the suitability of the musical melody and the rhythm that accompanies the singers, a technique noted by Che Din as opposite to the western musical structure. Depending on the vocal range and quality of Pak Yong, the musical instruments will compliment to find the perfect harmony between the two.

In the conventional way of music practiced today, it will take a composer to understand the musical notation before finding the perfect balance of harmony between players and singers. In the case of Mak Yong, through familiarity of the melody, the group must find a way to suit each other's range to find a perfect harmony. Conventional music bases its performance on a documented musical notation and will try its best to follow the notation of the performance. Other subtle differences between the Kelantan and Pattani Mak Yong are the character sequence of Peran Muda and Peran Tua's appearance. In Kelantan, the Peran Tua will make the first appearance while the Pattani Mak Yong will have Peran Muda appearing first. Despite having the artistic freedom to improvise, the Kelantanese Mak Yong nevertheless have a material documentation as a point of reference whereas the Pattani Mak Yong depends on the memory of the community members thus susceptible to organic change over the course of generations as in the case with Mak Yong Riau (Pudentia 2010: 5).

Our concern here is to see the perspectives of the Mak Yong community in a performance. Under its terms and conventions, it will lead us to understand how a variety of artistic expressions will lead to the evolution of culture under different social settings. It is interesting to make connections and compare the traditional approaches between the three regional Mak Yong styles, namely in Kelantan, Pattani and Riau, to look at how different communities branch off from its source material and evolve to suit the local context in terms of its performance. Among questions left unanswered is the prominent utilization of the mask in Riau that is credited to the Mak Yong group originating from Kelantan. It is interesting that no Mak Yong of today in Kelantan and Pattani uses a mask in the performance although historical records from the Thailand National Archive (Phongphaibun, Thanasuk & Kaewkhao: 2000, 59) and W.W. Skeat's (1900, 513) show otherwise. Could it be that the decision to abandon the mask in the past has a connection with the oral history told by Saman Dosormi on the act of burying Mak Yong's paraphernalia in Bukit Sekam? Further investigation is needed to verify this and fortunately, the descendant of the Mak Yong Primadonna photographed and stored in the National Archive of Thailand is said to be alive in Khok Pho by the name of Teh Wo.

Discussion

If there is anything that we can learn from this study is that connectivity and cultural settings play an important role in catalyzing the cultural change for traditional theatre. Despite Kelantan and Pattani having subtle differences in approaching performances, due to the constant interaction and similar cultural background between different communities, this led to the similarity in its conventions. However, in the case of Riau, the changes were drastic due to the connectivity between the two regions and a different cultural setting of its surrounding society. It preserved some of the elements in the old style of Mak Yong while evolved in terms of language presented. The lack of continuity especially in the musical ensemble further changed the nuance of the performance as one of the important instruments, the Rebab, is vital in giving the tone and signature characteristic of Mak Yong.

In preserving cultural heritage, the dual role of Mak Yong and Main Puteri is also instrumental in sustaining its cultural influence in the public eye. One may wonder if the migration of the Mak Yong group to Riau also included the Main Puteri group as well. What

would be the evolutionary process for the genre in the region, then? As we have gone through the experience of Pattani's Mak Yong community members, the Main Puteri role does not only serve as a spiritual healing and fulfillment for its members, but also acts as an initiation ceremony and have impactful effects on gaining new members of the community. As been told by the respondent, most of the time their immediate family do not have the interest in continuing their legacy and Mak Yong tradition. Main Puteri compliments this in sustaining the community through its cycle of healing-initiating process among the people. With the frequency of Main Puteri shamanistic activities given by the respondent, it can be said that the process of healing-initiation cycle is still going strong in the community and thus its effect and presence is still felt in the region. The connection between the local economy and access to public health facilities can also affect the culture and is an interesting topic to explore in the future.

Conclusion

From the information gained during this preliminary study in the Raman District, much information has yet to be added in the study of Mak Yong in terms of its social pattern in the community. Although having the Raman Mak Yong community as a primary source of the study, we should not alienate the community from the rest of its rich history including connections to other types of Mak Yong in Kelantan and Riau. The reality is that, despite sharing similar conventions and history in the past, our next task at hand is to determine the process that had occurred leading to its current state and affairs today. While each regional type can be studied separately, only through connecting these different types of regional Mak Yongs can we understand the social and cultural phenomena that had occurred, leading to its current unique interpretations of the same tradition shared in the past. Ultimately, it is in hope that through this study we are able to understand the cultural evolution of the Malay culture in the region.

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MALAYSIAN MUSIC AND SOCIAL COHESION: CONTEMPORARY RESPONSES TO POPULAR PATRIOTIC SONGS FROM THE 1950S-1990S

Shazlin A. Hamzah and Adil Johan

Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
(shazlin@ukm.edu.my, adiljo@ukm.edu.my)

Abstract

Upon its independence in 1957, Malaysia was in the process of becoming a modern nation and therefore required 'modern totems' to bind its society together under the imagined nation-of-intent intended by the government of the day. Music in the form of the national anthem and patriotic songs were and remain essential components of these totems; mobilised by the state to foster a sense of national cohesion and collective identity. These songs are popular and accepted by Malaysian citizens as a part of their national identity and such affinities are supported by the songs' repeated broadcast and consumption on national radio, television and social media platforms. These songs are mostly commissioned by the government for specific campaigns and are thus, authority-defined in their selection and dissemination. Many other popular songs, however, contribute to Malaysia's national identity and they are mutually appreciated across the country regardless of individual differences in ethnicity, class or religion. In a recent study by researchers at the Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA), several focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted in Kuching, Kota Kinabalu and the Klang Valley. The study interviewed informants about their everyday experiences and preferences in consuming popular music. It also sought to determine whether specific popular and patriotic songs, made and circulated within Malaysia from the 1960s to 2000s, could solicit a wide appeal and foster a sense of collective Malaysian identity amongst the informants. Despite the significant amount of research on Malaysian popular music from the 1980s until present-day, there has yet to be a study that considers the responses and attitudes of Malaysian citizens, as music listeners and consumers, toward popular Malaysian patriotic songs. The study finds that unlike initially hypothesised, patriotic songs – instead of commercial popular songs – were actually more popular and wide-reaching in appeal across different professions, ethnicities, religions and geographic locations of Malaysians. Patriotic music provides a means for social cohesion, not via the propagation of dogmatic patriotic content, but through the personal and intimate associations that such songs solicit from individual citizens.

Keywords: *Malaysia, nationalism, patriotic songs, popular music, social cohesion, focus groups*

Introduction

Patriotic music began flourishing as early as the 1930s and continued intensifying in frequency especially at the dawn of the independence of Malaysia in 1957 (Hamzah, 2016; Shazlin A. Hamzah, 2019). This was a trend that continued with such ardour from the 1950s throughout the 1970s from the effort of both the government of the day as well as people from the grassroots. Indeed, an important example of a patriotic song that pioneered this genre was the national anthem "Negaraku". This was a song that had a long history of its own going way back to the Pangkor Treaty in 1874, the exile of Raja Abdullah to Seychelles Island, the visit by Raja Idris to Buckingham Palace at the invitation of Queen Victoria in 1888, and eventually spread across the *Nusantara* (Maritime Southeast Asia) to be performed at various *Bangsawan* until finally, at the instruction of Tunku Abdul Rahman in 1957, to be arranged as the national anthem for what was then the Federation of Malaya (Tan, 1993; Shazlin, 2016; Saidah, 2017; Shazlin, 2018). Much like flags, patriotic songs are consciously used to shape an image of the nation; thus representing and disseminating the country's image of a particular 'nation-of-intent' amidst its diverse ethnic, religious and ideological communities (Shamsul, 1996a, 1996b; Shamsul A. B., 2009).

These songs become popular by sheer virtue of being repeated with tremendous frequency through national radio first (*Radio Malaya*) and by the 1970s, television (*Radio Televisyen Malaysia*) and today through social media platforms. Despite being labelled as potentially banal (Billig, 1995), these songs are symbols that can have a profound impact on millions of people in the country. When combined with sentiments of nationalism, which embody the meaning of a nation, these songs have the ability to inspire and resonate with every individual in a community/nation – not unlike a religious movement. The unified singing of National anthems, during sporting events for example, results in ‘unisonance’ (Bohlman, 2011b), which results in an emotionally overwhelming feeling of collective cohesion. Notably, the chorus of a national song has the capacity to serve as a simulacrum for the nation and this is particularly powerful as it positions the nation on a pedestal in the collective imagination of citizens.

In this paper, we explain the varying affective associations brought about by the dissemination of a national image through particular popular songs and note the existence of a proliferation of various ideological and personal understandings of what that ‘nation’ is, specifically within the context of Malaysia as a post-colonial state. Secondly, we present corroborative findings from focus group discussions conducted in Kuching, Kota Kinabalu and Klang Valley that reveal everyday-defined interpretations of patriotic music from the grassroots of the country. The study finds that unlike initially hypothesised, patriotic songs – instead of commercial popular songs – were actually more popular and wide-reaching in appeal across different professions, ethnicities, religions and geographic locations of Malaysians. However, this is complicated by the fact that patriotic songs are also ‘popular’ in format and modes of dissemination to the public, and individual Malaysians derive a combination of personal affectations as well as collective experiences from such songs.

Problem statement, research questions and objectives

Music is a particularly malleable instrument for shaping a nation’s image. Music, along with its associated icons and modes of dissemination – such as artists, bands, performance spaces, broadcast technologies – can be instrumentalised by authoritative structures or agents to promote a particular understanding or ideology of national identity. Conversely, music is also a cultural product that is consumed *en masse* and is distributed for such consumption via technologies of reproduction and distribution for a monetised and/or nationalised public sphere. However, the experience of listening to music can also be a personal and intimate activity. Therefore, regardless of a song’s initial political or commercial intent, it may resonate with different emotional and sentimental meanings amongst individual or collective groups of listeners.

To that end, we are particularly concerned with how popular music and patriotic music have been received over time by Malaysian citizens who are consumers of music. We set out to ask; does popular music consumed by Malaysians reflect a shared sonic and narrative space for national cohesion amidst cultural and geographical differences? Further, we want to determine the current impact of patriotic pop songs disseminated by the Malaysian government media since the 1970s. Are commercially-produced popular songs more or less effective – more so, *affective* – than such patriotic songs in fostering a sense of national affinity?

To answer these questions, the project researchers conducted focus group discussions on popular music in three urban geographical locations in Malaysia to garner a wide representation of responses: 1) Kuching, 2) Kota Kinabalu and 3) Klang Valley. The limitations in only representing urban areas and select locations are acknowledged. However, it is hoped that this preliminary study may be expanded to be more inclusive of other locations in future studies. The research approach here may also be developed further by other interested students, scholars and institutions to develop deeper insights on Malaysians and popular music.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Nations tautologically possess national and patriotic music, regardless of the conscious awareness their artists, musicians or citizens. National and patriotic music usually express richly layered meanings and evocative metaphors; also providing an ideal archetype for other forms of music

produced within the national context. The malleable qualities of songs render them perfect instruments for shaping a nation's image and by extension, its national identity. Music has the ability to project sonic symbols – apart from visual ones like flags, for example – that can enhance the importance of a nation. In context of a multicultural Malaysia, considerable resources have been invested by the government to canonize particular forms of music suitable that could serve as a platform for national integration. National and patriotic music are also known to acquire their aesthetic and sonic characters from the aesthetic and lyrical ways in which they narrate a nation's history (Bohlman, 2011). The intangible aspects of a nation – such as symbols, emotions, ethnicities – are thus represented with efficacy through national songs or music that express patriotic sentiments.

The post-colonial state like Malaysia however, exists as a complex case of a 'nation'. Epistemologically, terms such as states, nations and nation-states are completely dissimilar and cannot be used interchangeably. This is because the experience of decolonization among independent former colonies are different compared to that of Europe – from where the idea of 'nation' originated. Due to the varying historical trajectories of these countries, we cannot assume that the term 'state' is akin to 'nation'. The conceptual definition of the 'state' is an entity that has a rule of law, a territory and citizenship (Shamsul A. B., 2007; Shamsul A. B. & Sity Daud, 2006). For postcolonial countries, the 'state' is separated from the 'nation', the latter being defined as an imagined community that is comprised of diverging 'nations-of-intent' that represent the ethnic, religious and ideological aspiration of different communities that converge within the same national space (Shamsul, 1996b).

Nations-of-intent for Malaysia have, thus, emerged from a historical context of anti-colonialism from the pre- to post-colonial era. The idea of advancing alternative nations-of-intent than that of the authority-defined one (as outlined by the constitution) has found concrete expressions that seek to demand a political space and voice. The Islamic PAS led state of Kelantan for example, demonstrates a particular nation-of-intent that was opposing the UMNO-Barisan National rule (Shamsul, 1996b), which currently challenges the Pakatan Harapan government. That Malaysia is also a two-tier federation consisting of formerly independent states of Sabah and Sarawak also demonstrates how diverse conceptions of nation may be formed within a shared national space (Shamsul, 2007). This is complicated by the fact that the cultural (and religious) characteristics of *bumiputera* identity are different between West and East Malaysia (Shamsul, 2001). Despite the new government of the country post GE14, it must be remembered that the previous government's nation-of-intent has affectively been carved into the local psyche for over six decades. The level of social cohesion and loyalty of Malaysians to the authority-defined state will always be challenged by globalisation, industrialization and further emerging identities that are not necessarily tied to nationalism. Popular music for example, provides many channels for the consumption and expression of non-nationalist identities that can simultaneously be localised yet responsive to global trends; however mass-mediated markets of music are also intrinsically tied to the unequal power dynamics inherent in global capitalism (Stokes 2004).

Aside from theories about nationalism, this study also draws attention to the intimate sentiments and interactions that occur amongst Malaysians in their daily experiences and associations with popular music. Expanding on conceptual work on cosmopolitan intimacy in the process of nation-making through popular (film) music (Adil 2018), we add to studies on popular music that employ Herzfeld's (2016) theory about cultural intimacy to explain the unique ethnographical aspects of a particular community or national space (Stokes 2010; Stirr 2017). If Stirr's (2017) *Singing Across Divides* can locate the importance of intimacy in bringing together disparate communities in Nepal through music, what are the implications for musical intimacies that can bridge ethnic, religious and social 'divides' in Malaysia? More so, can intimate associations with popular music cut across diverging nations-of-intents within Malaysia? Cultural intimacies in popular music also contribute significantly to the 'social flourishing' of select communities and societies (Hesmondhalgh 2013). While there are a significant amount of studies on Malaysian popular music from the 1960s to 2000s (Chopyak, 1986, 1987; Lockard, 1991, 1995, 1996, 1998; Boyle, 2013; Barendregt, 2014; Zawawi, 2016; Weintraub & Barendregt 2017; Barendregt, Keppy & Schulte Nordholt 2017) none directly explain how such music provides a means for intercultural cohesion amongst Malaysians, nor do they provide clear insights on how apparent divisions in Malaysian

society might be addressed. We suggest here that patriotic songs may provide the means for such cohesion, but not necessarily in the dogmatic or 'top-down' manner with which they are commonly associated. Our study of focus groups reveals that more personal and intimate associations with such songs abound and contribute to such songs' affective potency.

Methodology

Between the months of March and April 2019, a total of 12 focus group discussions (FGD) were carried out in Kuching, Kota Kinabalu and Klang Valley collectively. The study interviewed informants about their everyday experiences and preferences in consuming popular music. The informants were divided into four demographic groups in each location: 1) Youths (ages 19 to 39); 2) Business Owners or Entrepreneurs (any age); 3) Professionals (any age); 4) Arts Practitioners and Musicians (see Table 1). Each group were as small as four members to ten members in size. Where group sizes were below six members, unavoidable circumstances such as last-minute cancellations or no-shows were the cause. As evident in the Table 1 below, organising for focus groups in Klang Valley was more effective as the Klang Valley-based research team was more involved in gathering informants. The focus group interviews were divided into three main sections and they were: 1) Popular Music and National Identity; 2) Accessing and Consuming Popular Music and 3) Listening Session.

This paper draws from data collected from the second part of the Listening Session, which polled informants on their recognition and preference of songs from a selected playlist of Malaysian songs. The songs played are popular patriotic songs that were broadcast on government radio as early as 1960 and as recent as 1998. There were six song samples played in this section, and each song was edited to short 30-second samples that featured key moments of a particular song, such as a chorus, refrain or opening verse.

Table 2 lists the song samples played for the Listening Session. A short sample (highlighting an important moment of the song, such as a chorus, refrain or opening verse) was played and all participants would have to indicate whether a) they recognised the song, and b) they like the song. Then, the FGD members would mention keywords or explain any personal associations and experiences they might have with a particular song. Once all 16 samples were played and responses were collected, the FGD would end.

Table 1: Breakdown of FGD informants by demographic groups

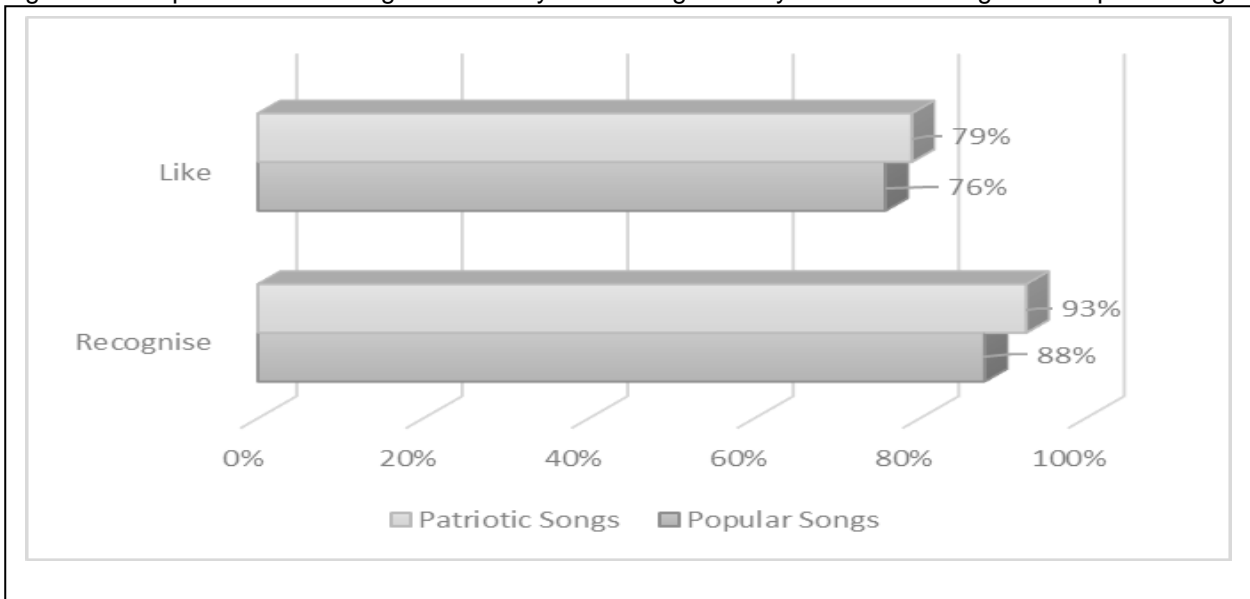
Focus Groups	Kuching	Kota Kinabalu	Klang Valley	Total
1. Youths	6	7	8	21
2. Business/Entrepreneurs	4	7	8	19
3. Professionals	6	5	10	21
4. Arts and Music	6	5	9	20
TOTAL				81

Table 2: Song List for Listening Session (Patriotic song set list)

No.	Song	Composer	Performer	Lyrics	Year
Malaysian Patriotic Songs (1960s to 1990s)					
B1	Tanah Pusaka	Ahmad Merican	Bing Slamet	Wan Ahmad Kamal	1964
B2	31 Ogos	Ahmad C.B.	Sudirman Arshad	Ahmad C.B.	1957
B3	Sejahtera Malaysia	Mohamed Rahmat	Fauziah Ahmad Daud, Rohana Jalil, Elaine Kang, Azlina Aziz.	Mohamed Rahmat	1990
B4	Setia	Ahmad Dassilah Mohd Yusoff	Francissca Peter	Mohamed Rahmat	1987
B5	Standing in the Eyes of the World	David Gates & Wah Idris	Nor Zila Aminuddin (Ella)	Habsah Hassan	1998
B6	Perajurit Tanahair	Saiful Bahri	Jamaluddin Alias	Saiful Bahri	1960

Result

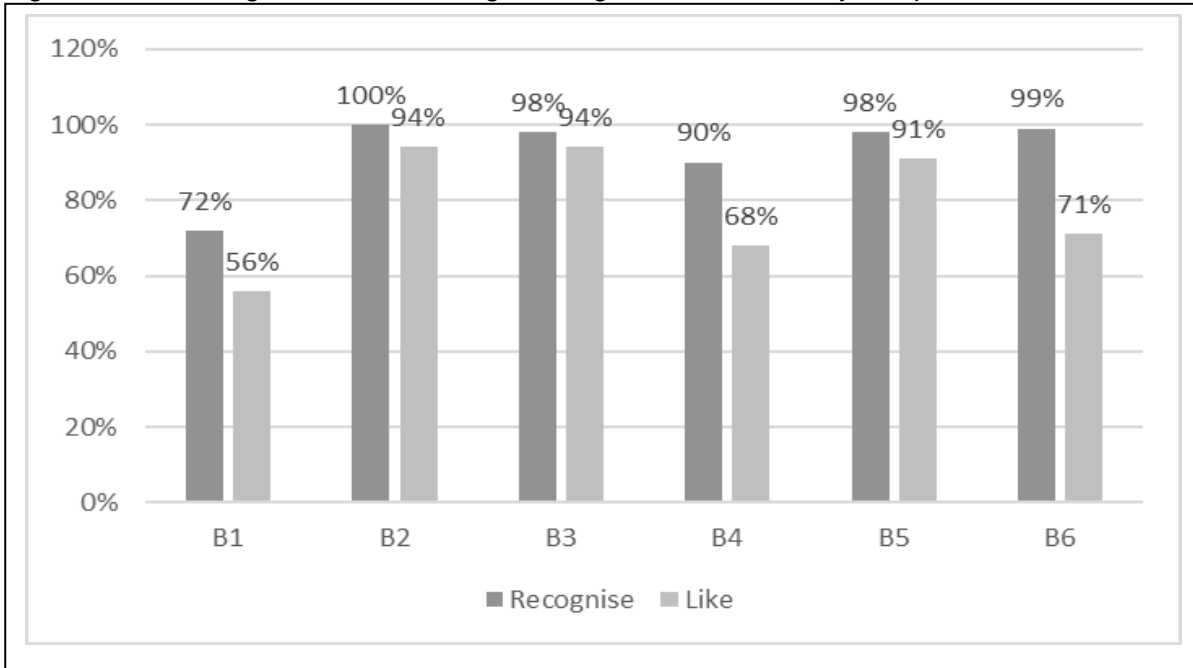
Figure 1: Comparative Percentage of Likability and Recognisability of Patriotic Songs and Popular Songs



In considering the results of polls and responses to patriotic songs, the paper will focus on solely on this aspect of the study. Elsewhere, we have published more details on the study and presented preliminary findings regarding focus group members' responses to Malaysian popular songs as well as their music consumption habits (Adil and Shazlin 2019). In comparing popular songs with patriotic songs as separate playlists, we observe that 93% of patriotic songs were recognised in comparison to 88% of popular songs (Figure 1). Further, 79% of patriotic songs were liked in comparison to 76% of popular songs. These numbers suggest that patriotic songs are, interestingly, more 'popular' than Malaysian pop songs, both in recognisability and likeability, and this finding refutes the hypothesis made at the outset of this study. However, there are factors that may obscure this finding as there are markedly less patriotic songs and popular songs in the listening session due to time constraints for conducting the focus group. It would be useful to conduct a follow-up study where an equal number of patriotic and popular songs are compared.

As illustrated in Figure 2, the most recognised and liked patriotic song is "31 Ogos" (B2) and the third most recognised and liked patriotic song is "Standing in the Eyes of the World" (B5). These songs are actually commercially-produced popular songs that carry a patriotic message or theme. Thus, they may be considered 'hybrid' patriotic-commercial songs. This is in comparison to the second most popular patriotic song, "Sejahtera Malaysia" (B3) that was composed by then Minister of Information Mohamed Rahmat and produced for nationwide-broadcast by Radio Televisyen Malaysia (RTM). Similar to this song are "Setia" (B4), "Tanah Pusaka" (B1) and "Perajurit Tanah Air" (B6), which were written and commissioned as nationalistic propaganda songs, produced and broadcast by RTM. However, while most of these government-sanctioned songs are well-recognised, not all are equally liked. For example, "Setia" (B4), while well-recognised (90%) was not as well-liked (68%). This can be compared to a very similar style of song, "Sejahtera Malaysia" (B3) that was easily recognised (98%) and almost equally appreciated (94%) by focus group members.

Figure 2: Percentage of Patriotic Songs Recognised and Liked by Respondents



A total of 6 patriotic songs from the 1960s through 1990s were played at the end of the listening section and respondents were asked questions as described in the previous section. Table 4 lists select responses from this section of the FGD. For this paper, responses are drawn from members of three (out of twelve) focus groups conducted across Malaysia: 1) Kuching Entrepreneurs (KE) ; 2) Kota Kinabalu Professionals (KKP) and 3) Klang Valley Professionals (KVP). Individual respondents cited are marked by numbered codes (e.g. KE3, KKP5, KVP1).

Discussion

This section will draw on FGD group members responses to a few prominent patriotic songs that were played during the Listening Session. We focus on the songs “Sejahtera Malaysia” (B3), “Setia” (B4), “Perajurit Tanahair” (B6) and “31 Ogos” (B1).

Upon overviewing the FGDs, we observe that most members find that the lyrical content of “Sejahtera Malaysia” (B3) intimates an inclusivist message of multiethnic diversity, while “Setia” (B4) emphasised the expression of loyalty to figures and institutions of authority in the nation-state. Some FGD members, for example reflected on the propagandistic elements of the song “Setia”:

You know, it’s quite interesting, I heard an interview once about.... I can’t remember... was it the composer of this song... he was part of the team that was working on...unity songs...and (it was tied) to May 9th... the (1969) riots... it just resonated to me that *wah*, this was somewhat propaganda in trying to get people... I mean, for the next generation not to (not express dissent)... but I don’t know... (KVP 8)

As this member is hinting that these are propagandistic songs with an express aim to subdue dissent among the younger generation, another member of the same group added her reflection on the explicit aspects of the song’s lyrics:

I’m just really struck, I never really thought about the lyrics before a lot (such as the line) ‘*kepada pemimpin* (to the leaders)’, ‘*kepada rakyat* (to the people)’. Those two words are... very strong, especially when... you’re a kid (and) you don’t care. (KVP 2)

Thus, such songs have had an impact on subliminally inculcating children that 'don't care' from an early age to submit loyalty (*kesetiaan*) to their political leaders, while having a sense of collective identity as citizens. And, most prominently, for most focus groups conducted across Malaysia, members relate these two songs to their schooling days:

Ni lagu masa orang sekolah ni

[This is a song from my schooling years] (KER 5)

It just reminds me of like school choir and everybody wears that same batik baju and then sing on the stage' (KVP 6)

It reminds me of school, standing under the hot sun, singing this... (KVP 4)

Some of the members from the groups cited above had neutral and somewhat negative memories of these official patriotic songs, and such memories were related to government-school activities that had KVP 4 'standing under the hot sun' while singing these songs. However, there were also positive associations related to these songs and songs of similar styles from the 1990s:

Saya suka semua versi lagu ni. Tapi saya paling suka yang versi Francissa Peter punya. Version dia. Masa zaman ni, tak silap ada pertandingan lagu-lagu patriotik tau. Yang semua lagu sedap. Ada beberapa lagulah.

I love all the versions of this song. But the one I love most is one sang by Francissca Peters. During this era, if I am not mistaken, there was a competition for patriotic songs. There were quite a number of them and all those songs were nice. (KER 2)

KER 2, highlights the multiple versions of this song that have been produced and broadcast over the years and indicates that the 1990s was a period when many memorable patriotic-themed songs were broadcast on radio and television. There were also members who may not have liked the song personally but associated it with a positive memory, such as expressed by a Klang Valley member who recalled listening to "Sejahtera Malaysia" with his family:

So it took me back to a time where it was just... me, my mum and my sister and my mum and my sister could sing this song, so they had a good time, while singing this song, so I was like OK, it was a good time in the house. They were belting (it)... they enjoyed this (song). (KVP 9)

Similarly, "Perajurit Tanahair" (B6) with its militaristic motifs was the second most recognised patriotic song (99%) but was not proportionately well-liked (71%). More men were vocal about their preference for this song, citing national pride and positive associations with the Malaysian military. Conversely, less women were drawn to this aesthetic and message of the song. Such chauvinism or militaristic associations were expressed in a humorous manner by a male member from Kuching:

Siapa tak tahu kita tembak je. Tembak dia (semua ketawa). Siapa yang belum lahir masa dekat Sabah jala kan. Dulu masa dengan adik main-main senapang. Tahu tak guna penyapu jak.

[Those who don't know this song should be shot. Shoot them (everyone laughs). Perhaps to those who were not born yet then. During those days I was playing rifles with my siblings, well we were only using brooms.] (KE 1)

The utility of the song to incite patriotism for military excursions was especially relevant in Kota Kinabalu, which had seen frequent border disputes and terrorist activity. This was related as such in relation to the song:

Lagu tentera ini yang bersemangat, pernah dengar, lagu ini banyak maksud ni, berbeza rentak dengan standing in the eyes tadi, motivasi juga lagu ini, melambangkan bersatu, macam dulu kes Lahad Datu, lagu ni guna la bagi naik semangat tentera waktu itu.

[This is a military song that gives you so much courage. It has so much meanings. It is different compared to Standing in the Eyes we heard previously. This is also a song that motivate us, a call for us to unite. Like the case in Lahad Datu, this was the song that gave the military their might then.] (KKP5)

Members in the Peninsula however, expressed some differing views about the song. One member did not like the musical aesthetic of the song but resonated profoundly with its lyrics:

I think it's purely because of the lyrics. If you ask me about the melody and all that, no way... I think there are some things that are mentioned in the lyrics... about, if I don't come back would you put a flower on my tombstone (KVP1)

Another member, reflected on the historical narrative of struggle that was represented in the song and found it had a 'depth' of meaning and was also 'quite haunting... to a certain extent' (KVP 9). However, while such views were reflective and interpretive, the song also did conjure specific memories, or at least the recollections of relatives involved in the *Konfrontasi* war of the 1960s:

It reminds me of my uncle when he joined the army and (he used to tell us) about his friends dying... when you hear this song it's like, oh, so sad... so many people died, so many of his friends died. (KVP 6)

But the historical context of the song was also extended into further reflection, as expressed by a female member who liked the song for its 'grainy quality', 'crackle' and 'feeling of age' that felt 'removed' and 'not related to whatever our (present) lives are going through' (KVP 2). She elaborated the following:

One thing I went through with my students, my students who are in undergraduate studies now. None of them remember 9/11, and I think it's interesting that for our generation perhaps we don't remember, I don't know if you guys, anyone remember the things that led up to this and so we've lived through a lifetime of relative peace, when none of us had to go through the actual danger of literally fighting for our country... maybe that's something as well. (KVP 2)

Thus, while the historical context of the song was not particularly clear for all the focus group members, the initial militaristic message is clear in its aesthetic form (a militaristic march) as recognised and even disliked by focus group members. The aesthetic of the song immediately conjures a sentiment of patriotism, whether personalised or projected. However, the lyrical contents as well as the retrospective listening of the song as something antiquated and 'removed' from the present has the potential to solicit deeper reflection about the narratives of conflict, struggle and hardship that form a historical image of a nation.

The most prominent finding from the listening session polls can be seen in the 100% recognition by focus group members of two songs performed and recorded by Sudirman Arshad. "31 Ogos" (B2) was well-recognised and well-liked perhaps due to its repeated circulation on the

airwaves in conjunction with Malaysia's Independence (*Merdeka*) Day. The song, originally composed and performed by Ahmad C.B. in 1957, was popularised by Sudirman's version released in his 1982 album, *Abadi*. It has since been the main theme song for Merdeka celebrations, broadcast on Malaysian mass media and sung in public schools across the country.

Focus group members across Malaysia recognised this song immediately, associating it with Merdeka Day parades held in their hometowns or broadcast on national television:

Dengar aja sudah rasa di Dataran Merdeka. Ramai orang berbaris (semua ketawa). Imagine dah pakai baju Malaysia. Dengan topi yang besar. Elok tersusun macam-macam topi.

It sure feels like I am already on Dataran Merdeka just listening to this song. I'm already imagining wearing the national costume with hats. There would be various hats all lined up. (KE 1)

Lagu ini paling popular ini, kalau hari kebangsaan, anak-anak di sekolah nyanyi ini waktu perhimpunan macam tu. semua lagu sudirman ini banyak meaningful la bagi saya...

This is the most popular song especially for the national day. Children in school also sing this song during their gatherings. All Sudirman songs are very meaningful to me. (KKP 1)

Reminds me of Merdeka Day and then there's that parade that you do. It reminds me of that. (KVP 6)

Thus, this song conjures positive images and memories of the festivities associated with Merdeka Day in Malaysia. And, this is especially 'meaningful' because the responses above are from residents of East Malaysia, which did not join the Federation of Malaysia until 1963. The Sudirman song specifically addresses the date of independence in the Malay Peninsula; 'Tanggal tiga puluh satu, bulan lapan, lima puluh tujuh (the thirty first of the eight month [year of] fifty seven)' that is the 31 August 1957. However, despite the song's Peninsula Malaysia bias, it still garners positive appeal from Sabahan and Sarawakian Malaysians.

Klang Valley respondents even suggested that "31 Ogos" was more meaningful than the national anthem, "Negaraku". Upon playing "31 Ogos" the group responded in the following manner:

KVP 3: Much better than Negaraku.

KVP 2: Much better.

KVP3: This is more of a patriotic song than Negaraku actually

KVP 8 & 9: Yeah

Members indicated that one major reason that such a song is elevated above the national anthem are the positive associations attached to it. One member said it reminded him of being on 'holiday' (KVP 8) and this solicited much laughter from the group, while another member noted that there was 'always fun attached to this song' (KVP 2). Drawing from these responses, it could be deduced that by contrast, the national anthem would often be associated with formal events such as school assemblies and official functions; mundane everyday activities in which these group members would be coerced to attend. However, the overall connections of the "31 Ogos" song with festivity coupled with an annual national celebration (and public holiday) have markedly more positive associations.

Conclusion

The study finds that unlike initially hypothesised, patriotic songs – instead of commercial popular songs – were actually more popular and wide-reaching in appeal across different professions,

ethnicities, religions and geographic locations of Malaysians. Based on focus group discussions (FGDs) conducted, this study finds that Malaysians generally recognise, enjoy and appreciate patriotic music produced between the 1950s to 1990s. This affinity with patriotic songs, however, can be tied to diverging reasons as some confess a familiarity with the songs from constant repetition at schools, formal events or mass media broadcasts. There were moments during the FGDs when the respondents were singing (and whistling) in concert the melodies of “31 Ogos”, “Sejahtera Malaysia”, “Setia” and “Perajurit Tanahair”, indicating not just their knowledge and fondness of the song, but also how these songs were a common ground for moments in which people felt an overwhelming sense of collective sentiments for their nation. These can be understood as *unisonality* moments seen as an effect of singing patriotic songs together despite members of the group not knowing one another.

It is important to note how respondents were positively in favour of these songs regardless of when they were produced – 1950s or later. These responses reflect how patriotic songs are effective and affective archetypes of music that instill sentiments of nationalism. Naturally, as tools for mass media propaganda, patriotic songs impose a top-down conception of collective identity on otherwise diverse individuals. However, the personal attachments – through memories and emotional responses – that Malaysians link to such songs indicate a bottom-up, everyday-defined notion of national identity. These song-related experiences are not all necessarily positive or overtly nationalistic, which further suggests that such music provides a natural platform for social cohesion that crosses boundaries of ethnicity, religion, class and geographical locations. This ties in with the concept of the many ‘nations-of-intent’ that make Malaysia – diverging ideologies and perspectives of what and who fits into the nation are clearly indicated through the diverse responses of Malaysians to patriotic songs. However, such songs do indeed clearly demarcate the intangibility of a shared national space through affective means formed through a history of musical circulation and mediation – via the institutions that promote nationalism such as public radio, television and schools. Patriotic music thus provides a means for social cohesion, not via the propagation of dogmatic patriotic content, but through the personal and intimate associations that such songs solicit from individual citizens.

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THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Zeynab Moosavi

(znb.moussavi@yahoo.com)

Abstract

In recent years, English as a global language is widely used around the world. Its worldwide status also has resulted in spreading English within Southeast Asian countries where English is used as a second language, or as a foreign language. The main aim of the study was to explore the use of English, its users' attitudes and motivation towards learning or using English, and their prediction about its future. A questionnaire survey was conducted focusing on the users of English in two countries: Malaysia, where English is used as the second language and Indonesia, in which English is treated as the foreign language. Data was analyzed using descriptive statistics. The findings indicated that the users of both countries had positive attitudes towards the usage and learning English. In addition, the results revealed that English is considerably being used in the age group of 13-30. Based on the findings, some recommendations are presented.

Keywords: *global language, Southeast Asian countries, English as a second/foreign language,*

Introduction

Nowadays, English as the global language of communication has become almost a necessity for all people to speak English. As English has become widespread around the world, it is no longer restricted to countries where it is spoken as a native language (mother tongue). Kachru's three circle model (1986) describes the worldwide spread of English as: the inner circle where English is a native language (e.g. Canada, the UK, USA, Australia, and New Zealand), the outer circle where it is a second language (e.g. Singapore, India, Malaysia and Nigeria), and the expanding circle where it is a foreign language (China, Japan, Greece and Poland). Its widespread use is obviously seen in Southeast Asian countries where English is used as a second language (Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, and Philippines), or as a foreign language (in the remaining countries). According to Kachru's model classification, Southeast Asian countries fall within the outer and expanding circles. Particularly, in the response to revolutions in technology and modernization, it started to emerge into "new varieties of English", called "New Englishes" (e.g. in Brunei, India, Singapore, Philippine, Malaysia).

Southeast Asia with over 600 million inhabitants is one of the most populated and fastest growing regions in the world. In addition to the diversity of its culture and history, Southeast Asia has a large variety of languages. While Asian languages like Mandarin and Hindi are the most spoken languages among the foreign languages, European languages such as Portuguese, Spanish, English and French have also had the great status in Southeast Asian countries. In the 17th century, with the increasing presence of British colonial power, English became the most powerful language in the history of colonization in the region. In spite of its status as a second or foreign language, English has been viewed as the most influential language in Southeast Asia.

In the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), including a group of ten nations, namely, Burma, Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam, English is used as a means of communication among groups of people who do not speak the same first language. That is to say, over the years, English as an essential lingua franca

is being spoken all over the globe. However, despite the extensive usage of English in a variety of domains namely, communication, business, commerce, technology and education, there seems to be little research into how the use of English affects the identities of people from ASEAN where English is not their native language. Therefore, the main aim of the present study is to explore the users' attitudes towards learning English, and its future in Southeast Asian contexts.

Methodology

This study was based on a descriptive method (survey) to examine the perceptions of higher education students in the University of Malaya (UM, Malaysia). A total of 120 respondents (70 Malaysians, 50 Indonesians; 34 males and 86 females) from different fields of the study were asked to respond to an online questionnaire. The survey aimed to find out the use of English, its users' motivations for learning English, their attitudes towards it, and their prediction about its future. The questionnaire-based survey, modified version of Vu's (2012), consisted of two sections. The first part of the questionnaire requested the respondents' personal information such as nationality, age, gender and their field of the study. The second section included 16 items related to Malaysians and Indonesians students' perceptions on learning English and the future of English in their country. The questionnaire was validated by two linguists and English language specialists and the reliability test was also determined through Alpha Cronbach. After distributing the questionnaires among students in order to answer, frequency and percentage of their responses were calculated. The overall reliability of all sections in the questionnaire, the Cronbach's alpha value was 0.91.

Results and Discussion

A total of 120 students completed online questionnaire in which 70 were the Malaysians and 50 were the Indonesians. The same questionnaires which consisted of 16 items were used for both groups to make a comparison between two nationality.

1. Background Information of the respondents

Table 1 indicates the information about the respondents' age and gender.

Age		Frequency	Percent
Malaysian	between 18 and 22	14	20.0
	between 23 and 27	28	40.0
	between 28 and 32	8	11.4
	between 33 and 37	7	10.0
	38 and above	13	18.6
	Total	70	100.0
Indonesian	between 23 and 27	13	26.0
	between 28 and 32	24	48.0
	between 33 and 37	13	26.0
	Total	50	100.0

The Malaysian respondents belonged to different age groups (between 18 and 22, between 23 and 27, between 28 and 37, and 38 and above) but the Indonesians were between 23 and 27, between 28 and 33, and between 33 and 37. The majority of Malaysian respondents (40%) were between 23 and 27, but most of the Indonesians were between 28 and 32 (48%).

Table 2 Gender of the respondents

Gender		Frequency	Percent
Indonesian	Female	38	76.0
	Male	12	24.0
	Total	50	100.0
Malaysian	Female	48	68.6
	Male	22	31.4
	Total	70	100.0

As can be seen in Table 2, 76% of the Indonesian respondents were females and 24% were males, and 68.6% the Malaysians were females and 31.4% were males.

2. Perception towards using English

The second part of the questionnaire sought the respondents' opinions on learning or using English.

Table 3 The time at which respondents start learning English

When did you start learning English in your country?		Frequency	Percent
Indonesian	At lower secondary school	25	50.0
	At primary school	25	50.0
	Total	50	100.0
Malaysian	At kindergarten	56	80.0
	At primary school	8	11.4
	When I started learning to speak	6	8.6
	Total	70	100.0

According to Table 3, in Malaysia where English is used as a second language, the majority of the respondents begin their learning English at kindergarten (80%) and only 11.4% start learning English at primary school. It is important to note that half of the Indonesian respondents (50%) start studying English language from primary school, while the rest at lower secondary school.

Table 4 The time at which respondents think people should start learning English

When do you think people should start learning English in your country?		Frequency	Percent
Indonesian	At kindergarten	25	50.0
	At primary school	13	26.0
	When they start learning to speak	12	24.0
	Total	50	100.0
Malaysian	At kindergarten	22	31.4
	At primary school	14	20.0
	When they start learning to speak	34	48.6
	Total	70	100.0

As can be seen in Table 4, half of the Indonesians state that people should begin learning English at kindergarten. 26% and 24% of the respondents think that people should start to learn English at primary school and when they start learning to speak, respectively. In general, the majority of the Malaysians and Indonesians both think that people should start learning English at an early age. Findings imply that they recognize the importance of learning the language at a young age. Many studies also have indicated that learning an additional language at an early age has many benefits for kids (Ghasemi & Hashemi, 2011).

The findings also showed that the Indonesian respondents hear English only at their place of study (90%) and in conference (10%), while Malaysians reported that they hear English in different places such as at work, at home, in shops/ restaurants/ clubs, taxis/planes and in magazines/ advertisements/ TV.

The findings demonstrated that all Indonesian respondents think that the media of instruction at schools in their country should be both English and their national language, maybe because English is occasionally used in Indonesia and using English as a media of the instruction can provide a great opportunity for students to learn English. Only 10% of Malaysians do not believe in the statement. It is noticed that the respondents prefer using English at schools. Even though English is used as a foreign language in Indonesia, the proportion of the respondents who always use English in Indonesia and Malaysia are almost same (26% and 28.6% respectively).

The findings indicated that the all Indonesian respondents and the vast majority of Malaysians (90%) use English for study. 75% of Indonesians use it for work and travel and 25% for getting a good job, searching information and communicating with foreigners and friends. The reasons why Malaysians use English are for communicating with foreigners (80%) and friends (60%), for watching movies (60%), reading books (50%), getting information (50%), and for travel (30%). 30% of the Malaysians use English because they think the competence of English is a symbol of modern identity and the mark of an educated person.

Table 5 Respondents' opinion on the level of education at which English should be started to be used as the medium of instruction

At what level of education do you think English should be started to be used as the medium of instruction?		Frequency	Percent
Indonesians	At primary school	37	74.0
	At upper secondary school	13	26.0
	Total	50	100.0
Malaysians	At primary school	56	80.0
	At lower secondary school	7	10.0
	At higher level of education	7	10.0
	Total	70	100.0

A large percentage of respondents think English should be used as the medium of instruction at primary school (80% Malaysians and 74% Indonesians), while 26% of the Indonesian respondents think it should be at supper secondary school. It is obvious that the respondents support integrating English as the medium of instruction as early as possible.

Table 6 Which teachers of English do you prefer?

Which teachers of English do you prefer?		Frequency	Percent
Indonesians	British/ American teachers of English	50	100.0
Malaysians	British/ American teachers of English	8	11.4
	Malaysian teachers of English	62	88.6
	Total	70	100.0

While all of the Indonesians participants prefer having British/ American teachers of English. among the Malaysians, the vast majority of the participants (88.6%) prefer teachers of the same nationality. Maybe it implies that Malaysian English has been widely accepted among the respondents and they do not need to standard English.

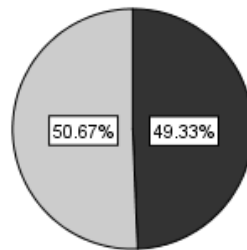
Table 5 Malaysians' opinion on the level of education at which English should be started to be used as the medium of instruction Do you think English is a threat to the national/ local languages?

Do you think English is a threat to the national/ local languages?		Frequency	Percent
Malaysians	No	63	90.0
	Yes	7	10.0
	Total	70	100.0

All the Indonesians and the considerable number of the Malaysians (90%) think English is not a threat to their national language. The results show that although none of the Indonesians and Malaysians think English affects negatively their local culture and national identity, 10% of Malaysians still shared concerns about the adverse impact of English on their national language. The results contrasted with Dewi's (2014) study in which Indonesian participants believed that English has a negative effect on their national language.

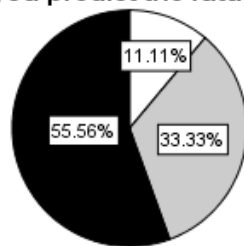
The findings also indicated that the majority of the participants (90% Indonesians and 70% Malaysians) believe that their English should be improved so that it is more and more like British English or American English.

Can you predict the future of English in your country?



- The importance of English will increase.
- More and more people will speak English as the mother tongue.

Can you predict the future of English in your country?



- English will be the only language in which pupils are literate
- More and more people will speak English as the mother tongue.
- The importance of English will increase.

The last question in the questionnaires asks the respondents to make a prediction about the future of English in their countries.

It is worth noting that the respondents in both Malaysia and Indonesia do not seem very optimistic about using English as the only official language and as a medium of instruction, and only 11.11% of the Malaysian respondents think that English will be the only language in which pupils are literate. However, 55.56% of the Malaysians and 50.67% Indonesians think that the use of English will increase. 33.33% of the Malaysians and 49.33% Indonesians also predict that more and more people will speak English as their mother tongue. Maybe they have realized that they would not be able to meet the challenges of globalization if they could not speak English.

Conclusion

In this globalized world, English serves not only as a native language (ENL) (e.g. in England, America, Canada and Australia), but also as a second language (ESL) (such as in Malaysia, Brunei and the Philippine) or as a foreign language (EFL) (e.g. in Thailand, Vietnam, and Indonesia). In other words, nowadays, English is no longer restricted to the native English countries but it belongs to everyone who wants to use it all over the world. Moreover, English as a lingua franca has become the predominant means of international communication in business, technology, politics, science and education in Southeast Asian countries (Hiep, 2006; Domalewska, 2017). With the advances of globalization and technology, varieties of “Englishes” (New Englishes) have emerged for everyday communication among the speakers of other languages, such as Philippine English, Singaporean English, Malaysian English, and Brunei English. But, what will English language look like in the future in Southeast Asia? How many 'Englishes' might develop or diminish?

Therefore, this study tried to explore the university students’ attitudes from selected Southeast Asian Countries (Malaysia and Indonesia) towards the English language usage and their prediction about the future of English in their countries. The results revealed an overall positive attitude towards learning English and the respondents seemed very optimistic about the spread

of English among people while they did not think English would be used as the only official language and as a medium of instruction. Although it appears that it is still very difficult to predict the future of English, the researcher believes if English spreads all over the globe in this way, multiple Englishes will likely continue to grow.

It is important to note that the analysis of results was only based on data from two countries in Southeast Asia, and the number of respondents was small as representative of using English in the whole region. Therefore, further research needs to be done to find out if university students in other Southeast Asian countries also share a similar perception.

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ANALYSIS ON FIRST LANGUAGE INFLUENCE AND ITS EFFECT ON LANGUAGE FLUENCY AMONG HS STUDENTS: BASIS FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE INSTRUCTIONAL MODULE

Edgar R. Eslit

English Department/College of Arts and Sciences/St. Michael's College, Iligan City, Philippines
(edgareslit@yahoo.com,edgareslit@gmail.com,edgareslit@smciligan.edu.ph)

Abstract

Linguistic competence constitutes direct knowledge of the target language, hence, this knowledge is tacit and implicit especially among the second language learners. This establishes the idea that students do not have direct access to the principles and rules that govern the norms in terms of English language learning processes; be it in terms of speaking, writing, reading and listening. Such idea is akin to the current study. Hence, the purpose of this study was to find out the First Language Influence on the Linguistic Competence of the respondents. This was carried out among the one hundred sixty three (163) Grade 10 students. The Linguistic Competence, Acculturation, and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency theories served as the theoretical backbones of the study. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used. Using the purposive sampling procedure, data were collected via adopted survey questionnaire on First language influence and an IELTS-based test. Mean and Standard Deviation were observed. These were carried out further using the Spearman – Rho Correlation to measure the strength of association or correlation between the cited variables. Likewise, this test was used to measure the influence of the first language to the linguistic competence in relation to the sampling population as described by the correlation coefficients. Results revealed that the respondents' linguistic competence was slightly correlated to the influence of first language. This would imply that variables can affect the methods and results. Further, teaching and learning in L2 classroom is ambiguous as approaches, methods, and procedures cannot be made totally universal. To address the gap, however, an instructional module was proposed in order to improve the linguistic competence of the respondents.

Keywords: *First Language Influence, Language Competency, Instructional Module*

Introduction:

The current study is posed with the title: Analysis on First Language Influence and its Effect on Language Fluency Among HS Students: Basis for English Language Instructional Module. Its primary focus is interwoven with the primary precepts of understanding the the influence of L1 to Language Fluency among the High School Students. Second language learners need to develop strong language competence in order to master the English language.

It can be understood that language competence is a system of linguistic knowledge possessed by the speakers of a specific language. The relationship between how students learn their first language and how they learn their second language and subsequent languages has concerned language researchers all over the world after it became an independent discipline in most language researches (Eslit, 2017). Such is the driving force that led to the conceptualization of this study.

In the study of Gaerlan (2016), she argued that Filipinos despite being bilingual in Filipino and English (being the medium of instruction) not all Filipino learners are successful in learning English which is their second language (L2). The First language was preferred for verbal communication especially in rural areas, while English and Filipino were preferred for education from lower primary to the university. Filipino was especially favored in Education for reasons of national and regional unity. However, first languages were not anchored into the school curriculum.

Then came a shift in language policy in the Philippine education system with the emergence of mother tongue approach or First Language Policy of the Department of Education. Various studies (e.g. Benson, 2002; Dutcher, 2003) have identified that children's overall educational attainment can be enhanced if they are taught in their first language in early grades.

This waning record is also predominant among the students of Acelo Badelles Sr. Memorial High School in Tipanoy, Iligan City with an Annex school in Panul – Iran, Abuno in the same city. The researcher, being a language teacher, detected many students to have difficulty in the 4 macro skills in English. Linguistic competence in English is therefore dismal.

Overall outcome of this study revealed a deeper understanding of the influence of First Language in English Linguistic Competence. With this, an instructional module was proposed which provides intervention activities to augment linguistic competence of the students. This proposed instructional module is a month long program that could be implemented starting 1st or 2nd semester of academic year, 2018 – 2019. This module would help students lessen or remove the influence of first language to their linguistic competence to become proficient in English language someday.

Research questions and objective

The primary objective of this study is to analyze the First Language Influence and its Effect on Language Fluency among the High School Students. Specifically, it sought to answer the following questions.

- 1.) What is the profile of the respondents in terms of:
 - 1.1 Age;
 - 1.2 sex;
 - 1.3 school graduated
 - 1.4 Ethnicity;
 - 1.5 Grade in third quarter;
- 2.) What is the level of influence of the First Language to the respondents?
- 3.) Is there a significant difference on the respondent's level of influence of the first language when grouped according to their profile?
- 4.) What is the linguistic competence of the respondents in terms of:
 - 4.1 speaking;
 - 4.2 writing;
 - 4.3 listening;
 - 4.4 reading;
- 5.) Is there a significant difference on the linguistic competence of the respondents when grouped according to their profile?
- 6.) Is there a significant influence on the first language to the linguistic competence of the respondents?
- 7.) What instructional program can be drawn based on the findings of the study?

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Learning English language and its factors that may affect this process have attracted language researchers' focus for many years. Studies about English proficiency and the influence of mother tongue (first language) have brought the attention of research worldwide. According to Odlin (1989) as mentioned in the study of Atetwe (2013), the transfer in language learning is the influence resulting from similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously acquired. Transfer is a psychological term that is used to describe a situation where one learned event influences the learning of a subsequent learning event. The influence in this case has two facets; commonly known as interference or negative transfer and positive transfer. Positive transfer or facilitation entails transfer of skill or part of the native language which facilitates the learning of the target language. In contrast, negative command of transfer or interference of a

skill which impedes the learning or has negative influence on the command of a skill in the target language.

When learners of second language want to write or speak in the target language, they tend to rely on their first language structures. If the structures are different then a lot of errors occur in L1 thus this indicates an interference of first language on second language (Dechert & Ellis, as cited in Derakshan & Karimi (2015). The term transfer according to Atetwe (2013) is a tool used to account for or explains the errors which actually occur. He added that transfer is the basis for predicting which patterns in second language (L2) will be learnt more readily and which will prove troublesome. On the same view, Kaushanskaya and Marian (2009) found that early exposure to English and Mandarin yielded enhanced word-learning skills in adult English-Mandarin bilinguals compared to monolingual speakers of English. Clearly, then, further studies are necessary to delineate the possible differences in how exposure to two different L2s early in life can impact on subsequent vocabulary development.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) record of 1953 articulated the importance of using mother tongue as language of instruction in early years of school. As quoted "It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his/her mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his/her works automatically for the expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among members of the community to which he/she learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium. Moreover, Atetwe (2013) observed that learning using mother tongue hastens the process of learning since the learners are considered to be familiar with the language of instruction. However, in the context under study, English is the medium of instruction; consequently, mother tongue or first language has no place in the teaching – learning process.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (2006) reasons that the best medium to teach a child is through their first language. However, it is not feasible to teach in schools (especially secondary schools) using first language in the Philippine context apart from having numerous dialects since English has been rolled out to be the medium of instruction (MOI) in teaching core subjects.

Theoretical Framework

The current study was anchored on Noam Chomsky's (1981) linguistic theory which postulated the idea that linguistic competence is part of an individual's unconscious knowledge of languages and is similar in some ways to that of Saussure's concept of *langue*, the organizing principles of a language. What we actually produce as utterances is similar to Saussure's *parole* and is called linguistic performance. He points out that linguistic performance refers to the way native speakers use the language system. The degree of language acquisition then would correlate with the degree of the learner's proximity to the target group. Thus, acculturation theory argues that learners will be successful in Second Language Acquisition if there are fewer social and psychological distances between them and the speakers of the second language.

Secondly, as mentioned by Atetwe (2013), linguistic performance was used in 1980 in the field of Linguistics, precisely on Second Language Acquisition. It states that Second Language Acquisition is the result of Acculturation, which he defines as "the social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language (TL) group (Schumann, 1978). The major claim of the theory is that acculturation, which is a cluster of social – psychological factors, is the major cause of Second Language Acquisition (Schumann, 1990). Schumann posits that any learner can be placed along a continuum ranging from social – psychological proximity with the speakers of the target language.

Thirdly, Cummin's (2008) Academic Language Proficiency CALP. This refers to student's ability to understand and express, in both oral and written modes, concepts and ideas that are relevant to success in school. The theory on CALP provided the researcher a reason to study and investigate First Language Influence to the linguistic Competence of the students of Acelo Badelles Sr. Memorial High School in Iligan City.

Methodology

The researcher used both qualitative and quantitative research approaches. There were two tools utilized in this study and were distributed to two campuses of Acelo Badelles Sr. Memorial High School in Tipanoy and Panul – Iran, Abuno, Iligan City. The first tool was a questionnaire adapted from the study of Atetwe, 2013. The survey questionnaire was used to know and to what extent the use of the first language influences the respondent's linguistic competence in English. Descriptive studies are designed to describe something present through the fact – finding and interpretations of data gathered. The questionnaire, as well, was utilized to identify their mother tongue or first language, school last attended in the elementary, grade in third quarter, gender, family income and parent's educational attainment were gathered and analyzed and interpreted to present picture of the specific details of the First Language Influence among Grade 10 Students of ABMHS main and annex campus in Tipanoy and Abuno, Iligan City. The second tool used was an IELTS based test adapted from Mendoza, 2011. The questionnaire was distributed along with the first tool to gauge the linguistic competence of the respondents specifically their 4 macro skills.

Sampling Design

The study utilized the purposive sampling design to source out the necessary number of respondents that would represent the Grade 10 students of ABMHS – Main and Annex in Tipanoy and Abuno from the whole population, the researcher will utilize the purposive sampling which means that all one hundred sixty – three (163) grade 10 students who enrolled in the school year 2017 - 2018 served as respondents of the study.

Statistical Tools

This paper employed the following statistical tools:

Frequency Count and Percent. These basic descriptive statistical tools were used in order to describe the respondents' demographical profile.

Mean and Standard Deviation. These basic descriptive statistical tools were used to describe the influence of the first language to the respondents. Further, these statistical tools were used also to describe the grades in third quarter.

Median. This basic descriptive statistical tool was used to describe the influence of the first language to the respondents when compared according to the respondents' profile. Moreover, this was utilized to describe the linguistic competence of the respondents.

Mann-Whitney and Kruskal-Wallis Tests. These non-parametric statistical tools were used to test significant differences among the respondents' median rating scores of influence of the first language and their linguistic competence when analyzed according to their profile. Further, these tests were used since the variables involved under this test and the data set did not meet the necessary assumptions for parametric tests.

Spearman-rho Correlation. This non-parametric test was used in order to measure the strength of association or correlation between the influence of the first language and the respondents' linguistic competence. Further, this test was used to measure the influence on the first language to the respondents' linguistic competence through the effect size of the described by the correlation coefficients.

Summary of Result, Analysis and Findings:

Respondents' Profile

It was disclosed that majority of the respondents were females, aged 15-16 years old. Most of them completed their elementary education at public schools. Majority of the respondents are Cebuano and most of them have satisfactory grades in third quarter with a grade scale of 80 – 84.

Age Brackets	Frequency	Percent
21 yrs. old and above	7	4.3
19 - 20 yrs. old	12	7.4
17 - 18 yrs. old	12	7.4
15 - 16 yrs. old	132	81.0
Total	163	100.0

Respondents Level of Influence of the First Language

Twenty one (21) survey questions pertaining to the influence of first language to the respondents were used to measure the level of influence of first language. Most of the respondents have high level of influence of first language with a total mean score of 3.72. Indicator or question number 2 'Do our teachers in English switch languages during a presentation in class?' got the highest mean score of 4.02 which has a description of 'often' while indicator or question number 12 'Students who use First Language perform poorly in English' got the lowest mean score of 3.40 which has a descriptive equivalent of 'undecided'.

Indicators	Mean	SD	Descriptive Equivalent
Do my teachers in English use First Language in class?	3.67	.832	<i>Often</i>
Do our teachers in English switch languages during a presentation in class?	4.02	.761	<i>Often</i>
Do I switch languages during communication in school?	3.83	.841	<i>Often</i>
Do I use First Language at home?	3.90	.829	<i>Often</i>
Do I prefer to use First language in dealing with friends and classmates?	3.88	.908	<i>Often</i>
Does the language used by our teachers when interacting with us (Students) influence our linguistic competence in English?	3.76	.838	<i>Often</i>
In my own opinion, does use of First Language influence my Linguistic Competence in English?	3.79	.880	<i>Often</i>
Teachers use of first language affect our linguistic competence in English	3.86	.800	<i>Agree</i>
Teachers who use English in conversation with us influence our linguistic competence in English.	3.90	.755	<i>Agree</i>
Teachers always discourage us to converse in First Language.	3.66	.856	<i>Agree</i>
Teachers switching of languages in classroom help in understanding of concepts.	3.83	.914	<i>Agree</i>
Students who use First Language perform poorly in English.	3.40	.851	<i>Undecided</i>
Students who use English perform better in English	3.71	.973	<i>Agree</i>
Use of First Language does not influence linguistic Competence	3.72	.933	<i>Agree</i>
In my own opinion, does use of First Language influence the way I write in English?	3.46	.970	<i>Sometimes</i>
In my own opinion, does use of First Language influence the way I pronounce in English?	3.73	.896	<i>Often</i>
Do I always think in with my First Language?	3.61	1.005	<i>Often</i>
Does the language I think in influences the way I write in English?	3.78	.936	<i>Often</i>
The language I think in influences my writing in English.	3.71	.817	<i>Agree</i>
My pronunciation is influenced by the use of First Language.	3.50	1.002	<i>Agree</i>
The use of First Language influences the way I write	3.47	.756	<i>Undecided</i>

Rating Scale	Frequency	Percent	Mean	SD	Level of Influence
2.50 - 3.49	25	15.3	3.36	.151	<i>Average</i>
3.50 - 4.49	138	84.7	3.79	.173	<i>High</i>
Total	163	100.0	3.72	.231	<i>High</i>

Respondents’ significant difference on the respondents’ level of influence of first language when grouped according to their profile

It was found out that ages 17-18 had highest level of influence of the first language. It was also revealed that most of these are the male respondents with a median score of 3.81 and a p – value of .008 which is highly significant. Maranao respondents likewise got the highest median score of 4.03 and p – value of .036 which is significant. Respondents who graduated elementary education at private schools exhibited high level of first language influence as compared to those respondents who came from public schools. In terms of grades in third quarter, respondents who manifested a high level of influence of first language were those who were at below 75 grade scale level.

Profile	Attributes	Influence of the First Language		H-value/ U-value	p-value	Remarks
		Median	Level			
Age Brackets	21 yrs. old and above	3.62	High	1.461	.482	Not Significant
	19 – 20 yrs. old	3.74	High			
	17 - 18 yrs. old	3.81	High			
	15 - 16 yrs. old	3.71	High			
Sex	Female	3.67	High	2491.00	.008*	Highly Significant
	Male	3.81	High			
Ethnicity	Cebuano	3.71	High	22.00	.036*	Significant
	Maranao	4.03	High			
School Graduated	Public	3.71	High	743.00	.299	Not Significant
	Private	3.81	High			
Grades	Below 75	3.81	High	7.384	.117	Not Significant
	75 - 79	3.67	High			
	80 - 84	3.76	High			
	85 - 89	3.67	High			
	95 – 100	3.71	High			

* Significant at 0.05 level

Respondents’ Linguistic Competence

It was found out that linguistic competence of the respondents were not good which was manifested as “very limited”. Respondents significant difference on the linguistic competence when grouped according to their profile. It was disclosed that linguistic competence has no bearing when grouped

according to the respondents' profile which was manifested in speaking, writing, reading and listening as "very limited".

Linguistic Competence	Band Scores	Frequency	Percent	Descriptive Equivalent
Speaking	2	30	18.4	<i>Intermittent</i>
	3	112	68.7	<i>Very Limited</i>
	4	21	12.9	<i>Limited</i>
Writing	2	53	32.5	<i>Intermittent</i>
	3	99	60.7	<i>Very Limited</i>
	4	11	6.7	<i>Limited</i>
Reading	2	3	1.8	<i>Intermittent</i>
	3	34	20.9	<i>Very Limited</i>
	4	49	30.1	<i>Limited</i>
	5	56	34.4	<i>Modest</i>
	6	20	12.3	<i>Competent</i>
	7	1	.6	<i>Good</i>
Listening	2	26	16.0	<i>Intermittent</i>
	3	62	38.0	<i>Very Limited</i>
	4	42	25.8	<i>Limited</i>
	5	32	19.6	<i>Modest</i>
	6	1	.6	<i>Competent</i>
Over-all Linguistic Competence	3	90	55.2	<i>Very Limited</i>
	4	63	38.7	<i>Limited</i>
	5	10	6.1	<i>Modest</i>

Respondents significant influence of first language to their linguistic competence.

It was discovered that writing and reading have a "very weak relationship" which means that with the two competencies, respondents feel a slight influence of first language to their linguistic competence.

Linguistic Competence	Correlation Coefficient (rho)	Description (Effect Size)	p-value	Remarks
Speaking	-.082	<i>No relationship</i>	.300	<i>Not Significant</i>
Writing	-.165*	<i>Very weak relationship</i>	.035	<i>Significant</i>
Reading	-.117	<i>Very weak relationship</i>	.136	<i>Not Significant</i>
Listening	.094	<i>No relationship</i>	.234	<i>Not Significant</i>
Over-all Linguistic Competence	-.041	<i>No relationship</i>	.602	<i>Not Significant</i>

* Correlation is significant at 0.05 level

The proposed English language instructional module

Rationale:

In responds to IR 4.0 challenge, this proposed English instructional module aims to expand the linguistic competence of the HS students in terms of reading, writing, speaking and listening. The utilization of this module should be implemented the soonest possible time. Further, this module aims to familiarize students from other learning cultures with the conventions of academic English and to give practice in their use. Skills in academic reading, writing, speaking and listening will be developed through exposure to a variety of literary and academic texts, lectures, active participation in presentations, and a series of writing tasks.

For both writing and speaking, attention will be given to linguistic structures of relevance to academic study. At the same time, a focus on register and style will encourage users to differentiate successfully between the expectations of formal writing and speaking contexts, leading to the independent production of a fully referenced academic essay and individual presentation. Through the course of the module, transferable skills in research, synthesis, communication and critical thinking will also be developed.

Reading

Objective	Content	Strategy	Time Frame	Respondent	Source	Evaluation
Students will learn the meaning of new vocabulary words and will use them when speaking and writing	“Raleigh Was Right” by William Carlos Williams	Group Activity	3 weeks (ICL Day)	Grade 10 Students	Free Audio Resource : http://writing.upenn.edu/pennsound/ (Google search terms: Penn Sound, Raleigh Was Right)	Paper Review
Students will be expected to understand words in a variety of contexts from a variety of roots (Greek, Latin, etc).	Affixes	Reading	2 weeks (ICL Day)			Choral Reading
Students will determine word meaning by analyzing the textual content.	Figures of Speech	Discussion	2 weeks (ICL Day)			Writing Composition
Students will learn to use print and electronic vocabulary tools such as dictionaries.	Connotation and Denotation	Debate	3 weeks (ICL Day)			Script Writing

Writing

Objective	Content	Strategy	Time Frame	Respondent	Source	Evaluation
Students will learn to write in English using personal experiences	World Literature Stories	Creative Writing	3 weeks (ICL time)	Grade 10 Students	English 10 (DepEd) www.quiperschool.com www.slideshare.net	Writing based on Personal Experiences
Students will use strategies to generate and develop ideas for writing and visual activities.	World Literature Short Stories	Group Activity Summarizing	2 weeks (ICL time)			Reporting
Students will determine purpose, point of view and audience, and choose an appropriate written format.	Literary Genres	Written Activities	2 weeks (ICL time)			Letter/Resume Application Writing
Students will write stories from a variety of cultures, and identify the similarities and differences in the way language is used.	World Literature Culture and Traditions	Discussion	3 weeks (ICL time)			Script Writing

Speaking

Objective	Content	Strategy	Time Frame	Respondent	Source	Evaluation
Students will use the target language, English, accurately.	Understanding the Parts of Speech	Video Presentation/ Demonstration	3 weeks (ICL time)	Grade 10 Students	Achieving Fluent English (Consulta & Benedicta)	Reporting

Students will develop the ability to speak in English effectively and with confidence.	Oral Spoken	Listening Oral activity	2 weeks (ICL time)		2004) www.masterfluentenglish.com	Debate
Students will be encouraged to express themselves fluently using appropriate grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation.	Building Vocabulary and Pronunciation	Slideshow Presentation Oral activity	3 weeks (ICL time)			Impromptu Speaking
Students will organize their ideas logically and present them in various communication situations.	Rules of Conversation	Discussion Oral Activity	2 weeks (ICL time)			Talkshow, Extempore Speech

Listening

Objective	Content	Strategy	Time Frame	Respondent	Source	Evaluation
Students will listen to a passage and write down what is heard.	Listening Comprehension	Listen to Audio Recordings	3 weeks (ICL time)	Grade 10 Students	Youtube & Slideshare.net www.wikieducator.com	Interview
Students will summarize and briefly explain what is heard.	Listening for Information	Listening Oral Demonstration	2 weeks (ICL time)			Newscasting
Students will follow simple instructions.	Instructions	Listen & Repeat	3 weeks (ICL time)			Role Playing
Students will do things based on spoken instructions and give information through instructions.	Doing Things on Spoken Instructions	Discussion Listen & Write	2 weeks (ICL time)			Radio Broadcasting

Conclusion

Guided by the theories on Linguistic Competence, Acculturation theory, and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP), this paper successfully addressed the analysis of students' first language influence on their linguistic competence. Respondents' level of influence of the first language manifested a high level of influence of first language. The respondents got significant difference on the level of influence of first language when grouped according to their profile. Ages 17-18 had highest level of influence of the first language that are mostly male. Likewise, Maranao respondents got the highest median score of 4.03 and p – value of .036 which is significant. Respondents who graduated elementary education at private schools exhibited high level of first

language influence as compared to those respondents who came from public schools. In terms of grades in third quarter, respondents who manifested a high level of influence of first language were those who were at below 75 grade scale level.

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“MYANMAR YOUTH EMPLOYMENT: THE IMPACT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY (ELP)”

Ma Tin Cho Mar

Department of South East Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
University of Malaya, Malaysia
(tinchomar@um.edu.my)

Abstract

As Myanmar moves towards further democratization, the country is rapidly emerging as an attractive travel destination in Southeast Asia. The pace of sustainable and inclusive economic growth in Myanmar is determined in part by the quality of its labor force. Youth human capital development requires a comprehensive and coherent strategy to capture the symbiotic relationship between educational attainment and continuous learning, labor productivity, and growth.

The focus of human capital development policies are equity and quality of services, regulation of the labor market, and the development of a productive labor force that can adapt to new economic opportunities (Gakidou et al. 2010, Barro and Lee 2015). This paper meant to discuss how English proficiency is crucial for the young generation to gain employment opportunities. At present, have seen an unprecedented popularity of English in this former British colony where English proficiencies “lead to economic advantages, help in dealing with the outside world, and improve prospects of study abroad and employment.

The qualitative data support the general conclusions from the quantitative analysis. The personal accounts would be collected during the interview phase not only highlight some of the problems faced by graduates as they seek employment in their field of study, but also identify ways in which policies and practices might respond to these issues based on the tools such as employment outcomes with low levels of ELP. According to Piniel and Csizer et al (2015), this paper aimed to find out if the analysis of the longitudinal survey data would demonstrate whether oral English language skills are the key predictor of successful employment outcomes in Myanmar. Likewise, finding of this study intended to contribute the aspect of various interviewees considered ‘workplace ready’ ELP to include both general and specific occupation language skills.

Keywords: Myanmar, Youth, ELP, employment, opportunities and growth.

1. Introduction

1.1 Myanmar youth

Based on the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR), youth are defined as young people between 15 and 29 years old, but according to Ma Khin Sandar Nyun (2016), a member of the Myanmar youth policy drafting committee (MYPDC), Myanmar youth are defined as those between 16 and 35 years old young people. This definition can be used at

the state and different regions in Myanmar. The department of social welfare, relief and resettlement in Myanmar also agrees with these youth definition(nyun,2016).

In Myanmar, people age from one to thirty-five make up about 60 percent of the total population (UNFPA, n.d.) The national average age is 27 years old, and approximately 33% of the population is between the ages of 15 and 35(Pyi Taw,2015). Myanmar youth, compared with developed countries in the world, they're more diverse. They come from a variety of realities, different areas, seeking for different needs and have diverse experiences. When they are looking for jobs, they will face up with both opportunities and challenges.

The 2015 Labour Force Survey found that 74.8 percent of young men and 55.3 percent of young women in Myanmar have jobs, while an average of 17 percent are neither working nor in education (Gough, Katherine.2016). Young people become a powerful factor in determining the country's future economic development, but with the arrival of Industry 4.0, it is increasingly difficult for young people to find jobs. According to Census, more than 60 percent of young people have not completed high school education. Due to the lack of education and skills, Myanmar youth people will be more difficult to adapt to the automation and high skill demand society brought by industry 4.0.

Based on these situations, Myanmar government has started to take various measures to create more job opportunities for the youth. Through education reform, strengthen the ties between youth, government, and enterprises, Myanmar government has created more employment opportunities for the youth people. The State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi also emphasized the strengthening of vocational skills education for young people in Myanmar, including language skills training.

1.2 English Language necessity

Nowadays, it is found that the demand of oral communication is greater in Myanmar society. Becker (1964) analyzed the cost and benefits of formal education, he studied the relationships between human capital investment and individual income distribution. According to his research, education improves individual productivity, the more educated people are, they will have more job opportunities and higher income in the labour market. Economist Marschak (1965) applies the choice of language in the labour market and the behaviour of learning a certain language to microeconomics. He believed that language, as an indispensable tool of economic activities, also has economic effects and benefits. To a certain extent, language can be regarded as a kind of human capital (Aldashev, Gernandt, & Thomsen, 2009) because language ability is basically the accumulation of intellectual capital (Vaillancourt, 1983), and language skills can be on of the job skills.

It is a consensus that language skills have some impact on workers' employment opportunities and salaries. Stohr (2015) found that highly skilled use of English in the workplace of German workers could bring a 12% wage premium. Casale and Posel (2011) took South Africa, a former England-dutch colony, they found that English proficiency had a wage premium of more than 50% for workers who spoke African languages.

Di Paolo and Tansel (2015) used the 2007 adult education survey (AES) to estimate the return on income brought by several foreign languages in the Turkish labour market, the data shows that English is the most valuable and important language in labour market. Azam, et al. (2013)

analyzed the return of English ability in the Indian labor market, he found that compared with non-english speaking workers, the hourly wage of skilled English workers and those who spoke a little English were respectively 34% and 13% higher than the former.

The language ability of laborers may overcome the barriers caused by market segmentation to some extent, thus having a certain impact on the increase of final income (Guo & Sun, 2014). According to the human capital theory, the process of improving English ability is also the process of accumulating more human capital, and the increase of human capital will bring more employment opportunities and higher income.

English proficiency certificates reflect the abilities of workers. It is a tool for employers to identify and evaluate candidates for different positions. The English proficiency of laborers not only reflects relevant skills, but also reflects their own abilities in the labour market, which may help them easier get job opportunities. If Myanmar youth have a good proficiency in English, it will be of great help for them to search for jobs.

2. Literature review:

The literature review of this research is done on four main aspects: 1. Job opportunities in Myanmar 2. Young Generation and potential Employment 3. Myanmar youth English language skills. 4. Environment for learning English language.

2.1 Job opportunities in Myanmar

As a country with demographic dividends, the great number of young people are often considered to be one of Myanmar's main strengths (ADB, 2012). There are also more opportunities and challenges in the labour market due to large number of young labour force. So far, most of the labour force in Myanmar are engaged in productive work. But in the near future, due to technology development and the changing structure of the job market, high-skilled jobs will occupy the majority of Myanmar labour market, young people with higher skills will be more likely to find job opportunities in Myanmar.

Christopher Spohr (2017) mentioned that although the demographic structure of is young, there are many technical shortcomings in Myanmar's labour market structure. The labour force in Myanmar is relatively low in education and the skill level is low. At the same time, the construction of local labour organizations is still in an imperfect stage. Most workers are engaged in various types of informal work, and the trade union has only recently resumed after years of suppression. Labour disruptions caused by strikes may raise concerns from foreign investors who are seeking to invest and take advantage of low-wage workers.

According to a survey by the Japanese foreign trade organization, workers in Myanmar are paid lower wages than those in southeast Asia. Employers often say that finding skilled and talented workers are challenges. Besides, because of these migrant workers' income expectations and adaptation for different standard of living, attracting professionals to return can be difficult. To achieve sustained high growth, we need to improve labour productivity, also need to improve the skill levels of workers, and it is good for both sides.

According to the ministry of labour, in the present, Myanmar government has conducted different kind of methods to increase the employment of Myanmar youth. In different regions

and states, the government has set up a total of 77 labour exchange offices. Meanwhile, matching facilities and training are being built now. For example, flow support team, the government vocational training center (mainly in Yangon, Mandalay, and Baden), private vocational training center already built in myanmar. Government also conducted regular implementation of the Labour force survey (2015-2016), including the youth employment statistics.

Sakiko Tanaka, and Sandra D'Amico (2015) research paper pointed out that Myanmar is expected to experience significant structural changes of employment, industry in promoting economic growth and job creation plays a more and more important role. This affects both skill development and Labour demand. A systematic analysis of potential changes in employment patterns associated with economic transformation would be a useful guide to investment in education , which will prepare the workforce and talent pool for future opportunities.

2.2 Young Generation and potential Employment

With technical development in the era of industry 4.0, future employment faces many changes and challenges. Emerging technologies such as automation, robots, artificial intelligence and computerized algorithms threaten jobs in Myanmar.

In the past, cheap labour in Myanmar attracted a lot of foreign investments and which provided many low-skilled jobs in Myanmar. But by using automated machines and artificial intelligence such as robots, many kinds of jobs could be automated. Low-skill labour forces are no longer required, which will cause massive unemployment in the future.

Morikawa (2017) pointed out that artificial intelligence has accelerated in recent years, and due to the improvement of big data processing capabilities, deep learning and other technologies have made breakthrough progress. As a core driving force for a new industrial reform, it will reconstruct activities such as production, distribution, and consumption.

During the six-year period from 2010 to 2016, the number of global robots has increased to 2.1 million units, achieving an average annual growth rate of 17% (David, 2017). With the advent of the industry 4.0 eras, robots and automations have been used in many fields, especially in the field of Manufacturing, production and service areas.

Schumpeter believes that economic prosperity ultimately means that the production process is further mechanized, which inevitably reduces the amount of labour required per unit of product, and that prosperity often includes the reduction of labour demand for such industries, and technical unemployment is inevitable. It is a component of cyclical unemployment.

According to Bowles (2014), although technology was destroying jobs, but also creating new and better ones in a long time. “Now the evidence is that technology is destroying jobs and indeed creating new and better ones but also fewer ones.

Technological advancement reduces production costs, and productivity increases create huge wealth, and enterprises will gain extra profits and expand reproduction, thus stimulating new employment growth points create more job opportunities in various fields than previously lost jobs (Stoneman,1983). At the same time, technologically advanced employment creation mechanisms can create new jobs.

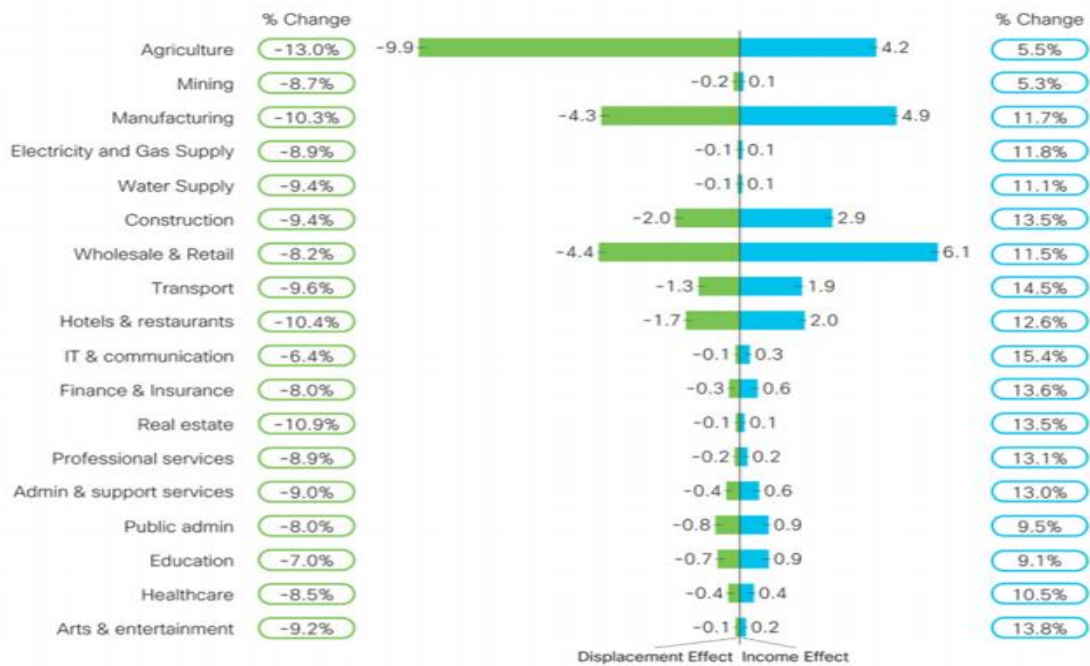
After the robot replaces the manual jobs, it will lead to changes and adjustments in the management mode and production process of the whole industry (John, 2017). The positions

replaced by the robots are currently limited to repetitive operations or high-risk operations. Low-skilled jobs will be replaced, resulting in lower demand for this part of the employment, but the demand for high-tech jobs is constantly increasing.

The use of robots also has a certain impact on the job market. From the initial handling of the robot to the development of the education and medical industry, the robot using gradually moves from the low-end operation to the middle and high-end operation (Gibbs,2017), and the application of robots will inevitably gradually replace more and more jobs.

Carl Frey and Mike Osborne (2013) suggest that in the areas of management, business, finance, computing, engineering, science education, law, community service, art, media, health care, the risk of jobs replaced by new technology is low. Jobs in services, sales, offices, administrative support, construction, manufacturing, transportation, and logistics will be greatly occupied by automation and robots. Jobs such as engineering and science will not be occupied by emerging technology because these positions make creations that are not easy to be replaced.

Figure 1: Jobs vs Displacement vs income effects of new technology scenario



(Source: Oxford economic and Cisco)

2.3 Myanmar youth English language skills.

Compared with previous generations, this new generation of Myanmar youth’s English proficiency has improved significantly, mainly due to the education policies of Myanmar government, the increasing English proficiency demand of labour market, and the enthusiasm of young people in Myanmar for learning English. Fen, W.S (2005) mentions that: Today, the only local language taught in schools is Burmese, and English is the only foreign language taught at this basic education level. From kindergarten onwards, Burmese and English are compulsory subjects. He pointed out that Burmese is the only language of instruction up to

standard 8. In standards 9 and 10, English is the language of instruction for science subjects, while Burmese is used for the rest.

Kirpatrick (2010) indicated that in order to improve young students' English proficiency, high schools in Myanmar have built multimedia English classrooms and interactive English language LABS. “The talented student project”, launched by 38 high schools across the country, allows students to take after-school English classes taught by college professors. In universities, English is still the language of instruction. According to Myanmar Ministry of Education, interdisciplinary courses such as English for professional purposes are open to undergraduates and graduate students. With the emphasis on information education, the university has built learning centers and language LABS equipped with information technology facilities, which have promoted the reform of English teaching. Under the call of the national human resource department, the university has set up the human resource development center, which offers a variety of full-time and part-time courses to build a lifelong learning society with an open education system, including English courses. Myo Myint (2016) pointed out that as well as learning English in public schools, a growing number of Myanmar youth are learning English in private schools. Influenced by the democratization process in Myanmar, the demand for employment and study abroad has been increased year by year. Myanmar youth people are eager to improve their English level, and there are many learning classes in English-Burmese bilingual teaching. Some private schools offer English classes and employ native English speakers. For example, there are about 40 private schools or training centers in Yangon that offer English course and teach English as a second language.

In addition, Lee Hock Guan (2007) also mentioned that there are foreign-funded international schools that adopt foreign teaching materials and models. They also offer long-term primary school courses. There are summer English classes that offer one to three months of language training. The fees vary from each other, but parents still try to send their children to these private classes to help them improve English proficiency, because English is a necessary stepping-block for exams related to management.

2.4 Environment for learning English language.

Fen, W.S. (2007) mentioned that after Myanmar's independence, the dominant concept of language policy is further maintenance Burmese status as the official language, and lower the status of the English. 1964 the government closed all missionary schools, announced Burmese as the language of instruction in universities, and planned to create a new Burmese alphabet to replace the old English one.

Weiwei.p (2017) pointed out that in order to eliminate the influence of British colonial government in Myanmar, the status of English has been reduced again. In 1964, English courses were cancelled in primary schools in all regions and could only be opened in junior middle school, which caused a decline in English teaching level to some extent. In 1970, Burmese became the only language of instruction in primary and secondary schools. It was not until the late 1970s, when English was once again emphasized as a modern language, that English became the main medium of instruction in high schools and universities.

Han Tin (2000) pointed out that after 1988, with the development of economy and international cooperation, English was valued and emphasized again in Myanmar. Basic education in public

schools required both English and Burmese. In high school, English was used to teach science courses such as chemistry, physics and biology. The government has conducted educational reforms, offering “The talented student project” in 38 secondary schools across the state, students in this program took two extra classes a day taught by universities, including information communication technology and English, mathematics or science. The aim of reform was to improve the practical application of English. English was also the teaching language in these universities. The selection of English textbooks strengthened students' reading and writing skills. English newspapers and TV programs provided an environment for people to get in touch with English easier.

According to Myo Myint, and Poe Poe(2003), most of the English teachers in Rangoon university and Rangoon institute of foreign languages have obtained master's degrees in English language, literature or education from the United Kingdom and the United States. In English teaching, in addition to explaining the necessary language knowledge to students, teachers in public universities focus more on training students to communicate in English, so that students can continuously improve their language ability through language practice, expand their vocabulary and broaden their horizon of English culture. The successful use of communicative English teaching methods in universities in Myanmar shows that it is very necessary to use some effective teaching methods in English teaching, such as communicative English teaching method.

Than Than Win(2016) mentioned that a growing number of private language schools in Myanmar now offer both full-time and part-time English language courses and English-related vocational training. For example, there are about 40 private schools or training centers in Yangon that offer English as the second language of instruction. Such schools may adopt the Singapore curriculum or employ native English speakers as teachers. According to the Ministry of Education, the working language of ASEAN is English, so the Myanmar government is trying to improve the English of senior officials. Since Myanmar joining the ASEAN, senior government officials in Myanmar have also started to receive English training, and some have participated in training programs in foreign countries, such as Singapore, to better grasp the working language of ASEAN.

In addition, according to the research paper of Leo Suryadinata (2007), the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the United Nations development program (UNDP) have provided English language training to Myanmar citizen for tourism development. UNICEF organizes workshops for the development of early English language skills in local children; China, India, Vietnam, Israel, Germany, Japan and other countries are also cooperating with Myanmar to provide education assistance.

3. Methodology

For the purpose of the data collection, a questionnaire on YUFL students' learning needs was developed. It was distributed among the English language major students at the Yangon University of Foreign Languages (YUFL). The sample size was 20 students. Participation in this study was voluntary. The students were informed about the purpose of this research projects; returning the filled-in questionnaire forms implied their consent to participate in the survey. A purposive sampling procedure was adopted, and the targeted population was

current and/or prospective English language learners. The study employed both qualitative and quantitative approaches to collecting and analyzing the data. The qualitative data were analyzed by thematic analysis while the quantitative data analysis employed descriptive statistics.

3.1 Preliminary Qualitative Findings

As demand for oral English communication and employability tend to change cyclically over the time in Myanmar, this study carried out qualitative analysis for challenges for Myanmar youth as following.

Academic difficulties in learning English

- Ineffective teaching or learning environment; lack of effective English Language Development (ELD) instruction & support
- Interrupted formal language education
- Differences between mother-tongue and English language acquisition
- The ability to recognize how English words function grammatically in sentences
- The lacking in competency of oral communication within Myanmar students

Employability vs English communication necessity

- Tourism business development in Myanmar increasing
- More foreign employers in Myanmar industrial sector recently
- Exploitation of labor-force Myanmar especially by the foreign investors
- A need to match Myanmar youth English communication skills and industry needs

4. Conclusion

English is perceived as a permit to get employment opportunity and upward social mobility in Myanmar. Hence, there seems to be a positive relationship between students' socio-economic status and their proficiency in English, probably due to the difference in opportunities available outside the home and community for learning and using English. This indicates the urgent need for developing relevant and high-quality English language programmes for learners in public sector universities too. We knew well that Myanmar is not alone in facing these challenges. These and similar challenges abound in the majority of African countries and many other countries in Asia (see, for example, Vavrus 2002, Brock-Utne et al. 2003 and Mansor et al. 2004). However the environment for learning English in Myanmar is getting better than before, and students have more opportunities to learn English, whether in public or private schools. Myanmar government and international organizations have also provided a more accessible English environment for young people in Myanmar.

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CONTEXT-BASED DIFFICULTIES ON ORAL COMMUNICATION OF ESL LEARNERS

Lenis Aislinn C. Separa, Leonila J. Generales, Ruby Jean S. Medina

Polytechnic University of the Philippines Bataan
(lacsepara@pup.edu.ph, ljgenerales@yahoo.com.ph, rjsiccion@yahoo.com)

Abstract

The knowledge in L1 serves as the foundation of an individual in verbalizing thoughts using L2. The goal of language acquisition and language learning is one's ability to communicate effectively with other people in a situation that is ideal to the L2 speaker. This study investigates the contexts in which L2 speakers of English finds difficulty in the various communicative tasks. Through a qualitative approach, the narrative accounts of the lived experiences of college students in a university in the Philippines were analyzed through a thematic approach. Data reveals that emerging difficulties in English speaking not only involves lack of linguistic competence but also encompasses psycho-social fears of speaking across different communication tasks.

Keywords: communication; speaking ; speech ; difficulty; English ; English as second language

Introduction

The Philippine educational system requires English as a medium of instruction in all levels beginning Grade One. This policy aims to promote proficiency of learners in using the English language although out the years of schooling. Such proficiency must not only be observed in the completion of schoolwork that are taught in English, but more importantly its application in everyday lives of students.

Being able to communicate effectively with other people is one of the ultimate goals of learning a language. The ability of a person to talk with both native and non-native speakers of English indicates how well one can establish relationships and engage oneself in socialization. The feeling of being understood, as well as the ability to understand other people creates a language environment that is fulfilling for an individual. Though the English proficiency of learners may be favorable in the written communicative tasks, it doesn't always follow that they have the same proficiency in speaking.

During some circumstances, non-native speakers like ESL learners experiences difficulty in expressing themselves through speech. These situations that inhibits their self-trust in communicating often lead to losing their confidence during the communicative task.

Problem statement, research questions and objectives

Thus, this research aims to investigate the communicative tasks that ESL engaged in that requires them to express themselves orally. From the varied speaking tasks of the learners, the situations wherein they have trouble in expressing themselves will be investigated. The possible factors that makes it hard for them to use English orally will be determined.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Lo et al. (2018) found that the stress level of L2 speakers of English is the same in real and in virtual situations of tests. The source of stress of speakers are categorized into four public speaking anxiety factors: (1) positive mindset; (2) physical symptoms; (3) preparation anxiety; and (4) performance anxiety (Kelsen, 2019). If the cause of the public speaking anxiety of students can be determined, it would be possible to create a more fit pedagogical approach to the creating of contexts in teaching that can build self-efficacy of students (LeFebvre, LeFebvre & Allen, 2018).

A study on Malaysian ESL learners revealed those with low self-esteem, low motivation, and high apprehensions experience hardships in speaking skill though they have the acceptable language skills (Leong & Ahmadi, 2017). Nazir et. al. (2014) found among Pakistan ESL learners the awareness of the impacts of not being able to express oneself in English and even in committing errors during communicative tasks. This anxiety is even found to be evident when an ESL learner is asked to make explanations in the classroom using the English language.

Vederber (2009) identified the public speaking effectiveness model which suggests that the audience has a central role in the speech planning and speech making of an ESL learner. Along with the audience analysis, the speaking context which include physical setting, cultural setting, historical setting, and psychological setting affects how the audience perceive a speech. The perception of an ESL learner on the take of their audience on their oral communication competency becomes the contexts in which difficulties may be experienced.

How they perceive the contexts of speaking can attributed with the ESL learners past experiences with similar situations. Pearson et. al. (2008) refer to this idea as *perceptual constancy*. A learners initial perceptions and past experiences tends to become persistent and influences the current perception.

Methodology

Participants

This study used the qualitative thematic analysis in exploring the students' fears in speaking in English. Data were collected from college students who are taking Bachelor in Secondary Education major in English (n=41). The data collection asked participants to self-describe their fears in speaking through a narrative of their experiences in expressing themselves in English.

Procedures

The Branch Ethics Board of the university provided clearance for the conduct of the study. Students accomplished the Informed Consent Form for data collection and are given the option to be excluded in the study. Though they know that the narrative is part of the course requirements, students are also aware that their responses would be used for research purposes only and would remain confidential.

Students answered the question: Narrate three situations in which you had difficulty in speaking using the English language? Upon submission of the handwritten works of students, the responses were typed verbatim using MS Word. None of the students read the individual responses of classmates but the experiences narrated were used as a basis for discussion in class.

The description of experiences shared were categorized into themes that emerged with the objective to catalogue the sources of difficulties experienced in oral communication using the English language.

Results and Discussion

Fluency-based Difficulty

Sentence construction plays a significant part in the difficulty of students when speaking. Considering that there are secondary schools requiring students to speak only in English during classes, students sometimes opt not to attend classes to avoid violating the rule that causes them to lose their self-confidence. A student reminisced:

“I didn’t want to enter in her class because I don’t want to speak even a single word. Aside from being so shy, I had a hard time in constructing a sentence, a phrase or even fragments whenever they asked me something about anything or even the lesson that had been discussed. Neither because I don’t have something to say or I don’t know what to say but I thought during those times I really lost my confidence in speaking in front of the crowd, even to the closest friends that I have meet.”

Acquisition and learning of vocabulary in a certain language entails constant usage of a language. Though English is considered the second language in the Philippines, it is not used as a usual way of communication. As unknown words are used by another person during the conversation, students start to feel shy about themselves for not fully understanding a question.

“When I was an elementary student, I am so shy to answer most of the question that my teacher given to me because by that time I only know few words of English and I am not yet to use it to communicate to others.”

During class presentations, learners can verbalize with ease the contents of the reference material but explaining the contents based on one’s understanding becomes a problem. Aside from unfamiliarity with some words, the limitation of a learner in expressing one’s thoughts using English becomes a deterrent to describe concepts.

“Of course, I know I mastered the topic before the day I report it but the thought that I’m going to explain it to them is the difficult part. Because it will be explained in English language form and I proudly admit that some explanation pertaining in that matter is hard for me to express specially in English form.”

As the inability to think of the right words to represent what they mean affects oral communication, the construction of statements that adheres to the conventions of grammar also becomes a problem.

“...when the ISM students went to our school to visit us and me as one of the SSG officer I need to entertain them, and it is very hard for me because I’m so confused to my grammar if its right or wrong.”

Though there are those who value grammar do such when speaking, there are also those who can maintain their momentum in speaking in spite subconsciously knowing their errors.

“...I couldn’t stop myself from speaking I can’t even notice my grammar was not correct. For example, my capabilities is, because I was moved by the situation and I got excited to finish my speech my friends are laughing at me also my co-departments who noticed my wrong use of word.”

The reaction of other learners on the grammatical error committed by another learner suggest the value attributed to the correctness of sentence structure when speaking using the second language.

Because of the mindset of learners of their limitations in vocabulary, they lose composure in speaking that lead to inability to organize thoughts effectively. This situation can be described as *mindless speaking* which refer to not understanding fully the process and the output of speech during conversation.

“One of my difficulties is also my hard time in here when expressing thought or idea in the form of English language. In first I’m going to feel nervous then every word I said is shaky and I don’t know what I’m saying eventually.”

“I speak so fast that makes me not to be aware of what I am speaking. While speaking, I spoke the word that is not suited to the sentence or I should say or wrong grammar wherein I spoke the adjective form of the word instead of the noun then my friend, Denver, shout[ed] “Politician!”. With that I really laugh at myself for my stupidity.”

With the different scenarios involved in the difficulty in speaking based on the learners’ vocabulary and grammar, second language learners experience a feeling of having disorganized thoughts together with the fear of committing mistakes.

“As time goes by, I realized that it is harder to express yourself if you don’t know what you are saying because you are getting confused and afraid to commit mistakes.

Time-based Difficulty

Since English is not the usual mode of oral communication of second language learners, the speed of constructing and verbalizing thoughts must also be considered. When given a speaking task in school, the ability of the learner to think accordingly is weakened when they are pressured by time. The referred speaking task is not merely conversation, but a free speech. In one of the impromptu speech activities in class, a student narrated:

“...we began our impromptu speech. Sir Cris [not his real name] prepared a topic for each one of us. Sir Cris said, “next, no.5”. That’s my number, I thought. That time I felt nervous. I give you 30 seconds to think [Sir Cris] while setting the timer in his phone. Oh Lord Jesus, please help me. He said, Okay, Start. I do not know how to start my speech at that moment I speak but while I was speaking, I did not properly uttered it.”

The mere knowledge that an activity is impromptu speaking gives learners a negative anticipation of how they will perform. Nervousness that leads to mental block becomes the starting point of their pre-speaking preparations.

“Sir John told us that we will having an impromptu speaking. That time I feel so shaky because of my nervousness. I don’t know what I am saying regarding to the topic, bag, that I am going to give certain information. I want to give some more but my mind says stop because I cannot think well at the same time, my vocabulary is only limited.”

The grading system that is linked to the speed of answer predisposes learners to focus on the obedience to the teacher’s set rule rather than in composing a correct answer.

“Sir Mark asked class to speak in front. It is graded. I think it is and if you speak within 5 seconds your grade will be 5, the topic I picked was about SIS so I started one speech, but I was stuttering because of nervous and my mind goes empty and don’t know what to say.”

Aside from the pressure experienced due to the limited time provided in preparing for the speech, the limited time allotted in the actual performance of a speaking task also becomes a problem. There are students who may have a lot of things to say that may promote the development of their fluency may feel confined with the time specified to finish the speech.

“We are asked to explain what is our research all about and it should be done for only 15 minutes. Because of time limit, I spoke fast and buckle because also I’m so nervous and thinking what I should say because it is like impromptu speech.”

In addition to the impromptu speech which causes learners to worry about the things to say for the new few minutes, questions that may just require immediate brief answer also causes difficulty in speaking. The anxiety learners feel adds to the inability to speak in English.

“Last sem, when we’re discussing something, our teacher called me and asked me a question. I was very nervous that time so I tell them that I don’t know the answer. Surprise recitation always making me stutter so I didn’t have any guts to an answer the given question.”

The confidence level of ESL learners eventually goes down as they realize the pressure of arriving at a thought that has just been presented. Though a question seems simple as they were able to start a speech, the anxiety they feel causes them to discontinue speaking.

“When my name was called, I was so nervous. I picked the topic paper. At first, I was speaking good, but then I was so nervous and didn’t say anything because of anxious, stopped and went to my chair.”

When this difficulty in speaking suddenly strikes, there are learners to recourse to injecting humor to the situation to save oneself from humiliation. The expression *chaar* is a filler used in speech to provide the audience a signal that a person does not mean what is just said and would like to treat it as a joke instead.

“I explained it with my all effort and understanding, but honestly, my impromptu speaking became comedy. Why? Because I can’t explain what I’m trying to express and had such informal words like [chaar].”

The time pressure brought by an impromptu question that require an impromptu answer may have found to cause inconveniences to students when during speaking tasks, but there are also ESL learners who manage to overcome the difficulty through focusing on the task rather than on the problems encountered.

“...you will explain it on the spot. It was hard for me because I am not confident to speak in English specially in the front in our class...I immediately stand and go to the front of the class while my knees are shaking because of my nervousness. Shoes, that is your topic, my teacher said. And I started to speak even if I’m not sure if my grammar is correct.”

Process-based Difficulty

When learners are explaining a concept using the second language, they prepare for their presentations based on their planned flow of ideas. Once an unsolicited question from a listener intercepts the presentation, the learner experiences difficulty in answering the question.

“I know my topic very well but it’s just that I am so pressured and so eager to share my knowledge to my classmates. I had set the details in my mind but when she asked me question that I’m not prepared with there, I don’t know how to continue and to end what I had started.”

Aside from the inability to answer on the spot questions from listeners, the learners also find it hard to continue with their presentations from where they were interfered. In some cases, they cannot even remember their presentation and cannot proceed with the speaking task.

“When it is my turn to stand in front of class. I thought I knew everything about my report but when I’m continuously speaking in front of my teacher cut me and I was blocked out at that moment and when my teacher told me to continue my report I don’t know what to do.”

Having mental block is a common situation for ESL learners. Even though the speaking task is meant for a religious gathering, the nervousness brought by the pressure of speaking in English add to the tendency for this phenomenon. The idea of speaking alone in front of a team even to talk about praise and worship causes mental block.

“When I attended trainings in the church, I’ve experienced having mental block while I was in front of all the brothers and sisters. That time speaking in English is required and we are encouraged to speak one by one to utter our enjoyment toward the Lord. We were grouped in a team and in every session, the emcees were calling a team to share in front what we’ve enjoyed during session. When our team had been called, I became nervous and my heart was pumping so fast to the extent that I was mental blocked.”

Another distinct reason for experiencing mental block is teacher’s testing of knowledge of students in an impromptu and oral manner. The unwanted feeling of being asked of a new knowledge, as well as the fear of the teaching getting mad, adds to the tendency of forgetting to go through one’s answer.

“when my teacher asked me about my report, that time my report is about

idiomatic expression. I delivered my report well but when my teacher gave me another sets of idioms I cannot give the meaning of them. Then I experience mental block that time I am afraid that my teacher will get mad at me I had the idea but I am afraid to share it because maybe it is wrong.”

Status-based Difficulty

ESL learners also faces difficulty in terms of communicating with other people that do not belong to their same age group and nationality. Speaking with someone who holds a position in school, as well as with a foreigner who is a native speaker of English, contributes to the non-assertiveness of learners.

Fear of Superior. In the previous discussion, learners pointed out the impromptu questions their teachers ask them that makes them stutter or experience mental block. Though it was not specified in their accounts, the knowledge of the authority and position of the teacher may have effected to this. Similarly, their experiences in speaking with the highest official of the school indicate a difficulty with assertiveness. Though learners know how to answer the question, they become conscious of the correctness of grammar when communicating with people in position.

“When I was in high school, we need to talk in our principal, because they have a foundation week...And when all the officers are in the principal office, some of my classmates feel nervous because we need to talk in English... I feel nervous, and I don't know what is the first thing to do because I am actually afraid to speak a second language. And when I start to speak, I feel I have many mistakes when I speak in English. Ma'am P asked another question about what design they can do in our stage and I can't speak for the second time because I am afraid in our principal.”

A speaking situation like an interview creates an environment that requires a learner to answer correctly and in a formal way. The pressure felt results to nervousness in answering even a practical question evidenced by a stuttering speech and rolling eyes during the conversation.

“Way back 2015, when we were being interviewed by the school dean, she asked me what course I am going to take and why did I choose it. I didn't give her a straight answer so I roamed my eyes inside her office. While looking around, I felt very nervous. I get a chance to answer her question when she repeated the question. So I calm myself and answer her question stutteringly.”

Even in social events where an authority in school becomes part of the jury for a speaking task, the ESL learner feel the pressure of doing well in speaking, most especially the aspect of grammar. The familiarity of the expectation of a remarkable person for a learner prompts them to be more careful in speaking.

“It was a pageant night when we're all candidates are on the question and

answer portion; it took a great courage to spit every word using the second language in front of the audience with your professor as your judge. I must be careful with my words and grammar since I am the representative of our section.”

Fear of Foreigners. The presence of native speakers of English makes ESL learners less confident in speaking the language. Though the learner stands as the teacher in a high school class and considered the person in authority in class, the fear of reprimanding the student using the English language happens.

“The time that I was observed at Sunny Hillside School, I have a student that cannot speak Tagalog and only English language. It is hard for me to control the way she act in the classroom because I’m afraid to talk with her.”

Clearly, the feeling of inferiority of being a non-native speaker intervenes in an ESL learner in spite of the function or the status one has in a communication set-up. Taking the role of an English teacher to a student that speaks English as first language makes one unsure of own communicative competence.

Another learner experienced a casual question from a native speaker in an informal communication situation. Though the question seems simple for the learner, the mere knowledge that the person is a foreigner makes one experiences lapses in constructing an answer.

“...this guy with his friends and he approached Karla saying ”Did you know where the caretaker is?” ... I was thinking that he was just some English speaking tourist who happened to be visiting the resort...and suddenly Karla passed the question to me and I was like processing ...processing...process uh..uh.. “They’re inside.. That was the phrase that came from my mouth.”

Expectation-based Difficulty

Social Pressure. Filipino is the first language in the country. Since ESL learners are trained to speak in English, the first language is projected to be against the classroom policy in a formal communicative task in school like oral presentations. Because the learner is not allowed to speak his first language, he admits that he is not confident to report in class.

“...I got mental blocked because of pressure since I was the first one to report in front of the class and I’m not allowed to speak in Filipino. Maybe the reason why I couldn’t express myself in English that time is because I’m lacking of self-confidence which is very important when you’re speaking in the language. The end result, I just read what’s written in the book and violate the rule of not speaking in Filipino.”

Being an ESL learner who takes English as a major track in pursuing a baccalaureate degree in Education creates a mindset for acquaintances that one is fluent in speaking the

language. Aside from this expectation from a college student, the background of the other person being a teacher adds to the anxiety of expressing oneself with the fear of being judged negatively for having grammatical slips.

“Recently, when I work at the Eastcam Tect. Corp. one of my co-worker is a former teacher in her province. When she found out that I am taking the course of education major in English she started to talk to me in English. She always started the conversation with me through English language. At first, I feel pressured because she is a former teacher. She is able to know if my grammar is correct or not.”

If the feeling of being gauged based on speaking competency causes discomfort, the pressure of practicing in public what one should know about English may be considered even more humiliating for a learner.

“I’ve been the translator of the Chinese sister... In the first day of staying there, I admitted to my teammates that I was not fluent in speaking English even though I am taking up Bachelor of Secondary Education Major in English. I just told them that everything could be learned...so, they told that I should learn from doing... They assigned me to the task I never imagined. I became the translator of one of the sisters. The battle started and the struggle is real at first I didn’t know how to approach that sister. I didn’t even know how to start the conversation.”

The expectation for being a good English speaker is not only seen in the type of program enrolled to but also associated with the homogenous class a learner belongs to. A person who is identified to be excelling in school is also expected to be fluent speaker. An ESL learner remembers how a previous teacher made her feel that way:

“I remember in my high school days. There is a teacher mandated us to speak in English anytime we are inside the school premises. Then one time when she is discussing, she asked me about something then she command me to answer her in English while in the first place she construct her question in Tagalog language. I try to speak in English but while speaking I paused. Then my teacher said that “why you stop” I said that “I feel like I’m lacking English words ma’am” then she said that, “ano ba naman leslie, nasa highest section ka oh! Sana naman panindigan mo! [Oh my Leslie! You are in the highest section. You must prove it].”

Since English is not the everyday language in casual conversations in the Philippines, a high regard is usually given to those who are fluent in using it. But there are times when the

admiration one receives for being an English major becomes an opportunity for ridicule that leads to a person's loss of composure.

"A friend of my cousin who was not seen by us for months gave a visit and asked, what am I taking up...My cousin proudly said "Education English major yan!" and her friend looked at me and said "Sample! Sample!" and I was like...'hahahahaha'. I felt like my feet are pinned into the ground and I can't move. Where is my dignity, my poor dignity. I asked myself in my mind."

Aside from the direct association with mockery, the expectations set on a learner who studies English may even translate to an undesirable situation of being assessed for one's language abilities. A conversation which happens not for communicative purpose but for proficiency testing is considered an undesirable situation.

"I'm on my part time job during that time and this professor knew that I'm taking Education and an English major so he said that he will test my English skill. I smiled at him and I said that I'll try my best. He throws questions at first then he said I should ask him too and try to have a normal conversation with him still speaking in English."

As an ESL learner exerts effort to perform social functions using the English language while others explicitly show how fluent they are in speaking makes a learner realize more what s/he cannot do.

"When I am teaching in our church and there are a few words that I translate it in English. My churchmates were shouting wow! English. Then they will talk in English too. And it is hard for me because they can talk pure English."

Social Insecurity. When an ESL learner encounter people who can speak in English better than they do, insecurities set in. The idea that one is not that competent in oral communication compared with others decreases a learner self-confidence. When this happens, mental block and stuttering happens. One learner recounts an experience on this.

"...Everyone is speaking in English and they are using it every moment of conversation. Maybe, I guess I am the only one who was not speaking because I am really shy to communicate with them. I felt like I was an outcast because I'm not able to use it in conversation. And then I got called by the speaker. I was stunned and got intimidated. In the end, I don't finish my answer I ended up stuck and frozen."

Nervousness also gets in the way during a speaking task in school especially at times when the ESL learner compares oneself with the classmates. The perception on the competency of others causes a learner to have doubts on one's own competency.

"I'm so nervous because many of my classmates are very good when speaking in English, I will say that I can speak English but when I'm nervous it takes me down. So back to the story, until my name was called I'm still so nervous, even I'm in front reciting I started to spoke stuttering because of nervousness."

Crowd-based Difficulty

Fear of People. In the previous discussion, fear originates from the insecurity with the perceived English competencies of other people. But even without the impression on others' competencies, ESL learners still experience difficulty. This time, being with a crowd that is unfamiliar to a learner affects their composure in speaking.

“Back in high school, it's the first time for me to encounter a situation which I had trouble speaking the second language, when we competed for the Division School Press Conference...when we are interviewed one by one about our background in Broadcasting. Since we're all in one event with different schools and different students, I'm a bit nervous and shaky to speak in front of the big crowd just to answer a simple question by the speaker.”

The dilemma of nervousness in front of a group of people is also evident in the non-verbal cues of a learner. When one has a mindset that public speaking even to a familiar crowd is an undesirable situation, learners tend to develop this habit of not initiating the necessary physical moves in speaking.

“...The teacher would give us a piece to be delivered two to three weeks before the actual performance. I remember memorizing every piece given to us but when the actual day came, I can't even stand up from my seat because I was scared of speaking in front of people.”

Stage fright appears to be the problem when speaking for a crowd. Though the listeners are known to the ESL learner, they develop the thought that the situation in which people look at him while speaking make him less confident in speaking. The act of standing itself contributes to this discomfort in speaking and returning to one's seat regains the composure of a learner.

“The second me is whenever I am going to speak in front of the class(so, this usually happens) the thing is I am not going to speak in front of the class I feel uneasy. It's like there's something watching me and I can't keep my hands on sweating and I usually stutter and can't think of the right words to say but when I get back to seat, I thought I should've said that.”

An ESL learner may also lose confidence in speaking with just imagining how it is like to speak in front of others. The mere thought of the presence of a crowd makes an ESL apprehensive of a certain communicative task even though the latter is known to the learner.

“Last school year, one of our professors gave us a task. I know that is easy for me to do what our professor said because it is not new for me to hear that task and it is to report in front of classmates and her. I don't know why I am being paranoid every day, when it comes to my mind that soon I will be the next who will teach or report in front of many people.”

Fear of Humiliation. Being asked of something that an ESL learner is unsure of initiates the feeling of being humiliated with other people. The fear of being rejected by the crowd also passes one's thoughts if questions asked in a classroom set-up is not answered properly.

"...It was very humiliating, the thing that you know what you were going to say but you can't because you were so scared that you might be wrong. I'm too scared in rejection. My teacher just asked why I need to discuss again about that structure of sentence when it's already discussed... I get too nervous and I stutter that's why I didn't answer it correctly."

The act of stuttering is considered a humiliating situation for an ESL learner. There is an anticipation that not being able to speak fluently would give classmates a chance to laugh at the person. This is how a learner shared her thoughts.

"... When I heard that there's a lot of words coming up in my mind, I said to myself what if my classmates laughed at me? What if I stutter in front of them? I see my classmates confidently speaking in English. I was nervous my hands are sweating. As Sir _____ called my name, my confidence went down only I can hear is the fast beat of my heart. I stutterly speak and I don't know if the words are perfectly connected to others."

Aside from stuttering, ESL learners believe that problems in subject-verb agreement is also a ground for being laughed at by classmates. This mindset causes them to be extra cautious with what they say and tends to inhibit them from speaking spontaneously.

"I still remember the time when I was called by my English teacher in High School in one of our discussions unarmed with the words I needed cause my vocabulary that time is just limited. I can't express myself to speak because of the fear that I might get laughed by my "grammarian" classmates. I felt embarrass on myself unable to speak the language in a fluent manner that time."

Since oral communication involves the auditory sense, ESL learners also experience inferiority due to the production of non-conventional speech sounds. If a person has a not so common way of pronouncing words, there are times when they are bullied about it. The act of mimicking the manner of one's speaking signals negative impression to the learner.

"I had this improper way of saying the letter "r". I noticed it every time am assigned to react a story. Everytime, I am assigned to read a story. Everytime I say a word with letter "r" I always think what will my classmates says about my speaking. I often think that they would

thought about me as a conyo. Because one time, I encounter someone who mimic how I say such as a word and I feel insulted about that someone who mimic my way of speaking.”

Fear of Criticism. ESL learners, being students who take English as a major field of study, expects themselves to be fluent speakers of the language. When one fails to perform according to their own self-expectation, they also develop the fear of being criticized by other people for that.

“First of all I hate English speaking in English I don’t know why I have but already here. First of my unforgettable moment when I’m in first year. Of course we are English major we must speaking in English in introduction. I’m afraid that my classmate will criticize me the way I introduced myself even in class recitation I know the answer but I don’t know how to answer it in English language. I don’t have enough confidence to be trying hard in front of others.”

Classmates who bully ESL learners are also considered as a potential source of criticism. The act of copying the manner of speaking of someone is a display of disrespect to another learner. When one encounters this situation of being mimicked, confidence in speaking goes down. As the ESL learner recalls this undesirable situation, she becomes anxious to assert oneself subsequently.

“...she noticed me and call my surname to answer. I stand up and confidently say the answer in the class. But as I talk to the class, I hear someone is mimicking my voice...So my confidence became lower and I immediately sit down pretending that I am done talking. Since then, every time we had a recitation, I don’t have enough confidence to raise my hand and recite in the class.”

Aside from mimicking as a reason for losing confidence in speaking, an ESL learner shared how other learners humiliate a speaker through not only making them a laughingstock. Labelling them for committing errors in speech seems to appear as a worse scenario to be in. Such experience make an ESL learner develop the difficulty in boosting one’s confidence in speaking.

“...Another reason was that most of my classmates kept on criticizing the ones who are speaking in front. Whenever you have said something wrong, they will laugh at you and keep laughing and eventually they will give you a nickname on the funny thing that you said/told. I think today there’s still that fear hidden inside of me, I don’t know what to do and how could I overcome it.”

Conclusion

Learning a second language is said to be based on the first language. That by having a solid foundation of the first language makes a competent speaker of the second language is found to be dependent on the speaking situation a learner experiences. The difficulty experienced with fluency involves being not used to using the language in everyday thereby limiting the necessary vocabulary set and naturalness of grammar coherence. Time plays a significant role in their speaking difficulties as their confidence goes down as they feel the pressure of the need for impromptu speaking and as they become too worried about questions that need immediate answers.

Aside from fluency and time, ESL learners becomes less confident in speaking tasks that are interrupted which require them a sudden change in the flow of thought and even lead to mental block. Even the social status of the person whom they converse with becomes a barrier to fluency. ESL learners feel being assessed and judged based on their speaking abilities when conversing with people who holds a designation in school. Also, native speakers of English make them doubt their capacity to speak in English with the mere presence of foreigners.

The expectation of the society of being good communicators contributes to the pressure they feel as ESL learners. The alleged prohibition of using the first language, that may include code-switching, in English class makes it even harder for them to process thoughts. As they encounter other English speakers that seem to be more fluent than them, ESL learners tend to feel inferior and nervousness gets in the way. Since they do not want to be humiliated and criticized for how they communicate orally, ESL formed the mindset for not wanting to engage in public speaking.

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STRENGTHENING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN WITH DISABILITIES IN INDONESIA CASE STUDY IN DEPOK, WEST JAVA, INDONESIA

Yani Fathur Rohman and Emilia Kristiyanti

Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Univesity of Indonesia
(yanifathur@gmail.com, kristiyanti@gmail.com)

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to provide an overview data about the current implementation of inclusive education so that it can provide a recommendation about several aspects needed to strengthen the implementation of inclusive education for children with disabilities. In 1994, Indonesia signed the Salamanca Statement in Spain that declared education for all through inclusive education implementation. Twenty-five years after that Indonesia is still struggling in ensuring the implementation of inclusive education that will benefit all children including children with disabilities. Depok is one of the cities in Indonesia that declared as inclusive city. Depok municipality government faces the challenges in making sure that national policies on inclusive education are translated to local policies that support the implementation in schools and communities. Previous researches show that the barriers to inclusive education practice mostly are caused by rejection, bullying, and lack of accessibility. This study found that integrating teachers' capacity, parents' knowledge, non-government organization support, and system social capital can encourage the implementation of inclusive education. This is a qualitative case study in which data collection was done by interview and observation.

Keyword: Children with Disabilities, Inclusive Education, social capital, policy, non-government organization

A. Introduction

Across the globe, international organizations have ambitiously sought to improve the education of students with disabilities through Salamanca's statement in 1994 (UNESCO, 1994). In the contemporary era, The right to education is on the agenda of the international community through the scheme "education for all". This is in line with SDG's point on equality in various fields including education, as well as his famous spirit "no one left behind". The right to proper education for persons with disabilities is regulated in the United Nations Convention on the Right of Persons with Disability (UNCRPD). *In article 24, it was mention that Children with disabilities must be able to access education without discrimination and based on equality (UNCRPD, 2006).* Further, reasonable accommodation must be provided to support them to get their education right based on equal basis. This can be seen as a global commitment related to the issue of persons with disabilities, as well as efforts to protect and respect the rights of persons with disabilities. This commitment relates to the fact that people with disabilities have experienced a long history of discrimination over the past decade (J.Davis, 2010).

The emergency of educational service for children with disabilities is appropriate from the data that the number of persons with disabilities in the world is around 15% of the total population. In fact, the majority of people with disabilities live in developing countries including Indonesia (LPEM FEB UI, 2017). Based on basic health research (Indonesian Ministry of Health, 2013) the number of persons with disabilities in Indonesia reached 12%. Data collection from the research has adapted 12 questions from WHODAS 2 as the operationalization of the International classification of functioning (ICF) for persons with disabilities. Further, only 18% of children with disabilities can

access education in Indonesia (Indonesian Ministry of Education & Culture, 2016). This is a challenge for the government to continue to increase participation rates and anti-discrimination attitudes towards children with disabilities. On the other hand, discrimination related to access to education for children with disabilities is still common. The forms of discrimination experienced are also quite complex both in terms of physical and social aspects. From the physical aspect, the lack of accessibility is a major factor in discrimination against people with disabilities (Waitoller & Artiles, 2013). While from the social aspect, persons with disabilities still experience exclusion due to stigma (Parmenter, 2014). Children with disabilities are at higher risk of experiencing stigma related to organ dysfunction in their bodies and are vulnerable to abuse from their peers (J.Davis, 2010; Sentenac et al., 2011). Even its existence is under-represented in the child protection system (Stalker & McArthur, 2012).

Since 2009, the Government has issued a national education ministerial regulation No.70 of 2009 which regulates inclusive education for students who have disabilities and have special intelligence and / special talent (Indonesian Ministry of Education & Culture, 2009). In 2011, Indonesia officially ratified the CRPD (Convention on the right oh persons with disabilities) as a form of government commitment to fulfill the rights of persons with disabilities including access to education. This ratification became the basis for the emergence of Law No.19 of 2011 concerning persons with disabilities (Statute No. 17, 2011). In 2016, the Indonesian government re-issued Law No.8 Year 2016 as a result of the revision of Law No. 2011. The Act explained the right to decent education for children with disabilities, the accommodations that must be met and the obligation of regular schools to accept students with disabilities (Statute No. 8, 2016). A key part of the inclusive education movement is a consensus that all children, including those with disabilities and impairments, should have the opportunity for education with their peers. The concept of inclusive education is in line with national motto of Indonesia "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" (unity in diversity). Besides, the disability paradigm began to experience a shift from charity-based to an empowerment model (J.Davis, 2010). The CRPD has explained that persons with disabilities include those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis. The environment then becomes an important component in supporting mobility, development, and independence of children with disabilities. Through inclusive education, every child from various backgrounds and difficulties get opportunities, participate, feel welcomed, get appropriate challenges, and be supported by their efforts (Mittler, 2000; Thomas, Vaughan, Rix, & Concannon, 2004). In the process, the implementation requires the support of various parties including the government, school, and organizations that focus on the rights of persons with disabilities to ensure that children with disabilities are enrolled and facilitated in the school.

B. Problem statement

Eight years after ratifying the CRPD, the government still faces difficulties in implementing inclusive education in Indonesia. There are many children can't enroll in the school or drop out of school because of their disabilities. Although the number of children with disabilities who participate in inclusive education schemes is increasing, there are many students refused to register into public schools near their homes. The fact that not all public schools accept the existence of children with disabilities because school infrastructure is not friendly to disability and the lack of teacher capacity in organizing inclusive classes (Boyle, Topping, & Jindal-snape, 2013; Cassady, 2011; Yada & Savolainen, 2017). Inclusive school teachers have not described inclusive school teachers who qualify for children with disabilities even though the government already has an inclusive education training scheme. The availability of infrastructure in inclusive schools is also inadequate (Wibowo & Muin, 2016).

On the other hand, the problem of disability is also inherent in the family. The family has not been able to accept and recognize the condition of their child's disability because of the stigma and labeling of the community (Green et al., 2005). Even the role of the family to advocate for education and find other alternatives for children's education is still a burden on the family (R.Fiedler, 2008). The close link between disability and poverty is the reason why some families do not have enough social capital to fight for children's education rights. Besides, the government does not yet have a

scheme related to strengthening the capacity of parents who have children with disabilities. There is a considerable gap between the concept of policy and actual practice. The role of Non-government organizations is needed both to promote and fight for the rights of persons with disabilities. Disabled people's organizations (DPOs) have a role in overcoming the lack of networking for persons with disabilities (Clifford, Leader, Kosciulek, & Leahy, 2015). Although there are quite a lot of non-governance organizations, evidence from a survey of international donors' attitudes to disability issues reveals disturbing discriminatory practices, suggesting that education for disabled children is not seen as part of the EFA agenda but as a "luxury issue" for which donors do not have time (Lei & Myers, 2011). This article explores the way a non-government organization used networking strategies to link between school and parents who have children with disabilities in Depok City. Depok is one of the cities in Indonesia that declared as an inclusive city. 219 schools are declared as inclusive schools in Depok (Local Education Office, 2014).

C. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Inclusive Education Studies show positive output for students with disabilities who study in public schools including those related to increased academic achievement, social involvement, and behavioral development (Carter et al., 2015; Ruppard, Allcock, & Gonsier-gerdin, 2017). Previous studies about inclusive education have focused on schools both the role of teachers and the limitations of available infrastructure rather than social capital as an asset in strengthening the implementation of inclusive education (Batsiou, Bebetos, Panteli, & Antoniou, 2008; Boer, Pijl, & Minnaert, 2011; Boyle et al., 2013; Cassady, 2011; Schmidt & Vrhovnik, 2015; Sheehy, 2014; Yada & Savolainen, 2017).

This study explores how the link between social capital and the implementation of inclusive education. Teacher attitudes do have an important role both in encouraging and hindering policies on inclusive education (Schmidt & Vrhovnik, 2015). The question is with whom can teachers consult and work together regarding obstacles experienced during the implementation of inclusive education? How can schools organize inclusive education but on the other hand there are no strict sanctions for violators? What about the problem of parents who still lack knowledge related to the educational rights of children with disabilities? Social capital is an aspect that can bridge the parties involved in the implementation of inclusive education schemes. Social capital has the power to connect with outsiders and has the nature of bonding internal members on the other hand (Larsen et al., 2004). This approach can be seen as a new direction for inclusive education. A culture of collaboration can encourage and support problem-solving by involving those in a particular context, working together to overcome obstacles to education experienced by some students (Kugelmass, 2001; Skrtic, 1991). Vicious circles are expressed in society as distrust, breaking of the norms of reciprocity, avoiding one's duties, and isolation. On the other hand, result in social equilibrium manifesting itself in a high level of cooperation, expanding trust, strong reciprocity, civic activity and collective well-being (Robert D. Putnam, Robert Leonardi, 1993).

Through social capital embedded in the network, actors can more easily to obtain resources. Actors can utilize "structural holes" from the network (Burt, 2001). Networking prevents duplication effort, promoting inter-disciplinary ways of working, identifying, promoting and sharing power (Miles, Fefoame, & Mulligan, 2012). Networking can result in very transformational experiences, long relationships and meet organizational support to enhance the knowledge for parents with children with disabilities (R.Fiedler, 2008; Rice, 2018). Strong ties between actors can create trust and obligation (Esser, 2008).

Everyone wants to benefit from networking, but not all actors want to invest in achieving collective goals (Esser, 2008). Inclusive education is the goal of a global society, encompassing cross elements, starting with policymakers, academics, the community and society at large. Each actor has an interest in facilitating access to resources by forming social networks. All these elements are incorporated into what is called Nee as an institutional framework (Nee, 2003). In the process, not only formal rules are visible, but also informal norms including networks to bring the interests of one another closer. With the density of the existing network, there arises the need for social capital systems. Social capital systems are collective goods or rather public goods whose production depends not only on the interests of individual actors and investments (Esser, 2008).

The performance of this system is the result of cooperation which is unlikely to occur only from certain actors but depends on collective performance. Thus, social capital brings the function to facilitate social cohesiveness, community support, and life satisfaction in social life (Robert D. Putnam, Robert Leonardi, 1993).

In the "system social capital", there is a control system that can bridge and control actors during the process of accumulating relational social capital. Besides, anyone who is not selfish contributes to society, and therefore deserves credit (more social capital), will be quickly noticed (Esser, 2008). System control is a direct consequence of certain network structures, both density, closure, and relationship stability. To support the enhancement of network structure, we need a moral system which is the morality of mutual commitment as well as the validity of norms and values of all actors. The moral system or Nee calls it as informal norms established can reduce transaction costs (Nee, 2003) and social dilemmas (Esser, 2008). Through this concept, the implementation of inclusive education is not only seen from the aspect of policy as a form of organizational pressure but also how the relational social capital and social capital systems contribute to strengthening the implementation of inclusive education. The impact of the accumulation of social capital will be seen in two dimensions. First, the vertical dimension includes the relationships formed between actors who have different hierarchies, such as the relation of the parent, NGOs, and schools. Second, the horizontal dimension includes the impact of relationships formed between parents who have children with disabilities on the implementation of inclusive education. This concept will dissect both the challenges and the potential of social capital that is constructed to strengthen the implementation of inclusive education.

D. Methodology

This research is a qualitative case study in Depok, East Java, Indonesia. Inclusive education is a case that includes something in real life and a contemporary setting (Creswell, 2002). That location was chosen because Depok has declared as an inclusive city. This Research is to provide overview data about the process and challenges of implementation of inclusive education in Depok. All participants in this study consisted of parents with children with disabilities, teachers in inclusive schools and disability organizations. There are 12 participants in this study consisting of parents with children with disabilities, teachers in inclusive schools and disability organizations. All participants were chosen because they were stakeholders involved in implementing inclusive education. Six Parents were individually interviewed after their visiting or counseling at Wahana Inclusive Indonesia and getting their approval to be involved in this research as well. Four teachers were selected based on recommendations from Wahana Inklusif Indonesia (WII) by considering their knowledge and capacity in supporting inclusive education in Depok. Executive director & coordinator of the education and advocacy from WII were interviewed to represent organizations that support the implementation of inclusive education in Depok.

E. The Rule of Wahana Inklusif Indonesia (WII) as a Bonding & Bridging

WII is an organization that focuses on disability issues and inclusive education has several programs to support the implementation of inclusive education in Indonesia including parental counseling, teacher training, and advocacy. Currently, WII has around 30 assisted schools and provides counseling services to more than 100 parents. Counseling service at WII was established especially to maximize the role of families in increasing their potential and designing educational programs for children with disabilities. Through this service, the parents achieve new insight and knowledge about disability rights and inclusive education. The problem of disability in this study is not only from the attitude of a peer group in the community but also from the attitude of the family due to the stigma attached to persons with disabilities. Besides the need to tackle exclusion from the problem of physical accessibility, the capacity of parents needs to be enhanced to be able to advocate the education right of their children with disabilities. This effort can be seen as a way to open up communication space so that parents get alternative solutions for their children's educational problems. This finding answers the limitations of previous researchers in explaining

environmental aspects as a cause of social exclusion and what parents can do to fight a stigma (J.Pierson, 2009; Levitas, 2005; Oliver, 1996).

With this service, WII has a role to strengthen the psychological aspect of parents in combating the stigma in society. Besides, counseling service also helps parents to realize and open their minds that they are not alone. Many other parents also have children with disabilities. Through consultation and stories from other parents' experiences in fighting for children's education rights, motivation has emerged to be more pro-active in disability issues, although some parents are still worried about the condition of regular schools and choose a special school.

Parents who get services at WII even have the initiative to create social media groups to share experiences related to their children. Parents' forums and communication spaces that are formed have the function to bind internal actors based on the same interests, namely the realization of proper education for their children. The counseling program can transform knowledge related to disability & inclusive education on the one hand, and bind the parents as internal members on the other hand. That ties have an impact on the mettle in advocating the education right of their children. Collectivity makes parents have sufficient reference and power.

Also, an advocacy program is not only in the form of hearing with the government, but also go to schools directly. WII has scheduled to visit their assisted schools every month to ensure that children with disabilities are properly facilitated. Currently, WII has 27 assisted schools. The advocacy process is done by offering teacher training besides approaching the school to be willing to organize inclusive education. Once the school deals with the teacher training program, the school becomes a part of WII's assistance and network. Furthermore, WII will be ready to assist technically in the implementation of inclusive education, such as the creation of PPI (individual learning programs), and consultation regarding various problems faced in the implementation of inclusive education in the school. WII becomes an organization that bridges between the interests of parents and the school. Organizations as supporting systems are needed to bring their interests closer and open communication spaces, especially between parents and schools. The majority of schools want to accept children with disabilities, but they have many limitations and fears in dealing with disabled children. On the other hand, the parents want their children to get a proper education and be well facilitated. While parents do not have enough power to advocate for their children independently. The existence of WII as a supporting system is important to ensure the interests of the two parties are well communicated.

The existence of a supporting system also helps schools not only to facilitate schools with what is needed in the process of providing inclusive education but also to help schools to communicate with parents when the school finds children who are indicated have certain obstacles or disability. The headmaster of SDN Tanah Baru 2 said:

"The school was confused about how to convey to parents that their children have an obstacle. There is the parent we once appealed to take his son in psychological tests, but it was like their parents do not accept that because he thinks that his son is fine. Maybe because we are not experts. After being at Wahana, I heard he wanted a psychological test".

This finding shows that supporting systems like WII help the role of schools in organizing inclusive education. Furthermore, the important point is the ability of this organization to create relationships with school supervisors and local agencies. WII becomes an ideal institution to bridge various parties because of the network as an apart of their relational social capital. They have the power to press and have enough social capital to be technically accustomed to school as well. The social capital Included the capacity to hold teacher training, an ability to create adaptive curriculum and their relation to both government and non-government agencies. WII becomes an organization that is more trusted by parents and schools to deal with various problems of children in the school. Further, the existence of WII encourages schools to identify students who are indicated to have certain obstacles or disabilities especially intellectual disability and ADHD (attention deficit hyperactivity disorder) which are not visible in physical condition. The pattern showed that social capital owned by WII not only had a function of binding internal groups, but also a bridging function to outside parties.

F. Transferring Social Capital for parents

Stigma has a tremendous impact not only on persons with disabilities but also on their families. Parents' worries and fears related to bullying, and negative labels become one of the challenges in the implementation of inclusive education. At school, children with disabilities who have learning difficulties such as autism and ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder) are identified as a "bad boys". In Indonesian culture, groups labeled as bad boys are children with deviant behavior. The inability to distinguish deviant behavior with the natural behavior of children with disabilities creates a stigma against disability. For several parents, this is considered as a proper phenomenon in the beginning before they get counseling related to what is a disability and the right to get proper education for children with disabilities. Parents tend to surrender about the various labels embedded by the school environment.

They consider that it was a consequence of the disability condition. In fact, for some parents with children with intellectual disabilities, they take it for granted when their child is failing a grade. The parent Informant said " My son was failing a grade twice, for me the important thing was he goes to school". Children with intellectual disabilities & autism at regular schools are often recommended to move to other schools. The reason is that schools do not have staff who can deal with them in their schools. The other informant said " my child was told to move to other schools, I was confused about where I should go, other schools would not necessarily want to accept it as well". Lack of knowledge in advocating children with disabilities is a challenge for families. The knowledge about disability and regulation on inclusive education has become social capital for parents which has not been widely obtained.

This finding confirms the previous research that the advocacy of parents regarding children with disabilities is still problematic (Rice, 2018). Transforming social capital to parents is important considering the institutional pressure from the government regarding inclusive education policies has not been accompanied by strict punishment for schools that do not obey the rules. The majority of parents have lacked social capital in finding alternative education for their children. Not all families who have children disabilities come from middle-low-income families. Nevertheless, they are more likely to have limitations regarding the knowledge of inclusive education. The social capital regarding children's educational rights is never gained when they take therapy to a psychologist. They get advice related to children's growth, but how to ensure their education right has not been answered. One parent said "I have just dared to communicate directly with the school, learn from friends and after join in WII program".

Besides advocacy insights, parents are also included in the WII network with various related parties who have strategic positions to strengthen the implementation of inclusive education. Parental involvement in this network also strengthens the disability movement by maximizing the role of parents. Further, this effort makes parents receive the benefits of the existence of " structural holes " or the benefits of proximity to actors who have a strategic position. The executive director of WII received an Inclusive Education Award from the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia in 2013. The organization also received various awards from the local government for its participation in supporting the implementation of inclusive education. Besides, WII is often involved in collaboration with local governments and school supervisors to conduct teacher training. Thus, parents who participate in the WII program have greater potential to guarantee their children's educational rights to be enrolled in a regular school. Easy access becomes a benefit from the creation of a network in a vertical dimension.

From the horizontal dimension, the network created can make parents having the social capital to influence other parents who have children with disabilities. This was said by the parent directly.

"Because I know that children with disabilities are entitled to a decent education like others, I also invite other parents to consult at WII. I was awakened when I see her child didn't go to school and just stay at home. I used to think like that but it's so different right now".

The knowledge gained from counseling services encourages parents to be more open to participating in advocating the implementation of inclusive education. Through social capital, parents more easily obtain some resources, including insight and knowledge. The existence of a counseling service indirectly encourages parents to meet each other. Meeting in an informal setting after consultation seemed valuable for parents. They create a network of fellow parents to exchange experiences related to their children. As a result, parents have strong enough ties to fight for their children's rights because of the creation of the network among parents. This finding shows that counseling service affects the creation of relational social capital among parents and between parents and schools. Networking can result in very transformational experiences, longlasting relationships and meet organizational support to enhance the knowledge for parents with children with disabilities (R.Fiedler, 2008; Rice, 2018).

G. Strengthening the implementation of inclusive education Through System Social Capital

The organization has played a role in strengthening relationships among parents as well as bridging parents with schools related to various problems in implementing inclusive education. The network between parents, schools, and WII has been established through several services including advocacy, teacher training, and counseling service. Even though WII has enough social capital, challenges arise from the density of their networks. The problem is that WII has difficulty to control the role of parents in enhancing children's self-sufficiency at their home. The WII bridging function has not been accompanied by the commitment of all parents to help WII and schools to enhance children's self-sufficiency so that they can consistently participate in the learning process that is adjusted to their potential and obstacles. This was also expressed by a teacher in an inclusive school.

"There are some parents who are difficult to collaborate with. For example, we hold a parent meeting, but they don't want to come, while we have difficulty to deal with this child".

This finding fills the lack of the concept of social capital (Robert D. Putnam, Robert Leonardi, 1993) regarding the impact of bridging social capital that was not previously explained. Social capital in the form of knowledge and network has been transformed by WII to parents, but not all parents use this knowledge to capitalize on their children in their daily lives. Parents tend to use existing networks as access, but they do not necessarily mobilize social capital to their children. When social capital is understood only as access, not assets, it can block the creation of system social capital. The "system social capital" becomes a collective good in which there must be a morality of the benefits derived from the network. The reciprocal elements of all the actors involved are needed to maintain relationship stability. Morality in this system of social capital also fosters trust. The less the role of parents in fostering children's self-sufficiency at home, the fewer schools trust in parents in supporting the implementation of inclusive education. The effect schools may lose reliance on WII in advocating for the educational rights of children with disabilities. As a collective good, the "system social capital" influences the performance of all actors involved in networking. When there is one actor who does not play a role in achieving a common goal, the other actors are potentially affected. Another problem is that not all parents who have children with disabilities attend counseling services at WII, while schools are starting to openly accept children with disabilities. Schools that already understand the concept of organizing inclusive classes need support from parents, especially children with intellectual disabilities, autism, and ADHD. The intended support is to teach self-sufficiency to their children. This was expressed by the teacher in an inclusive school as well. "When I asked who did your homework to the student with a disability, he said the one who did homework was his mother ". This fact is evidence that the system social capital in that network must be improved. Focusing too much on bridging social capital has an unfavorable effect on parents' efforts to develop children's self-sufficiency, even though parents' capacity to advocate for their children to school is increasing. System social capital becomes a challenge among parties involved in implementing inclusive education in Depok. In this context, some parents feel they have access to and the presence of their children at school guaranteed by WII. That has an impact on efforts to enhance the self-sufficiency & potential of their children decreases in some cases.

Apart from that, all teacher informants said that they were greatly helped by the existence of organizations that assisted in the technical implementation of inclusive education in their schools. What needs to be considered is how to make schools able to enhance their capacities so that they can organize inclusive education independently. Some schools still depend on and rely on WII to facilitate the necessary learning needs although the school has long accepted children with disabilities. The problem of inclusive education is quite complex, so it requires the cooperation of various parties to strengthen the implementation. System performance is the result of cooperation that may not occur only from certain actors but depends on collective performances. This finding reinforces the concept of Esser (2007) related to the importance of system social capital that has a function to control, appreciate, and maintain morality among actors involved in network structure. Various programs and resources attached to the WII network can strengthen the implementation of inclusive education in Depok. However, system social capital is needed for the long-term sustainability of the network. The system will strengthen values & norms among actors as part of the moral element. Informal norms can fill the lack of existing formal rules.

Inclusive education policies in Indonesia have been around for a long time through Minister of Education and Culture Regulation No.70 of 2009, then the government issued the Law on Persons with Disabilities No. 8 of 2016. These policies are considered very conceptual and do not regulate technically. The Executive Director of WII said, "The policies are very conceptual, so schools also have difficulties in their implementation, they still need to be simplified". The implementation of inclusive education can be maximized by utilizing informal mechanisms. The network between parents, WII, and schools is social capital to strengthen the implementation of inclusive education. Being able to collaborate with 30 schools and provide consultations to more than 100 parents are evidence that WII can strengthen the networks. In contrast, the system social capital has not been well established among the actors involved in the network. It indicates the difficulty of changing stigma in society. On the other hand, this implies a lack of support from the government and other organizations both to advocate technically and to do the family intervention. The fact that the efforts to strengthen the implementation of inclusive education with top-down policies only make the schools more stressful. Technical assistance and informal mechanisms are needed to enhance and strengthen the network structure among the actors involved. Reciprocal commitment among actors has not been well developed, especially from the parents. The role of government or other organizations is needed so that all parties involved are more proactive in carrying out their respective roles.

Discussion

This research explores the potential and constraints of social capital that are developed among actors to support and organize inclusive education. Relationships among actors become the main focus to see how social capital is transformed and utilized by actors. But this study has not yet explored the role of leadership among actors. The network formed between WII and the school is not impossible to be influenced by the leadership of the school principal or all teachers do feel they have the responsibility to implement inclusive education (Thompson, Lyons, & Timmons, 2015). Stigma on persons with disabilities is a challenge and this is no exception for parents. However, the relationship between parents' motivation and attitudes with family economic conditions in parenting is another aspect that needs to be seen as a challenge to strengthen the implementation of inclusive education.

Conclusion

The result of this study indicates that WII has a role to encourage the implementation of inclusive education through bonding and bridging social capital. Nevertheless, challenges arise when actors only utilize the WII network as access. Not all parties involved are willing to invest to maximize their respective roles. The limited capacity of WII to monitor and control all parties has made the social capital system between actors not yet well established. Furthermore, the role of parents in maximizing children's self-sufficiency at home is still low. Therefore, it is not appropriate if government intervention to strengthen the implementation of inclusive education is only done by

making top-down policies. Strengthening the implementation of inclusive education policies must be accompanied by interventions for families through counseling services or other forms. Furthermore, WII needs the support of other organizations that focus on the disability issue to assist technically in the schools and establish informal mechanisms to cover the shortcomings of formal mechanisms in the form of inclusive education policies.

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THE ABSENCE OF EASTERN PERSPECTIVES IN THE GENERAL EDUCATION ETHICS CURRICULUM OF THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION ON HIGHER EDUCATION

EDUCATION, LANGUAGE, SOUTHEAST ASIAN LITERATURE

¹RAEMEL NIKLAUS, ²P. LEYRETANA

¹Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Department of Humanities
University of the Philippines Los Baños

²PhD Philosophy Student, Department of Philosophy
De La Salle University Manila, Philippines

(rpleyretana@up.edu.ph, raemelleyleyretana@dlsu.edu.ph)

Abstract

In this paper, I revisit the Philippine Commission on Higher Education's (CHED) suggested syllabus for the General Education (GE) course, Ethics. Several documents from CHED would reveal that the trend of Philippine higher education must have an international outlook as a response to globalization. An example, I give in this paper is CHED's insistence on triangulating higher education with that of the ASEAN view of higher education. CHED would like to inculcate into learners the value of discovering the cultures and viewpoints of other nations. Doing so would strengthen the country's relationship with the rest of the world, stress into the minds of learners an appreciation and respect for diversity of cultures and produce graduates who are able to keep par with international academic standards. Drawing from these, I claim that the suggested syllabus of Ethics published in CHED's official website is disjunct with these aspirations. It is because the syllabus does not mention anything about Asian/Eastern perspectives. Moreover, it does not even appreciate the peculiarity of Filipino ethical views. I argue then that the absence of such alienates the course, Ethics with the standards CHED has promulgated. As a response, I argue that the inclusion of Asian/Eastern frameworks in the study of Ethics has two advantages. First, it is applicable even outside the classroom setting as the learning can be used when faced with a variety of people; it fosters better working relationship with others. Second, the inclusion of such widens the horizons of learners; learning is not stuck only within the confines of Western philosophies. As a concrete contribution, I recommend the inclusion of the ethical ideas found in Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism. I also see the need to inject local sources of Filipino morality in the syllabus. The inclusion of these well resonate to the aforementioned CHED documents that highlight an internationalized view of education. Though revision in curriculum would take a huge amount of considerations such as time, workshops, and resources, I think that doing so would be an investment rather than loss for the fate of Philippine education.

Keywords: ASEAN view of education and Philippines; CHED GE Ethics curriculum; Eastern Philosophy and education; Philippine curriculum revision

Introduction

With the conceptualization of a revised program for Philippine basic education and its actual implementation dubbed as "K+12," the country's Commission on Higher Education or CHED also attempted in coming up with a revitalized and improved program that would respond to these changes. The basic education was envisioned in providing students or learners an education that is spiral in movement. This assures continuity of the competencies learned inside the classroom. In the same token, CHED crafted its renewed higher education program that would respond congruently to this vision for the basic education curriculum. The CHED opted not to offer the subjects that were transferred essentially to the senior high school

program. As a revision, CHED formulated new course offerings, that when triangulated with the revised basic education program, would ensure higher learning without sacrificing a continued vision of education. Thus, CHED came up with what is known as a renewed General Education (GE) subjects. These subjects, ranging from the domain of the physical sciences, languages, mathematics, and philosophy, would ideally cater to a more holistic formation of future college graduates.

Another angle worth noting is that the Philippine's addition of two (2) more years in its basic education is an act of benchmarking with international standards. The revitalized education program is in hope of keeping at par with other countries. More importantly, the renewal of the country's educational system is keeping true with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations' (ASEAN) vision of promoting an international, cross-regional community.

Keeping all of these in mind, it is just fitting that the contents of the revised curricula respond to this international outlook of education. If we are to look closely with the vision of an international quality of education, not only will its focus be on the upliftment and development of technology. We can construe that the goal of this kind of education is to strengthen ties through cultural awareness forged by mutual respect among other nations. As will be further discussed later, this is the essence of the ASEAN integration.

Thesis and Methodology

In this paper, I aim to critique the proposed and suggested GE Ethics curriculum of CHED. By examining its proposed syllabus, I argue that it lacks an internalization of the ASEAN Integration vision. I claim that its lack or the non-inclusion of Eastern/Asian perspectives in the proposed does not well respond to the ASEAN integration as well as the holistic formation the GE program envisions. In response to this claim, I provide arguments on the why it is important to include such perspectives. Furthermore, I attempt of contributing a suggested course outline which features Eastern/Asian perspectives. To achieve the aim of this study, I discuss, in order, the following:

- a. CHED's cooperation with ASEAN vision of education;
- b. the new GE curriculum of CHED;
- c. the current suggested GE Ethics syllabus of CHED;
- d. importance of Eastern/Asian perspective in the study of ethics;
- e. a model of a holistic GE Ethics course content.

It is hoped then that after this research, CHED will be more open of reviewing and revising the current suggested syllabus for GE ethics. Consequently, since State Universities and Colleges (SUC's) as well as other Higher Educational Institutions (HEI's) are given the freehand in crafting its curriculum without sacrificing the essentials posed by CHED, it is hoped that this paper will be considered in coming up with an educational content that responds to global and ASEAN standards.

CHED and the ASEAN Vision of Education

CHED recognizes that it is imperative for Philippine higher education to integrate with the goals and objectives of ASEAN integration. The document entitled, "CHED briefing paper on the status of preparedness of Philippine higher education for the ASEAN economic community in 2015," authored by Patricia Licuanan (2014), then CHED Chairperson, cites that the brisk change in technology and the demand for a globalized outlook has prompted education in the 21st century to sync with these changes. In the ASEAN region alone, there is a clamor to standardize education among its member states in order to keep up with the ongoing revolution. CHED then according to Licuanan (2016) is motivated to pursue internalization as a strategy to:

- a. strengthen the country's role in an interconnected global community;

- b. develop Philippine HEI's as productive members of the international academic community;
- c. produce graduates with 21st century competencies who are able to live and work in a diverse multicultural setting;
- d. foster closer cooperation and understanding between the Philippines and the rest of the world.

The aforementioned document cites that one mission of higher education is:

Produce thoughtful graduates with a humanist orientation; analytical and problem-solving skills; the ability to think through the ethical and social implications of a given course of action; and the competency to learn throughout life and work in the 21st century world of regional economies (Licuanan, 2014).

In response to this, CHED envisions that the revised GE curriculum, an aftermath of K+12 program, would aid undergraduate students in honing skills that would critically assess social and natural realities by providing a holistic and interdisciplinary approach to education (Licuanan, 2014). CHED also takes credence in the fact that an observation among Asian employers tells that this kind of knowledge building is desired than being scientifically biased in the learning process of an undergraduate student (Licuanan, 2014). This kind of perspective of education will hopefully prepare the country in the ASEAN 2015 community. CHED hopes that this revitalization of higher education will “produce globally-competitive students, graduates, and professionals who will first and foremost serve the country but whose competencies are recognized in the regional and international communities” (Licuanan, 2014). Furthermore, CHED also is optimistic about the option of sending students abroad in order to achieve this vision (Licuanan, 2016).

But why be serious in this endeavor? Gathering cues from the strategies mentioned, CHED believes that internalization would help students to be adaptable to the fast-paced changes in a global setting and to appreciate a deepened awareness of social and cultural similarities as well respect for these (Licuanan, 2016). Internalization also would allow the country to strengthen its diplomatic and international relations. Moreover, it can widen the perspectives of students and faculty by the collaboration and sharing of cultural knowledge and activities. As how is this achievable? With the usual budgetary and logistical preparations (e.g. enough facilities, faculty, and training) considered, CHED also envisions that this internalization program would be learner-centered; deviating from the usual teacher-centered classical approach to education. Moreover, CHED specifically mentions that this learner-centered approach should be holistic; not only targeting the cognitive needs of students but as well as their social and cultural enrichment (Licuanan, 2016).

The New GE Curriculum of CHED

CHED Memorandum Order (CMO) No. 20 of 2013 entitled, “General education curriculum: Holistic understandings, intellectual and civic competencies,” authored by CHED chairperson Dr. Patricia Licuanan provides the backbone of the new GE curriculum. Due to the integration of some GE courses in the senior high school, CHED has created a revision of the withstanding GE curriculum which will hopefully “expose undergraduate students to various domains of knowledge and ways of comprehending social and natural realities; developing in the process, intellectual and competencies and civic realities” (Licuanan, 2013). This GE curriculum targets that it will give competencies that will enable learners to deal with a complex and ever-changing “globalized world” while not forgetting a sense of nationalism (Licuanan, 2013). Having this kind of understanding would make Philippine learners see and respect that everyone, regardless of color and race, are human persons. Even diverse, one ought to respect everyone and contribute to solving global problems. Under also the personal and civic responsibilities category of the GE outcomes, CHED envisions that the learner will be able to “view the contemporary world from both Philippine and global perspectives” (Licuanan, 2013).

As to how the revitalized GE program differs with the old, Licuanan (2013) identifies four differences between the old and the new:

1. Goals and outcomes are clearly articulated. Expected to be followed by all HEI's
2. There should be an emphasis on standard content. Also, because it is outcomes-based, the curriculum highlights competencies¹ that are needed to be assimilated by the student.
3. Leaner curriculum² with minimum 36 units of courses only. Congruent to a liberal view³ of education.
4. The New GE program provides 9 units of elective courses to which universities and HEI's can pick from depending on their educational philosophies.

The new GE curriculum consists of 24 units of core (required) courses, 9 units of elective courses and 3 units on the life and works of Rizal. The core courses are as follows: Understanding the Self; Readings in Philippine History; The Contemporary World, Mathematics in the Modern World; Purposive Communication; Art Appreciation; Science, Technology and Society; and Ethics. These courses should be interdisciplinary in approach will tackle a wide array of viewpoints. Licuanan (2013) writes:

Starting with the self, the course expands to cover the nation and the world and various ways of comprehending social and natural realities (artistic, scientific, mathematical). Two other important dimensions are given attention: communicating in different modalities and for varied purposes, and basic ethical considerations that enable communities and societies to live peaceably in the face of competing claims, opposing viewpoints, and diverse faiths and cultures.

Assessing the Suggested GE Ethics Syllabus of CHED

CHED describes that the main goal of the study of Ethics in the collegiate level is the assimilation of ethical principles of the modern world (Licuanan, 2013). This means that it is not only limited to the self but envisions living in harmony with society, environment, and the world as a whole. The curriculum is designed such that it will have three parts. The first is the laying down of groundwork namely, what Ethics is all about and what human conditions are covered by the discipline. At the end of the first part, students are expected to translate concrete human conditions into ethical cases which they can use for the second part (Licuanan, 2013).

Next, the student is oriented to the different ethical frameworks. Note that the guideline says:

The second part of the course takes students through the various classical ethical frameworks – **utilitarianism, deontological ethics, virtue ethics, and natural ethics** – providing them with the tools by which to articulate and analyze the ethical cases they constructed ... This portion of the course culminates in the students' ability to express their constructed ethical cases in the language and form of particular ethical frameworks. (Licuanan, 2013; *emphasis mine.*)

In the second part, students are asked to familiarize themselves with the ethical frameworks mentioned in order to apply the knowledge to the ethical cases they have formulated or at least considered in the first part.

¹ In current Philippine educational philosophy, there has been an emphasis for competencies. Competencies are the specific and concrete skills that are achievable after each lesson. This enforces a more learner-centered approach to learning rather than teacher-centered learning. Competencies are often constructed by using "outcomes-based verbs" such as *explain, create, identify, analyze*, etc.

² In response to the call for a spiral way of learning, CHED did away with the old GE subjects that are now being offered in the senior high school. These courses are replaced with subjects which ideally continue the competencies to be learned by students during senior high school.

³ Liberal view of education here means a holistic and comprehensive selection of subjects which are sourced from basic domains of *math and science, social sciences and philosophy, and arts and humanities*.

Lastly, the third part allows students to weigh the pros and cons of the ethical frameworks learned in class. Through a careful reading, understanding, and application of the various frameworks, the student is led to critically examine the usefulness of each framework in lived experience. Licuanan (2013) says that the end goal of the study of Ethics is for students “to be able to make informed decisions on their constructed ethical cases.”

In an updated recommended syllabus published in 2017, CHED made some adjustments with CMO 20, s. 2013 along with a detailed plan of study.⁴ The course is designed to be a 3-unit course and is to be offered for a period of 18 weeks or 48 hours in a semester. This is an attempt of summarizing the syllabus (see CHED, 2017):

Topic	Content	Allotment
Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is morality? - What is a moral dilemma? - Foundation and requirements of morality 	6 hours
Part I: The Moral Agent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Role of culture in shaping human behavior - Development of the moral agent 	12 hours
Part II: The Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Making reasoned ethical discussions - The role of emotions in decision making 	12 hours
Part III: Frameworks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Virtue Ethics: Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas - Kant and Rights Theory - Utilitarianism - Justice and Fairness: Egalitarian, Capitalist, Socialist 	12 hours
Part IV: Challenges to Ethics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Globalization and pluralism - Religion and Ethics 	6 hours

It would be also noteworthy to mention here the recommended list of references found also in the same document:

ETHICS Resources and other Requirements

Angeles, Antonette and Azada, Rowena, "Medicine Prices, Price Controls and the Philippine Pharmaceutical Industry" Monograph produced by the Jose B Fernandez, Jr. Ethics Center and Ateneo graduate School of Business, 2011.

Aquinas, Thomas: On Law, Eternal Law and Natural Law, *Summa Theologiae*, vol. 28, Blackfriars in conjunction with McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1966, Pp. 5-97.

Aristotle, Book I-II, *Nicomachean Ethics* trans. Martin Oswald, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Educational Publishing, 1983

Friedman, Thomas. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization*. 1st ed. New York: Anchor Books, 2000.

Gula, R.M. *Reason Informed by Faith*. New York: Paulist Press, 1989.

Kant, Immanuel, "Categorical Imperative," in *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*, Trans. H.J.Paton,

Kohlberg, Lawrence, *Essays on Moral Development, Vol 1 The Philosophy of Moral Development*.

Kubrick, Stanley. *Clockwork Orange* (video clip). Burbank, CA: Warner Bros., 1971.

Licuanan, Patricia et al. "A Moral Recovery Program: Building a People—Building Nation." In *Values in Philippine Culture and Education: Philippine Philosophical Studies I*, edited by Manuel B. Dy Jr., 31–48. Washington, DC: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 1994.

Palma-Angeles, Antonette. "Cultural Drivers of Corruption in Business and Governance." In *Business Ethics in Asia: Issues and Cases*, edited by Oscar G. Bulaong Jr., Ike Danita Dewi, and J. Sedfrey Santiago, Quezon City, PH: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2014.

Que, Nemesio S., S.J. "Notes on Moral Deliberation." Introduction to course notes for PH104: Foundations of Moral Value. Ateneo de Manila University

Rachels, James "What is Morality", Chapter 1 and "The Challenge of Cultural Relativism", Chapter 2 in *The Elements of Moral Philosophy*. 4th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill College, 2004, pp 1-31.

Rae, Scott, "A Model for Moral Decision Making" Chapter 16, *Beyond Integrity*.

Werhane, Patricia H. *Moral Imagination and Management Decision Making*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Figure 1: List of References from the Suggested GE Ethics Syllabus of CHED (2017)

⁴ In this part, I will only highlight the salient points of the syllabus.

Assessing the salient contents of the abovementioned suggested syllabus, I offer three observations.

First, the suggested syllabus does not mention any ethical dimension of Philippine culture or at least an attempt to critique if there is such thing as Filipino ethics. Considering that this is a Philippine GE college course, I argue that it is but fitting to consider such topic. Although the first part questions whether there is an understanding of Filipino behavior, I think that it is not enough.

Second, the suggested syllabus only mentions Western ethical frameworks or theories. It does not mention any single suggested topic on Asian/Eastern ethics. This is something strange for a course which should hone an understanding of various cultures and societies not only of the Philippines but also of other nations. This is true if we are to base it from the internalization vision of Philippine education.

Finally, because of the Western-biased syllabus, the suggested references are mainly from Western theorists/philosophers. Of course, there are some works authored by Filipinos but these are merely interpretations of Western perspectives. Other works such as that of Angeles, et al mentions Philippine pharmaceutical industry. This will be handy as a sample case for business ethics or bioethics. But can the case/dilemma be resolved also using Asian/Eastern thought? Surely, yes. However, without considering theories that are native to the Philippines or Asian countries, there can never be a holistic, much more a comprehensive way of seeing different angles that might address these issues.

These three observations lead us to the core of this paper. I think that if we are to appreciate the aforementioned current literature on Philippine higher education it is but an imperative to consider the inclusion of Asian/Eastern philosophies in the study of GE Ethics. In the next section, I will further expand this thesis.

Importance of Asian/Eastern Perspectives in the Study of Ethics

In this section, I present two viewpoints on which I build the idea that Asian/Eastern perspectives in the study of Ethics are important and relevant. The first is that of its applicability in concrete situations and second, that of promoting a comparative approach in viewing Ethics.

a. On Applicability

The mingling of an Asian/Eastern perspective in the study of Ethics is not only beneficial academically but if done comprehensively, can benefit the student. A holistic study of ethics can contribute to the actual life of the student after they leave the four walls of the classroom. For example, Sekerka and Yacobian (2016) argue that receiving a fair survey of Western and Eastern way of life can benefit the business sector. Those involved in management education typically include in their pedagogy a deeper understanding of cultural differences to assimilate better their employees (Sekerka and Yacobian, 2016). The awareness of these differences can mitigate confusion and misunderstanding in the real world. The only way to do such according to the authors is for stakeholders to be properly informed and educated of this plethora of ethical perspectives (Sekerka and Yacobian, 2016). Consider this:

To reap benefits from cultural differences, employee and extended stakeholder relationships must not only accept and tolerate individual differences but learn how to leverage them for professional development. Understanding the values of others and incorporating them within reflective processes can help managers learn how to establish buy-in from multiple vantage points. The capacity for innovation, creativity and insight has the potential to flourish when individuals make an effort to honor alternative views. Continuing to ignore them and/or favor one's own biases may catalyze additional misunderstandings and spark

conflict, and potentially seed future unethical actions (Sekerka and Yacobian, 2016: 105).

It is important to understand these differences in order, not only to avoid conflict, but to strengthen businesses. Doing so will ensure the efficient delivery of services as well as a more inclusive working experience. But should this appreciation of varying cultures start when one is already working? I don't think so. I think that in order for one to internalize a safe working environment, one must hone the habit of respect for varying cultures in their academic development. The study of a holistic Ethics can aid the student in knocking off or weighing preconceived notions of right and wrong. This is not to be premature in saying that morality is something fluid; it is rather in pursuit of a more inclusive community where everyone is given voice and is respected. One must understand that such preconceived notions can create an environment that promotes ethnocentrism. If one is not careful of this tendency, one will be running around and view their beliefs as an absolute. Sekerka and Yacobian (2016) write:

Ethics education needs to not only instill awareness of rules and regulations but also spur the desire to seek out deep levels of understanding about people, situations and their contexts (p. 109).

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(D)iverse ethical views may be more clearly heard and understood if the learning space recognizes the potential presence of ethnocentrism and/or a predominant underlying ideology. Hopefully, greater awareness of the "other" can help mitigate distortions, when perspectives are viewed as different from one's own cultural lens. Working to identify commonalities and differences is essential if we hope to advance respect and accommodation for the views of others. How we go about this process is central toward forging positive relationships and ongoing learning (p. 113).

b. On Promoting a Comparative Approach

In view of an effective education, T. McLaughlin (2004) supports a comparative view of philosophy. He says that philosophy, of which ethics is a branch of, needs a comparative dimension and that conversely, comparative education needs a philosophical dimension (McLaughlin, 2004). Care must be taken, however, that one who teaches such approach will not view another view using the lenses of one view. If this is well carried, one will appreciate both the similarities and differences both of Western and Eastern philosophies. If one is too much influenced by Western categories, the tendency is to critique and find only unorthodoxy with Eastern philosophy. McLaughlin (2004) says that "dialogue with the unfamiliar" is a skill that will ensure a good comparative analysis of two or more views. He (McLaughlin, 2004) writes:

The understanding of Confucian, Buddhist and Islamic philosophy, for example, presents a particular challenge to western thinkers, not least because of the intricate relationship of these traditions with a whole way of life. One danger confronting western thinkers is that of 'orientalism' inherent in the categorization of non-western philosophies of education in the light of an assumption that all philosophical traditions that are not defined as western constitute an identifiable 'something' simply by virtue of their being non-western (p. 478).

In order to facilitate an effective understanding of such viewpoints, McLaughlin says that one must be keen in unravelling contexts of such perspectives. This thorough examination does not only survey the philosophical differences but also considers even the seemingly trivial ones such as culture, practices, and non-philosophical beliefs (McLaughlin, 2004). This might sound tedious, but I am sure that with the proper training of the educator, the student will be able to go beyond the misconceptions and biases against a perspective. It must be cleared

out that the aim of a comparative study is not to make the perspectives fight each other but to enhance the other and promote collaboration between the two (McLaughlin, 2004). A mere glance of the proposed Ethics syllabus, as pointed out in the earlier sections of this paper, will reveal that it leans so much on the Western perspective. If CHED is really serious in its goal of promoting a global mindset in Philippine students, to consider this point is not something to be extinguished from the praxis of higher education. A comparative view then of Ethics will help the learners to appreciate and integrate themselves to the international outlook or vision of education.

Integrating Eastern philosophies, as mentioned, will help students remove their biases against such philosophies. It is no secret that Eastern philosophies are viewed by some as not really philosophies at all. This is due probably to the erroneous dichotomies set by unsupporting philosophers and thinkers. “Western is logical, Eastern is spiritual and illogical.” Eastern thought is commonly viewed as a mere religion, devoid of logic and reasonableness. Although it is true that Eastern philosophy is religious or may appear as cyclic rather than linear, this is not the complete picture of what Asian/Eastern philosophy is. This perennial misconception can be cured or corrected if one will be open in considering unbiased views of both Western and Eastern philosophies. If only one is able to have a deeper understanding of the major thoughts in Asian/Eastern philosophy, one will be able to say that their ethical principles are concrete and relatable to daily life. This point will be furthered explored in the succeeding section.

Charles Moore (1967a) would say that the study of Indian philosophy helps seekers of wisdom to understand not only the philosophy of the Indian people but also its “country and its people.” This is because life and philosophy are deeply intertwined in India. In understanding India this way, we are able to somehow feel how they think and not just mere outsiders trying to critique their system. Moore, in another paper on Chinese philosophy would also negate misconceptions about Chinese thought. Here he (Moore, 1967b) says that philosophy is actually important to the Chinese than religion. Whenever, for example, I think of Chinese philosophy before majoring in philosophy, two things come to my mind: Confucius and Buddha. And the way in which I see the two things are merely religious; more on rituals, worship, and no logic whatsoever. A further reading of Moore’s article would show that one difference of Chinese philosophy from Western is that it is immersed in the not so big yet important questions. These questions refer to the daily occurrences of life and not the big inquiries on the nature of things or the existence of deities (Moore, 1967b). It is actually ethical than metaphysical, practical than theoretical. And what is ethics if not a critique of the morality of the daily affairs of life?

A Model Learning Program

After justifying the need for the inclusion of Asian/Eastern perspectives in the GE program of CHED, I attempt at this section to come up with a learning plan that answers the problem posed. Some of the things I included here in this section are inspired by the current GE Ethics syllabus being followed by the University of the Philippines (UP) System.⁵

Below is the plan I suggest for a holistic and comprehensive GE Ethics syllabus:

Topic	Content	Allotment (by hours)
I. Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The nature of the study of ethics - Moral value vs value - The moral agent and act - Moral reasoning - Challenges to moral reasoning 	6
II. Sources of Filipino Morality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sikolohiyang Pilipino 	3

⁵ Credit is given to the module writers and contributors to the current UP GE Ethics Syllabus and Modules. The syllabus and the modules are not available for public viewing. Access is limited to professors and students only.

	- Pilipinolohiya	
III. Asian/Eastern Frameworks of Morality	- Hinduism - Buddhism - Confucianism - Daoism	9
IV. Western Frameworks of Morality	- Ethical Egoism - Virtue Ethics - Deontology - Consequentialism - Feminist Ethics	12
V. Applied Ethics	- Bioethics - Environmental Ethics - Other Special Topics	6

I will now highlight the potential contributions of topics II and III to the study of morality in order to further expound on their importance as maintained in the preceding sections of this paper. The references also used in this paper and more importantly, the succeeding sections can complement well the model program I am advocating.

Considering Some Asian/Eastern Frameworks of Morality

Although Eastern philosophies are generally spiritually oriented, one can say that the cultivation of one’s morality is a step towards this goal. It is safe to say that their religion or spiritual views are deeply connected to their moral conceptions. This section tries to highlight the potential of Eastern philosophies to contribute to an understanding of morality among the frameworks to be discussed.

a. Hinduism

Hinduism is known to be one of the oldest religions and is said to have started in Indus Valley around 2500 BCE. Although treated as a religion, one must realize that religion and philosophy are intertwined in the East. As an organized religion, it has its own set of deities, rituals, and scriptures. The origins of Hindu philosophy can be traced back from its three basic sources namely, the Vedas, Upanishads, and the Epics (Ozmon and Craver, 2008). The writings found in these sacred texts served as the backbone of Hindu thought, religion, and practice.

One of the central teachings of Hinduism is what they call the Four Supreme Ends or *Purusarthas*. According to this teaching, anyone, regardless of social status, should aim to attain material wealth and sensual pleasure, do one’s duty or dharma, and for one to attain liberation or *moksha* from *samsara* or the endless cycle of rebirth (Garcia in Garcia, 2013). In order to attain *moksha*, one must do their *dharma* or duty found in their caste system. The faithfulness to one’s duty, including one’s control of desires, will make them master their karmic cycles and later on be freed from *samsara*.

Dharma entails that each one has a role to perform and that the duty is attached to one’s nature. In their social stratification, there are four castes. At the lowest are slaves or *sudras*, followed by *vaisyas* or merchants, then the warriors or *ksatriyas*; on the top is the priestly class or *brahmins* (Garcia in Garcia, 2013). One’s failure to observe the dharma will result not only to one’s personal salvation but also the state of society. It is not just an obligation but will ensure social order.

In the story of the *ksatriya* Arjuna found in the second chapter of Bhagavad Vita, Arjuna encounters a dilemma because upon seeing the opponents he is tasked to kill in order to preserve his kingdom, he realized that they are his relatives. Troubled, he consults his charioteer Krishna on what to do. Krishna impresses to Arjuna’s mind that he needs to do his dharma. Duty will be duty. Moreover, Krishna assures that his carrying out of dharma will reward him and that his relatives will not actually die but will be reincarnated.

In Hinduism, we see that there is a need to be moral in one's actions. Not only does it benefit the self, but it also assures a community or society that is well-ordered. The good of the society is dependent to everyone's participation.

b. Buddhism

Buddhism was founded by Siddhartha Gautama, a prince, after being confronted with the realities of life. Gautama himself was a Hindu by birth and his family was practicing the precepts and rituals of Hinduism. What sets Buddhism different from Hinduism is that Gautama did not accept the authority of the Vedic literature (Radhakrishnan and Moore, 1957). One could say that Buddhism is a kind of revolt against Hinduism because the Buddha was silent about deities, rituals, and elaborate practices (Ozmon and Craver, 2008). Gautama became the Buddha or the "enlightened one" after meditating under the Bodhi tree for a number of days. There he was able to realize what is now known as the "Four Noble Truths." The truths reveal that (1) suffering is a reality that all human persons have to face; (2) that craving, or desire is the origin of suffering; (3) that one can end suffering by eliminating its cause; and finally, (4) that the way out of it is incorporated in the eightfold path (Mansukhani in Garcia, 2013). In order to overcome suffering, Buddhism teaches that the mind must be trained. This is what Buddha calls "The Middle Way" to which the aforementioned are all contained. Stress must be given to the Eightfold Path which will highlight that the training of the mind is actually an ethical pursuit: right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration (Carus, n.d.).

c. Confucianism

According to Confucius, the aim of a person is to be a gentleman or superior man. Confucianism is more of a philosophy than religion. Confucius would give prime importance to social order in order for a person to be called virtuous. The gist of Confucian ethics can be best found in the Five Virtues:

- a. *Ren* or Consciousness of others; benevolence.
- b. *Yi* or Consciousness of one's moral imperative; doing actions according to one's name or appellation.
- c. *Li* or Propriety; behaving well with courtesy towards others, performing rituals and taking part in ceremonies.
- d. *Zhi* or Spoken Wisdom; being guided by right knowledge and understanding.
- e. *Xin* or Sincerity; being sincere and truthful in all you do guided by what is right (Ozmon and Craver, 2008).

Confucius's philosophy was dedicated to the cultivation of human morality. In fact, he believed that the formation of the moral character is more important than formal education (Yu-Lan, 1984).

d. Daoism

Daoism is actually a reaction against Confucianism. Daoism would not be so much in favor with rigidity, structure, and rules as Confucius advocated. The Dao or "The Way" is the central concept of Daoism. If one wants to arrive at truth and reality, one must follow the Dao. The Dao signifies spontaneity and naturalness. One must not go against the way of nature; rather, one must conform to it. One must avoid artificiality and overreaction to things. In short, one must allow nature to unfold. One must not force things to unravel. When one is able to master the following of The Dao, one cultivates one's De. The term De can be understood as virtue, moral character, inner power or integrity (UP System, n.d.).

Another concept in Daoism is *wei-wu-wei* or translated as "action by non-action." This implies that one must not overdo things and at the same time perform what is expected of a person. One must act not in defiance of the natural order of things but to be immersed in a particular action naturally. An image of *wei-wu-wei* is the flowing water. One must go with the flow of

things. This does not mean that one becomes a passive participant. It is becoming an active participant in the daily affairs of life without expecting anything and/or without overdoing anything. It is like living in the present moment; being faithful to the current. Consider this excerpt from the Tao Te Ching, the authoritative text of Daoism, believed to have been written by Lao Tzu (n.d.):

He who stands on tiptoe doesn't stand firm.
He who rushes ahead doesn't go far.
He who tries to shine dims his own light.
He who defines himself can't know who he really is.
He who has power over others can't empower himself.
He who clings to his work will create nothing that endures.
(Chapter 24)

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If you want to be a great leader, you must learn to follow the Dao.
Stop trying to control. Let go of fixed plans and concepts,
and the world will govern itself.
The more prohibitions you have, the less virtuous people will be.
The more weapons you have, the less secure people will be.
The more subsidies you have, the less self-reliant people will be.
(Chapter 57)

Conclusion

In this paper, I tried to trace that the current GE Ethics syllabus prescribed by CHED is estranged with the ASEAN vision of integration. I enumerated different CHED documents which advocate internalization of education here in the Philippines. It was seen that after considering these documents, the current syllabus of GE Ethics is disjunct with this vision. The syllabus is biased with Western philosophies. It does not consider any contributions or discussion of ethical views from the East. What is surprising also is that it does not cater to indigenous Filipino theories.

As answer to these inconsistencies I found, I first justified why is it that Asian/Eastern viewpoints should be considered in the instruction of GE Ethics. In brief, I argued that the introduction and possible deepening of these perspectives will make the Filipino learner more knowledgeable of their ethical roots. Consequently, inclusion of such will facilitate the learner's knowledge of other Asian cultures through understanding their ethical views. These they can apply not only in the four corners of the classroom but also when they brave the larger community; when they interact with other Filipinos and possibly, people of different colors. Furthermore, including such perspectives will align the current suggested syllabus to CHED's vision of having a holistic and internationalized curriculum. Finally, this will help students to appreciate the contributions both of the East and the West.

As a concrete contribution, I have drawn from my experience as an educator of the UP System and recommended that for the Asian/Eastern component, the following frameworks be considered: Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism. I also gave brief descriptions of these recommended content to highlight their potential as subject matters for the study of Ethics.

However, two questions should be considered. First, why only these theories? To which I answer that the current number of weeks or hours in a semester as mandated by CHED cannot fully exhaust all possible ethical frameworks. That is why I only included what I think will best represent Asian/Eastern viewpoints. In the UP System syllabus for example, Christian and Islamic frameworks have been given separate allocations. I think, on the other hand, that these can be incorporated in the discussion of the topic, "Challenges to Moral Reasoning." If we will try to crowd one semester with huge amounts of frameworks, learning might be compromised. Now, if the learner is really into a deeper understanding of religious

views, there is a GE elective course called, “Religions, Religious Experience and Spirituality” (Licuanan, 2013).

Second, isn't it HEI's are given free hand in incorporating other topics other than those recommended by CHED? The answer is yes. However, incorporating Asian/Eastern frameworks in the suggested syllabus makes it an imperative rather than as option. Thus, the certainty that ideally, these important topics will be part of the instruction.

What are the challenges with this paper? If CHED considers this recommendation, a lot of adjustments, workshops, and resources will have to be considered. Adjustments to curriculum take a reasonable amount of time. Also, there is a need for teacher training before this can be introduced to the higher education setup. However, if our country is serious in uplifting the kind of education we have, of making it globally competitive and more understanding of diversity, then consider this paradigm shift as an investment for the youth.

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DUNG YARD THIP CHA LOAM JAI: THAI KINGS AND THE ROYAL FAMILY IN THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS OF THAILAND

¹Pitchayada Mekhirunsiri and ²Dr. Mala Rajo Sathian

¹Ph.D student Department of South East Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya

²Senior Lecturer and Coordinator of Thai Studies Program, Department of South East Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya
(piglet_oay@hotmail.com, malarajo@um.edu.my)

Abstract

Normally when they study school textbooks, many researchers devote their attention to historical and social science textbooks since they contain many themes about history, society and cultures to explore. However, this study is an examination of Thailand's primary school national language textbooks which are used as the principal teaching materials in schools across the country. The approach of this study is to use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyse the ideologies which are represented and transmitted to pupils through a variety of language devices. It is found that these Thai language textbooks not only teach students about the four basic skills of any language, listening, speaking, reading and writing, but it also transmits ideologies to students. One of the ideologies and sets of ideas which was found is about Thai kings and the royal family, which are one of the most important institutions in Thailand. It is found that the ideologies about Thai kings and the royal family, including historical events represented in these textbooks, are created with a royalist nationalist concept. In this study, a deep understanding of the ideologies and perceptions surrounding the Thai kings and the royal family as represented in the national language textbooks is successfully obtained.

Keywords: Thai national language textbook, Thai kings and royal family, royalist nationalism, ideology, language devices

Introduction

"The problem is not people being uneducated; the problem is that they are educated just enough to believe what they have been taught and not educated enough to question what they have been taught" -)anonymous(.

This quotation is very apt; it is true that today people can be educated easily and the educational system is the most important service provided by the government for the people, especially for children, in their country, but do they realize that the 'knowledge' which they were taught in school was in line with the policy behind the educational system in their countries? Because of this, it is important to make students and teachers aware of the messages in school textbooks, especially the ideologies hidden in their contents.

Problem statement, research questions and objectives

Normally, textbooks are regarded as academic documents which are used for academic purposes. They are also known to be the main teaching material for every school and every teacher. So for reasons of avoiding unbalanced education and the possible indoctrination of young minds, they must not contain bias in their contents and they must not be presented in any way which could make them vulnerable to being used by teachers who add their own bias when they are teaching from these books. In Thailand, before textbooks are published and used in schools all over the country, the Education Committee and the Ministry of Education have to approve them beforehand.

Van Dijk) 1989(stated that the knowledge and ideas which are constructed in textbooks are believed to be correct, proper and trustworthy. These processes and precautions in their production are in place in order for textbooks to be reliable, so students and many other people (such as their parents) always believe in these texts exactly as they are taught to them.

The national language textbooks used in Thailand's primary schools are very important because they deliver the fundamental education for everyone and a compulsory basic subject for all students in the country. Their principal aim is to teach the basic skills of any language, listening, speaking, reading and writing, to young pupils. In the preface of the Thai language textbook, *Bhasapatee*, it is clearly stated that that series of textbooks was designed to instill students with these basic skills:

...This fundamental Thai language textbook, *Bhasapatee Prathom 2*, is one of the *Bhasa* for life set. This textbook is designed to help students to learn and practise Thai language skills from reading, writing, listening, watching and speaking. Students will understand the basic Thai grammar, the beauty of the Thai language, Thai culture and also Thai wisdom from the stories provided in this textbook. In addition, this textbook wants to implant Thai culture and how to be good people in Thai society and the global society to students and learners...

(*Bhasapatee Prathom 2*, 2016, preface, translated)

Even though the most important purpose which Thai textbooks are intended to have is to teach children the four basic communication skills, various writing and language styles and devices are adopted by the writers of the books in order to indoctrinate the students with their own ideas and thoughts. One of the ideologies and sets of ideas found in the books is about the Thai kings and the royal family, which is one of the most important institutions in Thailand.

By examining the stories and narratives found in selected Thai language textbooks, this study examines the ideology about the Thai kings and the royal family which is delivered by the writers of the textbooks. What linguistic devices are used to represent the Thai kings and the royal family in Thai textbooks? These are the main questions which will be examined in this study. The concept of royalist nationalism will be used as the lens through which to explain this ideology in this study.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Literature Review

There have been many studies in all parts of the world which have researched textbooks, especially in western countries. In Thailand too there have also been many groups of studies of textbooks in a wide range of fields. For example, one group studied only patterns and developments of textbooks but did not study or analyse textbooks in any particular fields (e.g. Laosunthorn, 2009; Sunthrakul, 2017). A second group contains many studies which examined textbooks in the social sciences, gender issues, politics, morals, social values and civic duties. Normally, studies in this group have been of textbooks which are the most important means for the state and the government to inject political ideologies into society by indoctrinating and instructing students in the political attitudes which the government has wanted them to have (for example, Mascharoen, 1990; Eoseewong, 1995; Kositangkul, 1995; Wangmee, 2000). In terms of the study of moral issues, most of the previous studies have stated that a textbook is an important medium for teaching morals to students (e.g. Maneesri, 1988; Buarapa, 1988; Manoon, 1996; Tangkasem, 2005). The idea of morals has been taught in the contents of textbooks both directly and indirectly. Normally, the moral education presented in the textbooks is the representation of ideal people in the society. Another group of studies researched textbooks in the field of language and linguistics. Generally, this area of research has applied linguistic theory as its study method, such as the use the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory to analyse the acquired data (for example, Sukwisith, 2011; Panpothong, 2015).

A review of the literature shows that even though there have been many research studies which have examined textbooks using a wide range of sources and approaches, there has been no research into Thailand's national language textbooks which has specifically discussed the ideologies which they contain about the Thai kings and the royal family in terms of the language

devices and styles which they use and the social and cultural contexts in which they refer to the royal family. This present study is therefore the first to examine this aspect of Thai language textbooks by adopting the concept of royalist nationalism to study the ideologies presented about the Thai kings and the royal family in both the written texts and the illustrations in the textbooks.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Discourse Analysis

In this study, the ideologies about the Thai kings and the royal family presented in the contents of Thai national language textbooks which are concealed within the written texts will be analysed using the CDA approach.

When using CDA, it is important to understand the meaning of 'ideology'. An ideology is related closely to the link between language and power because we use language as an important tool for presenting thoughts or ideas to society (Kress, 1985) and when these thoughts and ideas are transmitted, there are many people who accept without questioning them'. Ideologies are the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members. An ideology is the foundation of the social representations shared by a social group. So an ideology is not just one thought of a single individual, it is the thoughts of a society. When an ideology is believed and accepted broadly in a society, it has the potential to be developed to become a world view in the future (Van Dijk, 1998). Van Dijk (2005, pp. 303-305) also suggested that ideology is the power of thought and that discourses are the tools used to spread ideologies into society by many linguistic devices such as the selection of words used, interpretations, metaphors, and descriptions.

CDA, which some scholars call Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), was developed from the discipline of critical linguistics in the 1970. The main concept of CDA or CDS is the study of power and inequality or the abuse of power by more powerful people over less powerful people in a society which is concealed in texts by using variety of language styles because it is believed that language can reflect the culture, traditions, norms, and belief system of a society. The CDA approach gives attention to texts as well as to the social, cultural and political contexts in which they are used. From this perspective, language is very important as it is the principal means of producing identities and meanings for everything in a society. The CDA concept is therefore suitable for the present study and for considering textbooks as the tools used by states and governments not only to produce well-educated people but also to indoctrinate ideologies, ways of life, and the social norms and rules of the society to the younger generation and to students who are assumed to be less powerful within the society. In addition, CDA will also reveal the power in the relationship between each group of people in the society which is presented in textbooks (Natthaporn, 2014), such as between the kings and their subjects, in various contexts by using different language devices.

The Concept of Royalist Nationalism

The royal national history of Thailand is the modern narrative which talks about the way in which Siamese kings in the past had to fight to maintain the country's independence when Siam faced invasion by one country after another. This plot-line always praises the Siamese kings who fought and tried their best to protect the freedom of the country. Thongchai (2016, p. 10) stated that the royal national history is the ideology which has dominated Thai history for a long time.

Royalist nationalism was established during the period of absolute monarchy in Siam, in particular during the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868 to 1910). Although the 1932 revolution in Siam transformed the country from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy with a system of democratic rule which paved the way for the middle class and the military to gain authority to govern their country, the notion of royalist nationalism continued to be used by the new administrative elite in the country with a populist king as its focus. This has remained the case in Thai politics and society until the present time. The notion of royalist nationalism still flourishes and circulates in Thai society with the idea of *latthi khlang khelai jao*, 'hyper-royalism' (Thongchai, 2016, pp. 9-16). In addition, all manifestations of royalist nationalism in Thailand are maintained and

circulated throughout society, and it has continued to dominate the Siamese/Thai political and educational systems in the past and in the present.

Methodology

Studies which employ CDA as their methodology generally use qualitative analysis to reveal the manipulation of people's thinking, which is one form of the abuse of power in literary works. Even though studies which use CDA might have the same topic of study, their research methodologies can be different, such as how they collect and analyse data and especially how they explain the relationship between language and ideology, and it is up to each individual researcher to choose an appropriate methodology, as Wodak and Meyer (2009, p. 27) commented that "There is no CDA way of gathering data", and Fairclough (1992) did not recommend any particular method for analysing socio-cultural practice in the third element of his three-dimensional model.

Many scholars believe that there are ideologies concealed inside textbooks and this current study used content analysis or textual analysis to analyse the selected data. Several Thai language textbooks for use in national primary schools from year one to year six were selected and were read thoroughly using CDA to analyse the ideologies about the Thai kings and the royal family portrayed in the textbooks and the language styles used to present them.

The process of content analysis is to read a text thoroughly and analyse every element or detail of the text, for example, the lexical strategies, the modifications, the discourse-pragmatic strategies, the rhetorical strategies and the semiotic strategies such as words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs in order to understand the sense, feeling, tone and also the intention of the texts.

Apart from analysing the content, this study also used the concept of the relationship between language and society by exploring the extrinsic elements of the texts, as Van Dijk (2001) explained that text and discourse are both shaped by context or society and culture and also shape society and culture as well. So the concept of royalist nationalism will be used to study the social and cultural contexts of Thailand in relation to the ideology presented in the textbooks. In addition, the importance of the textbooks to society will also be discussed.

To sum up, all of the methods which were used to analyse the acquired data in this study were expected to help to provide a clear understanding of the ideology surrounding the Thai kings and the royal family as concealed in the words, phrases, sentences and texts as well as the illustrations in the selected national language textbooks, as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) suggested that texts and images should not be studied separately because they combine to present the full meaning and the perceptions of things.

Result

Analysis and Findings

In this section, I shall analyse the ideologies of the Thai kings and the royal family contained in the Thai national language textbooks *Bhasapatee* year 1 to year 6, and also the language styles used to present them both directly and indirectly. Natthaporn (2015, p. 72) described indirect strategies in this context as "linguistic strategies that are adopted to instruct young children in a subtle manner such as using invented dialogues to provide examples or create the illusion that children's voices are included". The ideologies and sets of ideas which support this point will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Kings are good leaders who have governed kingdom and their people very well.

This sub-ideology is mentioned in the textbooks many times to portray images of good Thai kings who ruled the kingdom with mercy. They did not invade any other kingdoms. This point is emphasized by the comparison technique which compares Thai kings with western rulers and uses the thoughts of fictional children who are half-Thai and half-western, but in this textbook it is not stated directly which country are they from. The writers portrayed these children as supporting Thai kings and thinking that they are very good rulers who have never invaded other kingdoms and other

countries throughout history right up to the present. The writers of this textbook used these invented children to express the feeling of being proud of Thailand in history and of its kings by using the term *phume jai*.

...The white men needed to find new lands to expand their territories. They got in their ships and traveled across the sea. The new land which they saw, they occupied and drove out the inhabitants to stay in a limited area. Undeniably, the weapons of the inhabitants were spears, axes and arrows which could not fight against the fire-guns and the canons of the invaders. Finally, the white men established a country. The history of this country is less than 200 years. Looking back to my motherland; I am so proud as you may know. We have long histories. We built our nation and improved the nation little by little. We have had the kings as the national leaders and the core of our hearts...

(*Bhasapatee Prathom 6*, 2016, pp. 248-249).

In addition, the image depicted in this chapter of the textbook also supports this point. The picture clearly highlights the cruelty of white men or western people towards the local people when they invaded other people's lands to expand their western power. So it will be stereotype image of westerners in pupils' perception.



Figure 1: The cruelty of white men or western people towards local people.

(*Bhasapatee Prathom 6*, 2016, p. 248)

The writers describes the characters and habits of Siamese kings across history using particular adjectives and verbs to explain. For example, the writers describe the kings and use modifier words or adjectives to describe their brave and self-sacrificing habits, such as *pen phu nam* 'leadership', *klar harn*, 'brave', *sia sala*, 'sacrificed', *kaekhai punha*, 'good solving problems' (*Bhasapatee Prathom 2*, 2016, p. 193), *ka run*, 'mercy' and *pok pong chart*, 'protect the nation' (*Bhasapatee Prathom 6*, 2016, p. 247):

The next example is very interesting because the writers retell the time in Thai history when the Siamese king annexed the neighbouring kingdom of Lao by supporting the Siamese side. The writers used a technique of simplifying a conflict in order to describe an event which can be interpreted as that the Siamese kings defended the country by trying to annexe many kingdoms to take them under Siamese rule. This textbook teaches that it was the right and correct thing that the king did by giving many reasons to justify the king's actions and to persuade the readers to believe in the writer's retelling of the event on the grounds that Lao and the north-eastern part of Siam are similar to each other so it would be better if they were combined and ruled directly under Siamese kings. On the other hand, this same textbook states with great emphasis that white men invading other kingdoms was a bad thing. The writers state that western rulers did this because of their desire to expand their kingdoms and their power, and not for the benefit of other small kingdoms, which was the explanation and the justification which they used when they described the Siamese king's annexation of another country:

...During his reign, Siam was powerful. Every uprising which occurred in his area, such as in *Saiburi (Kedah)*, *Kelantan*, and *Vientiane* was defeated. The *Vientiane (Lao)* rebellion was suppressed by King *Anuvong*. This event led to Siam having a heroine named *Thao Suranaree*. Because of this rebellion, Siam recognized that it was essential to make the *Isan* people feel themselves to be Thai people and also recognized that the *Isan* area is located near Laos and also shares their cultures and traditions. So to prevent another uprising, Siam elevated Isan to be a [Siamese] city and to have its own leader. Siam also developed this city and promoted it to be a province, as it is today.

(Bhasapatee Prathom 6, 2016, p. 252, translated by)

In this retelling of history, the word *kabot*, 'rebel', 'rebellion', is used to describe the states which once used to be under Siamese rule but sought to be independent or tried to be under the rulers of other powerful states, such as *Saiburee*, *Kelantan* and *Viantian*.

The next example is a retelling of Siamese history stating that a western country, specifically France, had invaded Siam as an act of imperialism during the reign of King *Chulalongkorn*. In this textbook, it is also stated that Laos at that time was part of the Siamese kingdom and that France had tried to occupy this state to be under its governance. However, Siamese king was so clever thus he can maintain the independence of the kingdom.

...In the reign of King Rama 5, France invaded Khmer and Vietnam and it was going to invade Laos, which belonged to Siam at that time. The Siamese army fought forcefully against the French army. Some French men died. Siam sent a letter of complaint to France but France accused Siam of being the invader. On 13 July 1893, France sent two battleships to blockade Siam's *Chao Praya* river estuary. A fight took place at *Chulachomklao* Fort. Eventually the French battleships arrived at Bangkok and delivered an ultimatum for a response from Siam within 24 hours, otherwise France intended to invade Siam and occupy the country...The king got sick from this situation. Finally, the king assented to follow the demands of France to protect Siamese independence...

(Bhasapatee Prathom 6, 2016, p. 253 - 254, translated)

The writer used a conversation between the two half-blood siblings to explain the historical situation of the Franco-Siamese War of 1893 during the reign of King *Chulalongkorn* as that France had sought to expand its power in Indochina. The thoughts of the invented characters in the conversation seem to support the Siamese side and blame France for deceiving Siam in that situation. The writers have the characters use the exclamation 'Oh!' in the sentence "'Oh! Did they do that?' *Nong Luke* screamed in anger" to underline the angry feeling of these children at the writers' description of the actions of France. Some words about the invasion are used many times in this text to indicate France's expansion actions which affected Siam, such as *yeud*, *yeud khrong* and *khao yeud*, 'to occupy' and *ruk ran*, 'to invade'.

Another important language device which is used in this retelling of history is the concealment or absence of the subject of a sentence or the people who committed an action by using the verbs *kerd*, *mee*, and *prakot* which mean 'to exist' or 'to happen'. This is an existential technique which Halliday (1985) described as the process of depicting an event by explaining it as the way things happen, and for the human involvement to be concealed. It can be noticed that for the actions which Siamese people did and which affected others such as 'Some French men were shot and died', the text hides the real situation, which was that Siamese soldiers shot and killed French soldiers, but the writers of the textbook did not say directly that Siamese soldiers had done it; they consistently give no specific explanation of who was actually responsible for these actions. On the other hand, when the writers refer to the cruel acts committed by France, they always state it directly by using the active voice for statements that France invaded Siamese territories, such as 'France invaded Khmer and Vietnam and was going to invade Laos', 'France accused Siam of being the invader', 'France sent two battleships to blockade Siam's *Chao Praya* river estuary' and 'France intended to invade Siam and occupy the country'. This style of writing emphasises in Thai readers' minds that France was a cruel invader and Siam was the poor victim which was threatened with invasion.

Thai kings and the royal family have devoted themselves to their subjects and kingdom.

The writers of the textbooks described the important and remarkable activities of the kings in the *Chakri* dynasty for the benefit of the Thai people and the Thai kingdom in the past. For example, the King Rama 3 sacrificed his personal happiness for the sake of national security and the economy by collecting money for *ngen thung daeng* or 'the money in the red pocket' which will be used for emergent affairs of the kingdom. This point is underlined by an invented story which describes the actions of King Rama 3. The writers also added that members of the royal family were also happy to sacrifice their personal happiness such as by selling their precious jewellery and using

the money to maintain Siam's independence during the Franco-Siamese War of 1893 (*Bhasapatee Prathom 6*, 2016, pp. 252-254).

The writers also demonstrated the positive benefits of having kings and a royal family in the next example, which states that the Thai people will be taken care of and supported very well by the royal family. The poem below emphasises this point by giving examples of the actions of kings and members of the royal family:

...When he visited his people
and found anyone who was in trouble,
He gave his hands and helped,
then people were happy.
He advised people how to work properly,
He hoped his people would have their own ways of living
by following his suggestions...

(*Bhasapatee Prathom 5*, 2016, p. 115, translated)

The writers of this textbook wanted to instil the idea that the kings and members of the royal family have worked hard and that they were willing to exhaust themselves in order to improve their subjects' lives by describing them in a poem which makes it easy for young children to visualize these actions of the kings and members of the royal family clearly. The writers used the same words and phrases about helping and being willing to help many times in the poem to underline the feeling that the Thai kings and the royal family were really helpful and were pleased to help their people, such as *du lae*, 'take care'; *mai ree ror*, 'do not hesitate to help'; *dun don pai mai tong khor*, 'try hard to go and help even though people do not ask for help'; and *chuai bet set yang tae tieng*, 'willing to help wholeheartedly'.

...Kings of Thailand;
He holds all goodness,
He cares for his people,
When the people were in hard situations, the king has never stood back,
He helped with his whole heart,
He went to help without being asked,
He provided a water supply for people,
He taught people about the sufficiency economy,
His family members followed him
and helped him perfectly...

(*Bhasapatee Prathom 5*, 2016, p. 113, translated)

Another example also uses the metaphor in the poem to compare the devoted heart of King Rama 9 for his subjects with *petch ngam*, a beautiful diamond which is very precious and valuable. The phrases about the tireless devotion of King Rama 9 such as *mae lam bark phra kaya song fuen thon*, 'He did many things for his people even though he was not in good health' and *ha thang chuai*, 'He solved the troubles of the country with his mercy' are used many times in the poem to portray the image to the students who read this textbook of a king who sacrificed himself for his people. A number is also used in this poem to indicate the long life during which King Rama 9 devoted himself to improving and developing Thai people's lives in the sentence *na wan nee jed sib pee thee phun phan*, 'It was for 70 years that he was on the throne'.

...His heart was pure and bright like a diamond.
It was for 70 years that he was on the throne.
Everything is clear for the people;
He did many development projects;
He did many things for his people even though he was not in good health.
He solved the troubles of the country with his mercy...

(*Bhasapatee Prathom 5*, 2016, p. 115, translated)

The kings were inventors and improvers who developed the country and their people's quality of life.

For this sub-ideology, the textbooks consistently state that the kings have introduced many new philosophies, inventions, and technologies into Siamese/Thai society in order to develop the

country and improve their subjects' lives. The kings are knowledgeable people who have ruled the country very well; they lead their subjects to be developed to have better lives.

An invented story tells about the origins of Thai wisdom in the past and about the stone inscriptions carved during the *Sukhothai* period. The writers also used a praising technique in which the word *sud yord*, 'awesome' is used to praise the wisdom of the kings (*Bhasapatee Prathom 4*, 2015, p. 220) and a conversation between the members of a family is also used to demonstrate this point.

...“Yes, Ramkhamhaeng the Great invented the Thai alphabet which we use nowadays,” said papa; “He also inscribed many stories with the Thai alphabet on the stones” said mama...

(*Bhasapatee Prathom 6*, 2016, p. 6, translated)

The writers gave examples of activities of the King Rama 3 which underline the good aspects of the king in many fields, such as stating that the king ruled the country with a broad vision. He educated the ordinary people in the country by renovating the *Wat Pho* to be the first temple university in Siam to educate people, such as by exalting the status of hermits performing yoga and the stone inscriptions at *Wat Pho* which are considered to be the original textbook of Thailand's herbal doctors (*Bhasapatee Prathom 6*, 2016, p. 252-254).

One of the important actions which King Rama 9, had performed for their subjects was the introduction of a sufficiency economy for improving Thai people's lives. This point is reinforced many times in the textbooks by quoting the words of King Rama 9; for example, “King Rama 9 said that using buffalos in farming is a way of helping farmers to stand on their own two feet, with no need to be in debt” (*Bhasapatee Prathom 6*, 2016, p. 20, translated) and the Invented conversations below support this point:

...“Uncle *Win* and auntie *Nid* follow the instructions of King Rama 9 about a sufficiency economy,” *Mek* explains to *Fon*: “Look at this, *Fon*! They fermented the fertilizer themselves, they did not use a chemical fertilizer. This is a way to save the land and water.”..

(*Bhasapatee Prathom 5*, 2016, p. 6, translated)

The royal institution is one of the most important institutions in Thailand and has been respected by everybody in the country.

The institution of the royal family is the focus of love and respect from everybody in the country. This ideology is implanted in the minds of children that the Thai people have to respect the kings and the royal family as it is a manifestation of Thainess or *kwampenThai*. If people do not love, respect and appreciate the kings and the royal institution, it means that they are not real Thais. This is the ideology about the Thai kings and the royal family which is taught in the textbooks and transmitted to children, as well as to other people in society. The following examples demonstrate this point.

...The king is set at the highest sacred position of the Thai people and has been established there along with our nation for a long time... the title of the Siamese/Thai kings represents the close and deep relationship between the kings and the people and also shows that the people devoutly worship the kings...

(*Bhasapatee Prathom 5*, 2016, p. 117)

In the next example, it can be interpreted from the text that the royal institution stands over the Thai people like God, who creates and blesses his people so that they can be successful and happy. This point is emphasised by the word *baramee*, the 'merit' of the kings in the invented story:

...*Nok's* job is to take a picture of her parents. They rarely dress formally and every time they dress up like this, they always take some photographs which show the picture of King *Bhumibol Adulyadej* and Queen *Sirikit* which hangs on the wall. Dad explains, “I am a Thai who works as a government official. My life and my family are happy and wealthy because of their virtues and merit. They take care of their people. They solve the troubles of their people. Because we, papa and mama, have this great opportunity to participate in such an important national event, we would like to take a picture to help us to remember the king's mercy”...

(*Bhasapatee Prathom 5*, 2016, pp. 253-254)



Figure 2: Nok taking a photograph of her parents with the picture of the king and the royal family which hangs on the wall in their house.
(*Bhasapatee Prathom 5*, 2016, p. 253)

The words of appreciation of the king’s activities are used many times to encourage students to appreciate and remember the kings, such as the *rum luek nuke phra khun* of the kings (*Bhasapatee Prathom 5*, 2016, p. 247). The writers used half-blood children characters to portray the idea that even though they are not of pure Thai blood, but they are still *phume jai*, ‘proud’ to be Thai and proud of the Thai kings (*Bhasapatee Prathom 5*, 2016, p. 249).

The writers used many linguistic devices to express the feelings of the fictional characters in the textbooks to encourage the children who read the textbooks to be proud and to love and respect the king and the royal family, which includes being loyal to the royal institution of Thailand, and they repeat these devices many times.

Kings and the royal family play an important role in preserving, maintaining and supporting Thai wisdom and Thai products.

The kings and the members of the royal family are respected by Siamese/Thai people because they have done so many things for their subjects. Another duty which they have to do for the country and their people is to preserve Thai wisdom and Thai products because they form the nation’s culture and this is the symbol of Thainess or *Kwampen Thai*. This sub-ideology is portrayed when the writers quote a comment by Queen *Sirikit* about eating Thai brown rice to underline this point. The words of Queen *Sirikit* about the rice led the Thai people to eat more brown rice to support Thai wisdom (*Bhasapatee Prathom 5*, 2016, pp. 183-184).

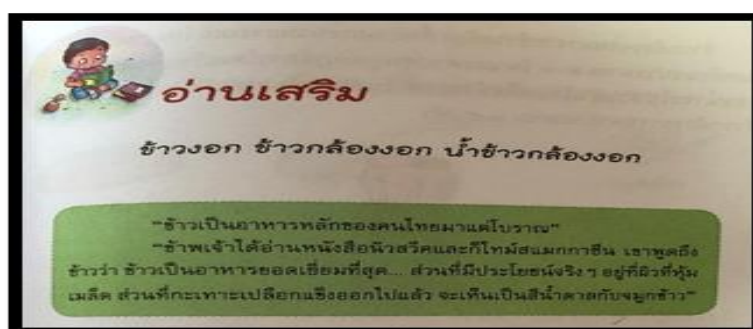


Figure 3: The quoted speech of Queen *Sirikit* about the brown rice.
(*Bhasapatee Prathom 5*, 2016, p. 183)

From the way in which this ideology is presented, it can be seen that the textbooks teach that the kings and the members of the royal family have always taken care of their subjects like parents take care of their beloved children. The writers used metaphor to highlight the status and position between the kings and their subjects; they refer to the king and the queen as *phor* ‘father’ and *mae* ‘mother’ (*Bhasapatee Prathom 2*, 2016, p. 141) to reinforce the notion that they take care of their subjects very well with love and that they try their best to deliver good things to them so that

they can lead better lives. On the other hand, from this ideology, we can see the reciprocal relationship too, the relationship between subjects and the kings. Their subjects also love and respect the king and the queen as their parents too. In this textbook, the words *rak phor* 'love dad' and *rak mae* 'love mom' (*Bhasapatee Prathom 2*, 2016, p. 141) are used to demonstrate the feeling of love which the people have for their beloved kings and queens.

In all the descriptions of the devotion of the kings and the royal family, the writers of the textbooks regularly used metaphor to compare the mercies of the kings and their actions, including their devotion to their subjects, with the land and the earth: *phra maha karuna thikhun phang phieng pasutha* (*Bhasapatee Prathom 6*, 2016, p. 255). In the example shown as Figure 1, the writer also used a printing technique to highlight the text in black bold print to emphasise the actions of the kings and make it eye-catching for the readers.

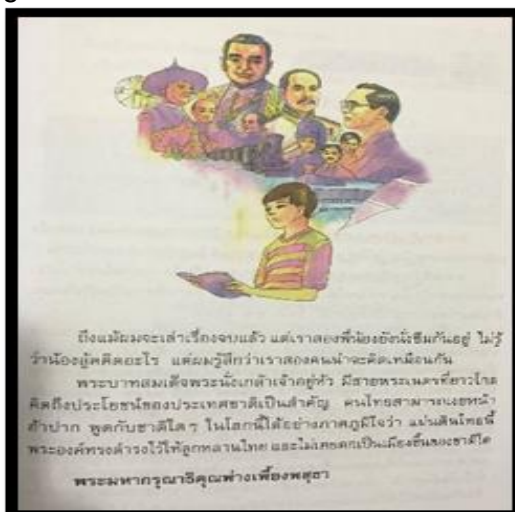


Figure 4: The printing technique to highlight the text.
(*Bhasapatee Prathom 6*, 2016, p. 255)

In this case, the term *dung yard thip cha loam jai* compares the love and devotion of the kings and the royal family to the Thai people and their country with *yard thip*, the 'sacred water from heaven' which drips into Thai people's hearts, *cha loam jai* or it can be interpreted that the term *yard thip* is a metaphor for the sweat of the kings and the royal family who have always worked hard for their subjects and this sweat makes people appreciate their devotion with full hearts.

From the analysis presented above, it can be seen that even though these are only language textbooks, the notion of royalist nationalism permeates everything by claiming that everything which the kings have done for us is good and for the best for our country.

All of the linguistic devices which have been identified in this paper help to transmit the writers' perceptions and intended meanings to children. Indirect strategies of indoctrination are used more than direct ones. These devices help to construct the reality that children are willing to act in the ways imposed by the writers. Particular lexical choices are used to portray the image of meritorious and brave kings who have endeavoured to govern the kingdom with mercy. Invented stories and invented conversations are used as the principal narrative devices in this study to transmit a specific ideology and belief system to children, as Natthaporn)2015(explained that "the use of constructed dialogues creates the illusion that voices or perspectives of children themselves are included in the texts. Simultaneously, the authoritative voice or adults' order are concealed)p. 73(and adults' imposition is masked as children's cooperation")p. 80(. The first-person singular pronoun forms *nu* and *phom*, which mean 'I' and the other names or nicknames of the invented characters in the textbooks are also used to show that the children are willing to carry out actions on their own accord, such as loving the Thai nation and hating the French people for their actions in the past. In reality, however, it is the concealment of the adults' voices and the encouragement designed to appeal to children which are the predominant factors. Also, according to Pinto)2004, p. 656(, "the use of the first-person plural pronoun implicates that it is the beliefs or opinions shared by every member of the group". The poem is used many times to visualize ideas to children as it has rhythm and lyrics.

The use of indirect language strategies support instilling the royal national history in children's minds, and that everybody has to love and respect the royal institution as the kings and the royal family have dedicated themselves so much for their subjects throughout history and still do so today. The retelling of Siamese/Thai historical situations to children in the textbooks is also represented with bias. In reality, these ideas and perceptions about historical situations are constructed by the government and by the production committees for the textbooks, and these are powerful groups of people in Thai society.

Discussion

The use of the concept of royalist nationalism

From the brief analysis of a selection of Thai national language textbooks presented above, it was found that the ideology about the Thai kings and the royal family which is found in these textbooks can be explained by the concept of royalist nationalism. The concept of nationalism and specifically royalist nationalism which is used in this study as a conceptual framework to explain the ideology of the Thai kings and the royal family is appropriate as it reflects very clearly the nationalistic sentiments of the Siamese/Thai kings in reaction to western imperialism, particularly during the reigns of Kings Rama 4 and Rama 5. The kings and the governing elite wanted to protect the freedom of the nation and one way to achieve this was to reform the Siamese government over the kingdom by, for example, the colonization and centralization under Siamese governance of neighbouring states around Siam, such as *Lanna* in the north, the states on the right bank of the *Khong* river such as *Isan* and Laos, and Malayu in the south. The concept of the royal national history consistently emphasizes actions which threaten the state's freedom as 'a national historical plot'. This point is regularly emphasised in the textbooks as has been explained above. Either the Siamese kings and elites did not realize that they were trying to make Siam a 'crypto-colonial' state (Thongchai, 2001, pp. 59-61) or they did realize it but they tried to conceal or reverse the incidents in order to present them as 'better ways to protect Siam from western invaders' instead.

As one of the missions of the Thai government is to protect the three main Thai institutions, *chart*, 'nation', *sassana*, 'religion' and *phra maha kasat*, 'the kings', worship is given to the royal institution which is the main institution for nation-building and the focus of love, respect, and harmony for everybody in Thailand (Fine Arts Department, 2016, [4]). So the Thai government seeks to implant and to teach the feeling of love and respect for the kings and the royal family to all Thai citizens using a variety of means such as electronic media, newspapers, songs, articles and novels. One of the important methods which the government uses for promoting and teaching the ideology about the Thai kings and the royal family to Thai people is through the educational system by using textbooks as a key vehicle.

This is the reason why the ideologies about the royal institution have always existed in Thai textbooks, not just history and social sciences textbooks, but also in Thai national language textbooks which are primarily intended to teach the four basic skills of the national language, listening, speaking, reading and writing, to young pupils.

The representations of Siamese/Thai kings in Thai national language textbooks

The royal institution is one of the Thai social institutions which is prioritized most in Thai textbooks. The Siamese/Thai kings in the textbooks have two dimensions which Nithi (2014, p. 61) described as the individual and the institution. For the individual, we can see that they describe the characters and habits of the kings in ways which primarily emphasise their physical and mental characteristics of bravery and mercy as discussed above. The other dimension of the kings is the institution, which has a duty to maintain and support the existence of the society. In this case, we can see that the textbooks give examples of the kings and members of the royal family endeavouring to preserve Thai wisdom and Thai culture as explained above. In addition, the identification of the kings as a social institution in the textbooks is related to the sacredness of the institution in Thai society as was explained by the picture on the wall which everybody has to respect and give appropriate attention to.

From the examples given above, we can see that the writers of the textbooks sought to reproduce the ideology about Thai kings and the royal family for students by emphasizing the heroic actions of the kings as they tried their best to fight for and maintain the peace and the freedom of the kingdom. This narrative in the writing of the textbooks is similar to the storyline of Siamese/Thai history. The images of the kings and members of the royal family which the writers want to teach pupils to believe are those of 'moral kings' or *phu song tham*, and great warriors which are the idealistic characteristics of the kings and the royal family in terms of the concept of royalist nationalism. The writers of the textbooks reproduced the perception and the shared memory of the Siamese/Thai kings. These textbooks contain examples of the kings' devotion to and self-sacrifice on behalf of their people, particularly by improving and developing their subjects' lives. The writers also created the character of Siamese kings that they excel in battle and war, but the textbooks always underline that they have never invaded other kingdoms. The writers sought to emphasise this kind of thing many times using a variety of linguistic devices to implant a good perception about the kings to pupils, as was explained earlier in the discussion of the terms used to refer to the kings. Normally in Thai textbooks, the actions of King Rama 9, King *Bhumiphol*, on behalf of the Thai people during his reign are mentioned many times because he was a king who reigned for such a long time.

In addition, in the ideology about the kings and the royal family discussed above, the significance of King *Ramkhamhaeng* and his inventions during the *Sukhothai* period, such as the stone inscription and the creation of the Thai alphabet as the wisdom of Siam, is a cultural heritage which still exists today. I suggest that the writers included the inventions of King *Ramkhamhaeng* in the *Sukhothai* period to implant the idea that the Siamese kingdom was *Siwilai* throughout history. The *Sukhothai* history is consistently linked to *Ramkhamhaeng's* stone inscription. In this case, the perception of Siamese/Thai people about the *Sukhothai* period is one of the ideal kingdom, especially the *sila jaruek* 'the stone inscription' made by the king which described the ideal society which had the king as the chief, acting as the father of his subjects. This is the ideal character of the king which many people now compare with King Rama 9 as *kasat phu song tham* or 'the meritorious king'. The *Sukhothai* kingdom has therefore become a good reference to *Siwilai* as it was the origin of Siam and the ideal of Thainess or *kwampenThai* (Thongchai, 2015, pp. 42-46). In the textbooks, it can be seen that King *Ramkhamhaeng* is presented as the symbol of *Siwilai*, the instigator of progress and innovation for Siam/Thailand. Herzfeld (2002, pp. 902-905) commented that "the effort of Siamese elites to find the *Siwilai* history is for emphasizing their kingdom among independent countries around the world and this is the thing that the crypto colonialist countries shared together".

Another perception of the royal national history which is presented in the textbooks is about the populist kings, or the kings of everybody across the whole society. This kind of royalist nationalism is presented as being obvious in everyday life. This concept was exemplified earlier by the writers referring to the picture of King *Bhumiphol* and Queen *Sirikit* of Thailand hanging on the wall of a family house as a respected and sacred object. This can be compared with the *latthi sadej phor* or 'the populist king' especially in the case of King Rama 5. The fictional characters in that chapter of the textbook also described how the prestige and the 'merit', *bunbaramee*, of the kings and the members of the royal family promote, support and protect the family. Thongchai (2001, p. 64) explained that the concept of the populist king is similar to that of a merchant in that everybody can reach or get access to them easily everywhere in their lives, at home, at work, in the street and in the markets, because of the way in which this perception is created, produced, reproduced and spread. From the example discussed earlier, it can be interpreted from the textbooks that the royal institution fills every aspect of Thai people's lives just like God, who creates and blesses his people for them to be successful and happy.

The retelling of historical events as taught in Thai national language textbooks

Nithi (2014, pp. 59-60) explained that the historical events described in the textbooks have their own theme running from the past until the present. The Siamese kingdom/Thai nation is maintained by a series of wars and conflicts between Siamese kings and invaders or other enemies in order to preserve the kingdom's independence. After that had been achieved, the kings maintained and developed the kingdom throughout history. It can be noted that this independence

and the development of the kingdom happened because of the kings who led the country. This is the obvious conclusion, the explanation of the plot about the Siamese/Thai kings and the royal family as presented in the textbooks as they behave with merit for the kingdom and the nation because they fought the enemies and the invaders who tried to threaten the country.

The retelling of the history of the Franco-Siamese War of 1893

In the historical events taught in the textbooks, the writers emphasized the actions taken when French soldiers invaded Siamese territories in Indochina. In this circumstance, Siam was the victim whereas France was the culprit who tried to invade other people's territory. The fictional characters and conversations in the books, as was explained in the analysis section, supported this notion. The writers of the textbooks reversed the loss of Siamese territories during the Franco-Siamese war in order to present it as the great effort made by the king to protect the independence of Siam. The writers failed to mention the shame and the loss which resulted when the king tried to invade some parts of Laos and Cambodia but failed to do so.

I suggest that the Thai textbooks distorted this historical event in order to support the Siamese kings and to teach pupils a positive perspective about the kings and their attempts to maintain and protect the independence of the kingdom. The terms used in the textbooks demonstrate the bias of the writers which is representative of the perception of Thai people that these states were Siamese dependencies and they were facing invasion by outsiders. As Thongchai (2015, p. 118) explained, "these words used reflect the bias of the writers that these territories were under Siamese governance".

Ever since the actual event, the Siamese/Thai people have believed that the *wikrittakarn ror sor 112*, or the Franco-Siamese War of 1893, was an act of French imperialism in which France tried to occupy Siam and Siamese territories, but fortunately, during the reign of King *Chulalongkorn*, Siam was able to maintain its independence. In Thongchai's (2001) view, however, the Franco-Siamese War of 1893 was a conflict between a big wolf (France) and a small wolf (Siam), which had tried to occupy some parts of Laos and Cambodia, but unluckily the small wolf lost in this competition. In truth, Siamese elites had also tried to annex other territories to be governed by Siam in exactly the same way as the French imperialist effort (Thongchai, 2001, pp. 58-59). Siam had tried to send an army to the eastern part of the kingdom in order to invade Laos and Vietnam before France attempted to invade them for around two years, it can be said that Siam never lost any of its territories to France, but states such as Laos and Vietnam were the real victims who did lose their territories (Thongchai, 2015, p. 115).

In some parts of the Thai national language textbooks, emphasis is given to the threat from western countries and the maintenance of Siamese independence. The perception which the books present is that Siam was threatened by powerful western countries so the kings had to concede other territories so that Siam's own independence could be preserved, and that Siam has never been ruled by others. The writers of the textbooks sought to implant a sense of pride in pupils by using the textbooks as a medium for indoctrination. The point to be made is that what the Siamese/Thai people understand about imperialism is roughly that these other countries were 'big giants' (Thongchai, 2001, p. 59), but that Siam never admitted to the collaboration which was necessary because Siam gained a benefit by being the buffer state between the French and the British. Thongchai (2015, p. 33) explained that Siam's loss when the French battleship was moored in front of the royal palace was a cause of great shame for the Siamese king as it was the loss of the sovereignty and dignity of the kingdom. This was more humiliating for the reputation of the kingdom than the loss of Siam's more distant states: maintaining Siamese independence was symbolized by "the *Siwilai* king on the throne".

In this situation, the writers of the textbooks sought to create and support the image of King *Chulalongkorn* as a national hero and many people today still remember him in this same way because of the textbooks. In addition, stressing the historical situation that Siam has never been governed by any other countries throughout history makes Siam/Thailand different from other countries in the region. Because of this, many people feel grateful to the royal institution because it has helped to protect the country's independence. It is also what makes the royal institution the most powerful institution of Thailand (Teejuta, 2015, p. 41). Thongchai (2015, p. 128) concluded

that the historical discourse about the loss of Siamese territories is part of the royal national history which is very powerful in Thai society. It is also the origin and a crucial part of Thai nationalism over the years. It also generates other related ideologies and nationalist discourses in Thai society today.

The retelling of the history of the Siamese provincial capital reform

For the historical event which is described in the textbooks about the merging of *Isan* and Laos under Siamese governance, the writers explained that the people of *Isan* and Laos were happy to be under Siamese governance because they had the same traditions and the same culture as the Siamese people. However, the writers did not explain to pupils in the textbooks that these states which had surrendered to Siam were certainly not pleased to be part of Siam or to be governed forever by the powerful kings of other kingdoms (Thongchai, 2001). The writers of the textbooks reinforced the perceptions about other dependencies and Siam from the perspective of the *cakravartin raja*, the 'universal monarch', to explain this relationship as the next extract shows:

...The surrender did not mean being colonized by the powerful state, but the elites of Siam tried to alter this relationship into being colonization. Siam tried to control these dependencies by sending an army and delegates to govern these dependencies before colonizing and centralizing them. This is similar to the process of colonization and then the centralization of a state... (Thongchai, 2001, pp. 60-61).

These states were viewed as territories of Siam on the basis of the traditional concept of the *cakravartin raja*, a form of nationalism, a royalist nationalism, which promoted the idea that the Siamese kings and their country had legitimate powers in the border areas. The king's realm of power is believed to have extended from the centre outwards to the remote territories, and every state had to acknowledge the king's power.

The case of Siam's annexation of the north-eastern territories of *Isan* and Laos is very interesting because the writers retold this period of Thai history when the Siamese king annexed the kingdom of Laos by supporting the Siamese side. We can see that the writers of the textbooks sought to emphasise that the people of Laos and *Isan* were very happy to join Siam and to be governed by the Siamese kings; the kings and the Siamese governors did not invade them or force them to be subject to Siamese power. The textbook also states that the people of Laos and *Isan* in the northeast had developed over the centuries under Siamese governance. I think that this is a continuation of the deliberate blurring of the circumstances or the concealing of the historical reality by people at the heart of the city or the court who wrote it to support the the king's rights and actions over other states. The national language textbooks have never presented local history from other parts of Thailand or history as seen from the perspectives of other states in order for pupils to understand the real historical events or to teach them the correct perception. In this case, I suggest that the Siamese reasons for wanting to invade other countries were no different from those of the western countries: the Siamese and the western rulers both wanted to gain benefit from and power over other states in the same region, but Thai people and the Thai educational system have tried to reverse this situation and to present Siam as having a noble intention, and they admire what the king did for the benefit of others who had the same ethnicity and the same culture as Siamese people in the past.

The textbooks describe this situation as *karn patirup monton desa phiban* or 'provincial capital reform', but in reality the processes of reforming the outer dependencies of Siam and the interior districts of the country, or *hua muang chan nai*, were not the same thing. To achieve this provincial capital reform, Siam sent an army and government officials to govern these dependencies alongside the local state governors for the first time, which was exactly the same as the British governance over India and the Dutch over Indonesia. Siam then tried to centralize these states to make them part of Siam. So this was an act of colonization and centralization by Siam over other states in the same region (Thongchai, 2001). The Siamese elites referred to those states which tried to resist Siamese annexation and which were not prepared to show loyalty to the Siamese kings as *kabot* or 'rebel' and explained the annexation by Siam of neighbouring states as a reform for the betterment of the kingdom and the maintenance of Siamese independence, and in this way Siam/Thailand became the one country in the region which had never been ruled by any western countries during the period of western imperialism. Thongchai (2001, p. 61) suggested that "it is the

same as the perception of colonialists who believed that they can help colonial countries to become *Siwilai* states from their barbarian condition". The royal national history seeks to conceal Siam's bid to extend its power, but the elites reversed this situation when the territories were lost. The kings and the elites had no care about and never even mentioned the pain endured by these dependencies during the expansion of Siamese power over their states. In Thongchai's)2001, p. 37(view, this is the "excuse discourse" for the Siamese elites who tried to invade and annexe other states and it reveals "the crypto colonialism of Siam". The example in the textbook is very interesting because the writers used the technique of a simplified description of conflictive events in order to simplify this historical conflict so that it can be interpreted as the Siamese kings defending many neighbouring kingdoms by absorbing them under Siamese rule. Natthaporn) 2015, p. 85(commented that the "children who use these textbooks are too young to know or have enough experience to understand these historical situations, and the simplified version of this historical event is not enough for providing them the true information about what happened in the past".

The relationship between the Thai national language textbooks and society

The process of writing a textbook, especially a national language textbook, not only involves the retelling of historical events, it also reflects the perceptions, ideas and thoughts of the textbook's writers. Because it is believed that textbooks are the key important and formal tools for the government to implant and to teach a particular ideology to pupils to enable them to be and to behave as good children in society in the proper ways which adults expect from them, it can be said that the power of textbooks, especially language textbooks, is in their ability to help to support and to circulate the desired ideology about the Thai kings and the royal family so that it becomes deeply embedded in Thai people's perceptions and across the whole society. In addition, the process of writing the language textbooks requires the selection of various historical events and retelling them in the textbooks. Some historical situations which are taught in the books are perceived and understood as true knowledge which has to be believed. I suggest that the textbook writers were themselves convinced by the concealed or distorted knowledge and sought to transmit it to the next generations as the truth, or that they did know the truth of the real historical situations but they have to reverse it or conceal it in order to support a good representation of the Thai royal institution. Terwiel)2011, pp. 317-322(commented that "there are many reasons for the historians to conceal when writing about Siamese/Thai history. They have to be subtle and crafty to write it". This is why Siamese/Thai history is deliberately represented wrongly or misrepresented)Terwiel 2011, p. 294(. The true facts about historical situations are rarely mentioned in the textbooks, and that dominates the educational mission to develop the critical thinking and reasoning skills which are very important for children's daily lives but are rarely found when the writers introduce and give biased examples of historical events in Thailand's past.

Many people have questioned whether the primary school textbooks fulfill the mission of Thai primary education on the grounds that they teach children only one-sided information, especially about historical events)Natthaporn, 2015(. This is the main question which those who run Thailand's educational system and other linked people have to answer. Thongchai)2011, p. 65(commented on this point by suggesting that the Thai people constantly expect the educational system to produce critical and creative students, but perversely, the dominant narrative of Thai history along with the concept of royalist nationalism is very popular and is deeply established as 'truth' or an 'anaesthetic' about Siamese/Thai history and this version is transmitted to children in the textbooks and reproduced generation by generation and circulated in Thai society without anyone noticing it. It can be said that the Thai educational system includes textbooks are created to support and maintain the notion of a royal national history. That is why the CDA approach has been used in this paper to study school textbooks in order to reveal some of the adjusted knowledge and the ideology of the Thai kings and the royal family, including their role in Siamese/Thai historical events, and how are these ideologies are taught in the Thai national language textbooks.

Conclusion

If we look deeply, we will understand that the language textbooks used in Thai schools are one of the most important methods for spreading the ideology of the Thai kings and the royal family throughout Thai society as they reproduce the theme of national historical plots using the concept of royalist nationalism as the national narrative which retells stories about the kings who consistently fought for the country's freedom. This ideology is reproduced and circulated in society through these textbooks because the Thai national language textbooks for primary schools teach the core subjects which everybody in the country has to learn from when they are young until they have grown up. The textbooks teach children directly and indirectly about appreciating the kings' obligation, *bun khun*, so they have to be grateful to the royal institution and to Thailand as their country because these issues are the most important aspects of Thainess or *KwampenThai* which is so deep-seated in Thai people's soul. It can be said that Thai national language textbooks still help to circulate the notion of royalist nationalism in Thai society and in Thai people's perceptions. Thongchai)2017, p. 118(concluded that Thai nationalism is a swelling of the pride that Thainess is the best and most glorious feeling. That it has become part of the Thai belief system is largely due to a long period of indoctrination. So Thai nationalism can be considered "an ideology similar to religion" which overwhelms people and can create power in society.

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A SECOND LOOK AT MILLET: A TRADITIONAL BUT ALMOST FORGOTTEN FOOD GRAIN AS A SOLUTION TO THE FOOD SHORTAGE IN THE PHILIPPINES

Augusto V. de Viana , Ph.D

Affiliation: Department/Faculty/University
University of Santo Tomas
Manila, Philippines
(augustodeviana@gmail.com)

Abstract

Millet (*urocloa ramosa*) along with rice and root crops is one of the sources of food for the people of the Philippines during the precolonial period. It was identified by Spanish missionaries as one of the staple foods of the natives and was more common than rice which was considered as a festal food that is eaten only for special occasions. Unlike corn which was introduced by the Spaniards, millet has been grown by natives and other people in Asia especially China and India. However through the centuries the Filipinos gravitated towards rice cultivation and the growing of millet became limited to the remote areas of the Philippines. In recent times the Philippines stopped from being an exporter of rice and became one of the world's top two importers and consumers of the grain. There was also a problem of malnutrition among Filipinos due to improper feeding methods. Among Filipinos millet is practically forgotten except as bird feed. On the other hand, millet is still grown and consumed by other countries where it remains an important source of food and an important food crop. This paper discusses the cultivation of millet in Philippine history and the reasons for its decline as a popular food source. It will discuss the possibility how this lowly grain consumed by precolonial Filipino may solve the problem of the lack of food and malnutrition if its widespread cultivation is revived among Filipino farmers. If millet production is popularized and revived, it may alleviate hunger in other parts of Southeast Asia.

Keywords: millet, precolonial cultivation, decline, food lack, revival

Introduction

Millet (*urochloa ramosa*) is one of the food grains of the Philippines. It is an ancient grain and its true origin is shrouded in mystery. Scientists originally believed it came from Africa but it was also cultivated in the Fertile Crescent and it was recorded as one of the grains grown in Sumeria in present-day Iraq. The cultivation of millet predated the cultivation of wheat and it was known as the ingredient to produce beer which was one of the rations of the builders of the pyramids of Egypt. Millet is also cultivated in western Europe and in ancient China.

Unlike corn which is an import from America though the Spaniards, millet is native to the Philippines. Millet was mentioned as one of the cereal foods by Spanish missionaries. Other food grains included sorghum and rice. Millet and rice were mentioned by William Henry Scott as a festal foods and it was eaten only during festive occasions. Later rice culture eclipsed millet and the grain became lesser known and it is grown only in upland and remote areas of the Philippines.

The purpose of this study is to discuss the cultivation of millet in the islands, its decline and possible prospects if its cultivation is revived and popularized.

Problem statement, research questions and objectives

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study revolves the issue why the production of millet has been marginalized and what would be its prospects if its large-scale production is revived.

Sub problems

The sub problems of this study are :

1. How is millet mentioned in Philippine historical accounts and documents?
2. How is it cultivated, harvested and consumed at present?
3. How is millet treated by present-day Filipinos?
4. What are the nutritional values of millet?
5. How millet is being produced around the world?
6. Why did millet become a marginalized food source
7. What should be done to avoid the extinction of the cultivation of millet?
8. What are the prospects of the revival of millet production and what are the possible threats to millet production?

Importance of the Study

Millet is an important food source. Outside of the Philippines it is one of the major sources of carbohydrates in Asia and Africa. Other countries like India, China and African countries like Kenya, Nigeria and Tanzania are major producers. Millet thrives well even in arid environments and does not need extensive paddy farming. The nutritional value of millet is superior to that of other grains like rice and wheat. Millet has more protein, carbohydrates, fiber and minerals like iron, manganese and nutrients such as riboflavin, vitamin B6, folic acid and thiamin compared to rice and wheat. If millet production is revived on a large scale in the Philippines it will aid greatly in alleviating malnutrition and hunger among Filipinos and at the same time it will benefit marginal farmers who have little access to modern irrigation facilities.

Purpose of the Study

There are two purposes of this study: The first is to find out why millet production in the Philippines has been marginalized through time and why do farmers do not anymore produce the grain on a large scale.

The second purpose is to discuss its prospects as a food source if large-scale production is achieved.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this research sees modernization as the cause of the decline of millet cultivation in the Philippines. The aim of modernization is to provide greater ease for man. This includes the adoption of technology, Adam Smith in his work, *The Wealth of Nations* (Book I: Of the Causes of Improvement in the productive Powers of Labor), "It is not usually possible for farmers to work constantly at one job throughout the year. This natural limit on specialization makes for lower productivity overall in agriculture than in manufacturing." Production of millet in the Philippines is labor-intensive. This is true especially in harvesting the crop and separating the grains from their shells which is done by pounding the unhusked millet with the use of a pestle. (mortar and pestle method). Other crops like rice used to be produced using the same method. However recent advancement in milling technology allowed the unhusked rice to be milled

mechanically. Millet grains cannot be milled using the same technology as rice because millet grains are very small.

The adoption of technology according to Marx was supposed to make manual work more comfortable. Smith also adds that the use of technology allows man to get goods at a greater volume, at a greater speed and at a greater ease. It can be proven that man's population increased when technologies for food production were adopted. The use of the tractor, for instance, allowed a farmer to plow a field twenty times more than he was using a carabao-drawn plow. Mechanized milling technology increased the availability of grains especially rice. Modern rice varieties today can be harvested three months after planting. On the other hand millet will take at least a month more before it is ready for harvesting. In the Philippines the separation of millet grains from their shells was still done using the mortar and pestle method. Since it millet production takes longer than rice production farmers chose the latter.

The other side of modernization is the eventual disappearance of traditional customs and traditions. Keesing (1960, 60) argues that modernization affects man's culture and changes it. These include both material and non-material cultures. As technology is adopted for rice production and virtually none for millet production, the former becomes widespread while the latter declines. Modernization is also the reason for farmers leaving the rural regions for the urban areas since it was easier to earn incomes in cities rather than in the farmlands.

Scope and Limitation

Geographical Scope

Before undertaking this research, this researcher discovered some millet-growing areas in the Philippines. These areas are the provinces of Negros Oriental and the Batanes. In Negros Oriental millet is an ingredient for rice cake or suman which is being peddled at the Dumaguete airport. Millet was reported to being cultivated in the hills of Valencia municipality. As for the Batanes, this researcher discovered that the grain is being cultivated in the municipality of Basco. Millet was served as a porridge during the researcher's visit there in April 2014. It was decided that these two provinces will be the geographical areas where field work will be conducted.

Unfortunately this present research was able to cover the area of the Batanes due to the high transportation expense and the inaccessibility of the millet-growing areas there. Though millet is known to be cultivated in the islands of Itbayat and Sabtang, this research will only cover the municipality of Basco in Batan Island. The millet-growing areas in Negros Oriental are not yet visited by this researcher. Nevertheless this researcher managed to obtain information from the Batanes especially from Dr. Florentino Hornedo¹, who was the local expert and historian of the province. Important information was also gathered from a millet farmer who discussed the obstacles in the cultivation of millet. Studies for Negros Oriental will be covered in the latter phase of this study.

As for the time scope of this research, this work will cover mention about millet from the Spanish and the contemporary period. The time limitation of this study is the dearth or total absence of data from the early Spanish domination to the early contemporary period. This can be remedied through the conduct of oral history by interviewing families of farmers who have been cultivating millet for generations.

Methodology

Methodology of the Study

The methods employed by this research are the following:

¹ Dr. Florentino H. Hornedo passed away on December 9, 2015 in Basco, Batanes while this research was in progress.

- a. **Documentary research** is done to determine the historical background of millet and how it was grown by Filipinos. This is done through consultation of books such as the History of the Bisayan People by Rev. Fr. Ignacio Alcina, an 18th century Jesuit missionary who recorded millet as one of the grains grown in the Visayas. Other documentary information such as statistics on Philippine millet production is obtained from the Department of Agriculture Statistics Office.
- b. **Electronic and computer searches** were done by the researcher to find information how millet is being grown in other parts of the world and to determine the nutritional benefits of millet.
- c. **Oral History** – the researcher interviewed Dr. Florentino Hornedo a native of Batanes Province who had a wide knowledge about millet production. Through Dr. Hornedo this researcher also obtained information from Mr. Severino Baldove, a millet farmer of Basco, Batanes. The interview was undertaken 25 July 2015. Interviews were also conducted with Dr. Earl Jude Cleope a native of Negros Oriental who knew where millet is still being cultivated. The researcher also interviewed Dr. Rolando Borrinaga who is an authority in the precolonial culture and history of the Visayas. Dr. Borrinaga is also knowledgeable about the cultivation of millet in Eastern Visayas. Research was also conducted online as well as at the Department of Agriculture Bureau of Agricultural Research.

Results

As of July 2016 the following findings were obtained in the course of this research:

1. **Millet has grown in the Philippines since time immemorial.** According to historian William Henry Scott it was a festal meal along with rice. As a festal meal it is consumed only on special occasions. According to Alcina, (p. 106-108) millet was known as “daba” in Leyte. Farming was done through the kaingin or slash and burn farming. Alcina describes the method of planting:

“Prior to sowing, they soak the seed for two or three days in these regions (the Eastern Visayas); in others they do not soak them.

The method of sowing is not to scatter the seed abundantly but to scatter it on the land like the daba, that is we have already stated, a kind of millet which they sow by scattering the seed called sabuag”

(Sabuag is defined as to sow seeds or to cast them this and that way.” [Sanchez, 1711]

Alcina said that that in some regions millet and corn can be planted with the main rice crop. According to him millet which he also refers to as dawa matures more quickly and is harvested one or two months before the rice. They sow both of these at the edges of the sown lands which they call daplin. (daplin refers to the edge of the cultivated area or a shore of a river or sea) They begin to enclose them which is a necessary step to preserve them for there is no other way out. (111).

Millet is one of the grains carried by sea-going Badjaos and the Sama Balanguiguis during their long voyages. There is a rather apocryphal story about the Badjaos who cook their cereals especially sorghum. When the sorghum passes through their digestive tract the grain is partially digested and they gather the grain to be eaten again. This caused some of their fellow Moros especially the Sama to deride them as feces eaters (Cojuangco)

Other references to millet is given by historian Rolando Borrinaga who is an authority of precolonial Visayan history. According to him along with rice millet was cultivated by precolonial Filipinos. It was one of the festal foods of the natives.

2. **Millet is cultivated at present the same way as Alcina described it.** It is cultivated today through a dry method instead of a wet method of agriculture like paddy rice. According to Hornedo millet matures in three to four months and it could grow up to three feet from the ground. It is harvested like rice. The millet seed is separated from the cut stalks like in rice and the grain is obtained through pounding with a mortar and pestle method. The unhusked grain and grain shells are separated by winnowing through gentle blowing. The lighter grain husks, chaff and dirt are blown off. Another method is to shake the mixture of unhusked grain and grain husks by through a special bamboo tray (bilao) with tiny holes that will allow the unhusked grain to fall through while sifting.

The type of millet grown in the Batanes area is the pearl millet (*Pennisetum glaucum*) which is also grown in India and the United States. Other varieties of millet is the finger millet (*Eleusine coracana*) proso millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) and the foxtail millet (*Setaria italica*).

Millet is consumed as native cake or suman. It can be mixed with sticky rice and coconut milk as suman. It is also consumed as a porridge. If cooked this way a cup of millet will fill up a pan with a one gallon (4 liters) capacity.

Millet is also consumed as a kind of pop grain like in Japan. In some countries it is an ingredient for making beer.

3. **Millet is now considered a minor cereal in the Philippines.** In the two areas (the Batanes and the Visayas) being studied by this research, millet s called **raut** in the Ivatan dialect. In the Visayas millet is called **bud bud kabog** or just **kabog** in the Cebuano dialect. Among the Warays it is called **dawa**. As it was called such by the researcher's household help when he brought a sample of raut from the Batanes.(Diadole) The three names indicate that millet is still known to the people living in the localities of the Batanes, Central and Eastern Visayas. It is not anymore a mainstay crop as it is overtaken by other crops aside from rice. These include corn and rootcrops like gabi, white ube which is a staple in the Batanes, potatoes (patatas) sweet potatoes (camote) and cassava (kamoteng kahoy). Millet is cultivated only in upland and remote areas of the Philippines.

Millet can still be found in some marketplaces in urban areas. Millet products like suman made with millet can be bought in urban areas like Dumaguete. However outside of the millet-growing areas, millet is practically unknown. Millet can be found in some market places in manila but it is used animal fodder. Laymen called millet as well as its related species like sorghum as bird seed.

Buying millet in the marketplace is expensive. According to Dr. Hornedo, the farm gate price of millet is P200 a kilo. In the Eastern Visayas millet is not very common in the market place seasonal and the cost of a kilo of millet in Biliran is more than P200. Millet from Dumaguete can be purchased at P250 a kilo. Suman made from millet is also expensive at a hundred pesos for four pieces during this researcher's last visit in 2011. Imported millet from India can be obtained at the Indian store in Paco, Manila at P180. Millet is being sold as a health food in some specialty stores at mall (Healthy Options, Robinson's Magnolia, Quezon City) and it costs P365 for half a kilo.

4. **Millet is a highly nutritious cereal.** The following chart shows the nutritional content of millet species such as foxtail, little, kodo, proso, barnyard, pearl and sorghum millet compared to wheat and paddy rice (see table below)

Analysis and Findings
Analysis and Conclusions

Millet is one of the traditional cereal crops of the Philippines and it has been cultivated in the islands even before the coming of the Spaniards. Like rice it was a festival food which was laborious to produce from planting to harvesting. With the development of a rice-based diet among Filipinos the planting and consumption millet eventually became marginal. In other parts of the world millet remained a major food source and it was a major carbohydrate sources in countries with arid and semi-arid environments.

The cause of the loss of popularity of millet in the Philippines is attributed to the highly laborious way of separating the grain from the stalk and removing the grain from the husks. The loss of popularity of millet may lead to the death of local traditions and cultures. It would also lead to the extinction of a plant species since it is no longer planted. Farmers seeing other crops that are less labor intensive turn to these crops such as rice, corn and root crops.

The decline of popularity of millet can be arrested by mechanizing some of the processes through introduction of milling machines.

Millet turned out to be highly nutritious. It is rich in micronutrients, vitamins and minerals. Since the plant is resistant to drought and can thrive in areas of high temperatures, acidic and saline soils. The plant could be an answer to the country's food security and a solution to malnutrition.

Promoting the production of millet may help in the economy of marginal farmers who have no access to irrigation and are relying on rain-fed farms.

Aside from reviving the old uses for millet efforts can be done to find new uses such as its use in the production of liquor, bio-fuel and speciality foods and other products.

As a matter of conclusion millet has the potential of solving the problem of malnutrition and food lack. Its reintroduction and wide-scale cultivation of millet especially pearl millet will be an answer to the country's need for an inexpensive source of nutrition. Cultivating millet will not be a strain on the country's scarce water resources as it can survive in arid and high temperature regions. It also answers a need for an agricultural product that will not exacerbate global warming but instead adopts to it. In adopting millet as a major food crop other ways may be devised on what kind of new products that can be created from it.

Another aspect of millet reintroduction is to reeducate the people in developing tastes for millet. If it saves people from hunger in Africa and is one of the major grains in China and India, the people there have adopted to including millet as part of their regular diet.

Comparison of Millet with Other Millet Varieties with Rice and Wheat²

Crop	Protein(g)	Fiber(g)	Minerals(g)	Iron(mg)	Calcium(mg)
Pearl millet	10.6	1.3	2.3	16.9	38

² Source: Millet Network of India, <http://www.milletindia.org> (Accessed. February 2, 2016)

Finger millet	7.3	3.6	2.7	3.9	344
Foxtail millet	12.3	8	3.3	2.8	31
Proso millet	12.5	2.2	1.9	0.8	14
Kodo millet	8.3	9	2.6	0.5	27
Little millet	7.7	7.6	1.5	9.3	17
Barnyard millet	11.2	10.1	4.4	15.2	11
Rice	6.8	0.2	0.6	0.7	10
Wheat	11.8	1.2	1.5	5.3	41

Source:

<http://www.indexmundi.com/agriculture/?commodity=millet&graph=production>

accessed March 17, 2016]) India is today's top producer of millet at 11 million tons.

The top ten producers of millet in the world are:

Rank	Country	Amount (Metric Tons)
1	India	11,000,000
2	Nigeria	5,800,000
3	Niger	3,200,000
4	China	1,800,000
5	Mali	1,600,000
6	Burkina Faso	1,100,000
8	Ethiopia	700,000
9	Chad	700,000
10	Senegal	560,000

(Source: ICCRESAT, Hyderabad, India)

According to the same data even impoverished countries like Bangladesh produced 240,000 tons of millet and war torn countries like Syria and Iraq produced 200,000 and 300,000 tons respectively.

In the course of this research, it was discovered that the Philippine government through the Department of Agriculture has no data about millet production. This was found out during an ocular visit of the Bureau of Agricultural Research of the Department of Agriculture. The lack of data about millet according to the officials of this office was that the Department of Agriculture became too focused on rice and corn production. One of them said that this was the first time they heard of a research about millet being conducted. This researcher was told however, to conduct a research at the regional offices where millet is still being produced.

5. Millet production in the Philippines is an endangered economic activity.

Through its history the Philippines has become a nation of rice eaters. According to 2015 statistics the Philippines has become the world's 7th largest rice producer at 11 million tons (<http://www.thecountriesof.com/top-10-largest-producers-of-rice-in-the-world> Accessed March 18, 2016) but it is also the world's third largest importer (<http://www.worldatlas.com/articles/the-largest-rice-importers-in-the-world.html> Accessed March 18, 2016).

According to Dr. Hornedo the decline in millet production is attributed to the laborious method of separating the grain from the husk. In the production of rice on the other hand the separation of rice grains from the husk is mechanized through the milling process. Furthermore machines are now used to separate the unhusked grain (palay) from the stalks. In some countries like Malaysia and Thailand the planting and harvesting of rice are now fully mechanized.

The abandonment of millet production caused the extinction of certain varieties of millet. According to Dr. Hornedo, there used to be four varieties. There used to be a green type of millet (possibly proso millet), the pearl millet, barnyard millet and the foxtail.

The extinction of a crop like millet may also signal the end of a tradition since millet is one of the traditional crops of the native Ivatans. To avoid the total extinction of millet production, Dr. Hornedo remarked that he had to pay some farmers to continue planting the crop.

6. To avoid the planting of millet from being extinct, it is necessary to mechanize the process of separating the grain from the husk through a milling process. Since millet grains are smaller than those of rice, a mill designed for millet must have a smaller milling diameter.

This researcher purchased a hand mill from the United States that could mill millet grains. This grain was successfully tested inside the University of Santo Tomas and was later sent to the Batanes. The use of the mill made the task of separating the grain from the husk an easier and less laborious process. It is possible to attach a motor to mill to speed up the milling process.

7. The commercial and economic prospects of popularizing millet production are bright. Compared to rice millet is not a picky crop. According to the International Crops Research Institute for Semi Arid Tropics (ICRISAT) millet is the world's hardiest warm-season cereal crop. It can survive and produce grain even on the least fertile soils in the driest regions, on highly acidic and saline soils, and in the hottest climates. (http://exploreit.icrisat.org/page/pearl_millet/680 accessed March 18, 2016)

Since the flowers of the plants are so light, they can easily cross-pollinate with each other.

Of the millet varieties pearl millet (*Pennisetum glaucum*) appears to be the hardiest. According to ICRSAT the crop grows well in soils of high salinity or low PH (highly acidic). It grows well where other crops such as corn and wheat cannot survive such as the edge of the Sahara desert in Mali. (Ibid.)

Today 90 million people depend on pearl millet for food and income and 31 million hectares have been devoted to pearl millet production. Because of its hardy nature 50% of all millet harvested today belong are pearl millet. Since 1980 pearl millet production in Central and West Africa has increased 130%

In this time of climate change and global warming, millet production especially that of pearl millet is an appropriate measure in meeting this challenge. Farms that are rain-fed or totally dependent on rainfall can easily produce pearl millet.

Millet can be intercropped with other crops like corn and cow peas. The plants can also reduce and prevent soil erosion caused by wind and rain.

The nutritive value of millet and its hardy nature make it a very important food crop and it will solve problems of malnutrition and at the same time provide livelihood for farmers especially those with no access to irrigation.

In times of drought, high soil salinity and acidity high temperatures especially brought about by climate change, millet will be an important source of protein, calories and micronutrients.

Compared to rice and corn, grain-bearing millet plants are not threatened by the common enemy of the first two grains- the rice sparrow. According to Dr. Hornedo the pods containing the grain are too small for the birds to eat compared to rice or corn. However if the plants are blown down by strong winds or typhoons the plants maybe attacked by birds and rats.

Like other crops, millet especially pearl millet has threats. These include bacterial diseases such as as bacterial spot (*Pseudomonas syringae*) and bacterial leaf streak (*Xanthomonas campestris* pv. *pennamericanum*); fungal and pseudo-fungal diseases especially downy mildew (caused by *Sclerospora graminicola* and *Plasmopara penniseti*), blast (caused by *Pyricularia grisea*), smut (caused by *Moesziomyces penicillariae*), ergot (caused by *Claviceps fusiformis*) and rust (caused by *Puccinia substriata* var. *penicillariae*).

There are pests from the insect world such as the millet head miner and stem borers and parasitic nematodes. Environmental stresses such as droughts, soil acidity, salinity and high temperature may affect the growth of seedlings or when the plants start flowering.

Analysis and Conclusions

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Millet turned out to be highly nutritious. It is rich in micronutrients, vitamins and minerals. Since the plant is resistant to drought and can thrive in areas of high temperatures, acidic and saline soils. The plant could be an answer to the country's food security and a solution to malnutrition.

Promoting the production of millet may help in the economy of marginal farmers who have no access to irrigation and are relying on rain-fed farms.

Aside from reviving the old uses for millet efforts can be done to find new uses such as its use in the production of liquor, bio-fuel and speciality foods and other products.

As a matter of conclusion millet has the potential of solving the problem of malnutrition and food lack. Its reintroduction and wide-scale cultivation of millet especially pearl millet will be an answer to the country's need for an inexpensive source of nutrition. Cultivating millet will not be a strain on the country's scarce water resources as it can survive in arid and high temperature regions. It also answers a need for an agricultural product that will not exacerbate global warming but instead adapts to it. In adopting millet as a major food crop other ways may be devised on what kind of new products that can be created from it.

Another aspect of millet reintroduction is to reeducate the people in developing tastes for millet. If it saves people from hunger in Africa and is one of the major grains in China and India, the people there have adopted to including millet as part of their regular diet.

Recommendations

This study offers the following recommendations:

- 1. Millet cultivation of millet should continue due to the following reasons**
 - a. Food security – it is an answer to solving the problem of hunger and malnutrition.
 - b. Culture – continued cultivation will ensure the preservation of the culture of the people in the affected locality.
- 2. That the process of harvesting and threshing or the separation of millet grains from the shells should be mechanized to reduce the cost of the product and to make the process more efficient.** This is the primary cause why farmers are not anymore cultivating millet.
3. That the making of traditional products from millet be taught to teachers and students in order to familiarize themselves on its historical importance and how it

served generations of Filipinos.

4. **That research and development activities be conducted to produced new products can be made from millet.** Researchers may make use of the use of millet in other countries such as millet was used to make beer in ancient Egypt and in other countries during contemporary times. Food technicians may devise new recipes using millet such as breads and cakes.
5. **That the government through the Department of Agriculture support the popularization and the reintroduction of millet as a major food crop.** It should also educate the people on the use of millet and encourage them to eat millet as an alternative to rice;
6. **That the Department of Science and Technology be tapped to see if they have done some researches on the use of millet;** This government agency has the expertise and the equipment to help produce uses for millet.
7. **That the Department of Trade and Industry be enlisted in promoting millet products.** This can be done through the One Town One Product Program (OTOP);
8. **That the University of Santo Tomas engage in research and development activities on the other uses of millet** This can be achieved through its Food and Nutrition Department in the College of Education and the College of Pharmacy.
9. **Support for the Community** – As part of its Community Development activity, the University of Santo Tomas should work with members of the local community and with government agencies in reviving and popularizing millet production and utilization by helping acquire machines for millet production and to teach the residents how to utilize millet.
10. **The University should follow up what Dr. Hornedo has done in Batanes regarding millet production. He privately funded millet farmers to continue planting their crops.** Also the proponent donated two milling machines which were sent to the Batanes by Dr. Hornedo. The proponent would like to find out what happened to the machines and how were they used.

Acknowledgement

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Appendix 1:

Comparison of the Nutritional Value of Millet with Other Grain Varieties³

assava	Wheat	Rice	Corn	Potato	Sorghum	Proso Millet
Amount	Amount	Amount	Amount	Amount	Amount	Amount
60	13.1	12	76	82	9.2	8.7
667	1368	1527	360	288	1418	1582
1.4	12.6	7	3	1.7	11.3	11
0.3	1.5	1	1	0.1	3.3	4.2
38	71.2	79	19	16	75	73
1.8	12.2	1	3	2.4	6.3	8.5
1.7	0.4	>0.1	3	1.2	1.9	
0.27	3.2	0.8	0.5	0.5	4.4	3
0.4	3.9	1.1	0.2	0.1	<0.1	1.6
16	29	28	2	9	28	8
21	126	25	37	21	<120	114
27	288	115	89	62	287	285
271	363	115	270	407	350	195
0.3	2.6	1.1	0.5	0.3	<1	1.7
0.1	0.9	1.0	0.7	0.3	<0.9	0.8
0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	<0.3	0.4
27	38	8	42	18	<25	85
0.1	0.38	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.4
<0.1	0.1	>0.1	0.1	>0.1	0.1	0.3
0.9	5.5	1.6	1.8	1.1	2.9	4.7

³ Source: National Nutrition Institute of India. Hyderabad: India.

Appendix 2

Nutritional content in 100 gms of dry Grain												
	Protein (in gms)	Carbohydrates (in gms)	Fat (in gms)	Minerals (in gms)	Fiber (in gms)	Calcium (in mgs)	Phosphorous (in mgs)	Iron (in mgs)	Energy (in kCals)	Thiamin (in mgs)	Niacin (in mgs)	
Foxtail	12.3	60.2	4.3	4	6.7	31	290	2.8	351	0.59	3.2	
Little	7.7	67	4.7	1.7	7.6	17	220	9.3	329	0.3	3.2	
Kodo	8.3	65.9	1.4	2.6	5.2	35	188	1.7	353	0.15	2	
Proso	12.5	70.4	1.1	1.9	5.2	8	206	2.9	354	0.41	4.5	
Barnyard	6.2	65.5	4.8	3.7	13.6	22	280	18.6	300	0.33	4.2	
Sorghum	10.4	70.7	3.1	1.2	2	25	222	5.4	329	0.38	4.3	
Pearl	11.8	67	4.8	2.2	2.3	42	240	11	363	0.38	2.8	
Finger	7.3	72	1.3	2.7	3.6	344	283	3.9	336	0.42	1.1	
Paddy Rice	6.8	78.2	0.5	0.6	1	33	160	1.8	362	0.41	4.3	
Wheat	11.8	71.2	1.5	1.5	2	30	306	3.5	348	0.41	5.1	
Quinoa	14	64	6	*	7	36	457	4.6	368	0.36	*	

Compiled from a study published by the National Institute for Nutrition, Hyderabad and other sources for Quinoa.

According to the National Institute for Nutrition in Hyderabad, India, the millet varieties have more protein, carbohydrates, minerals, fiber, phosphorus, thiamin and niacin compared to paddy rice, quinoa and wheat.

Pictures



A millet nursery (ICRISSAT)



Products from Millet (ICRISSAT)

Photo: ICRISSAT



Millet plants in Basco, Batanes
(Photo courtesy of F.H. Hornedo)



A millet field in Basco, Batanes
(Photo courtesy of F.H. Hornedo)



A farmer tending his millet plants
(Photo courtesy of F.H. Hornedo)



Mr. Severino Baldove, a millet farmer of Basco, Batanes
(Photo courtesy of F.H. Hornedo)



Dr. Hornedo with the other millet farmers in Basco.
(Photo courtesy of F.H. Hornedo)



Unhusked millet grains



Nazko mill brought by the author to process millet



Another model of the Nazko grain mill



Dr. Hornedo operating the millet mill to separate the grain from the hulls



Blowing air into the ground millet to separate the hulls from the grain



Unmilled millet grains



Finished product



Millet commercial product from India

THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF TEACHERS TEACHING SUBJECTS OUTSIDE THEIR AREA OF EXPERTISE

Michelle Torrerros, LPT

Leyte Normal University
Tacloban City, Philippines
(torrerrosmichelle@gmail.com)

Abstract

Through education, the transmission of information from one generation to another or from another country is possible. It is a critical process to permit and transfer knowledge of the past to the people of the present. Teachers play varied roles in implementing and realizing the mission, vision, goals and objectives of the present educational system. This phenomenological study offers an understanding of the lived experiences of three (3) teachers teaching subjects that are outside their specialization. The key informants from the different schools in Eastern Visayas were selected purposively. The data gathered through in-depth interview were analyzed using Colaizzi's approach. Three themes emerged: "Teacher Shortage vis a vis Teacher Saturation," "Mastery of the Subject Matter," and "Challenges and Coping Mechanisms/Suggestion." Suggestions and recommendations were addressed to concern stakeholders.

Key Words: Lived Experiences, Out of Field Teaching, Specialization, Effective Teacher

Introduction

Education is substantial as it helps us to become continuous, lifelong learners. It facilitates quality learning and contributes enough to change for the better. Likewise, it has numerous expected and unintended functions to realize the main thrust of the program to the improvement of quality and relevance of education and training concerning the needs of the society. Furthermore, school has been recognized as the most important instrument for development. The changing society and the demands for teachers and programs create serious implications for school.

The Department of Education (DepEd) plays an important role; it is tasked to design, create, implement policies, plans, and programs in both formal and non-formal primary education. Its primary function is to supervise all elementary and secondary institutions both in public and private sectors and provide a suitable, safe, and organized atmosphere conducive to learning. Furthermore, it guarantees the quality and standards of primary education in the Philippines. To cope with the changing society, DepEd implemented Republic Act 10533 otherwise known as Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013, a new curriculum in the Philippine educational system adding three years to the country's primary education to provide and furnish a holistic education for all Filipino students. It is intended to prepare students for higher education and to produce globally competitive graduates equipped with the necessary knowledge and skills needed by their future working environment.

DepEd and numerous educational organizations aim to provide quality education to students for the betterment of the society in general. A good quality education offers all learners with capabilities that will heighten individual well-being and to produce productive citizens in contributing to peaceful and democratic societies. There are various sources to guarantee quality education. Longanecker and Blanco (2003) contended that quality education could be defined by who and how students are taught, emphasizing the influence of academic staff and administrators in achieving quality education. Arnon and Reichel (2007) contended that teachers qualifications and experiences affect the quality of education. According to Hafees S J (2017), teacher's competence and knowledge shape the overall standard of learning to achieve quality education. Grounded from several sources mentioned, teachers serve as the prime mover of the educational wheel that makes the teaching and learning possible. They are there to encourage and impart knowledge to the learners. Thus, the educational background on pre-service preparation of the teachers occupies a center stage in the development of the educational system.

According to the United Nations Sustainable Development, obtaining a quality education is the foundation for creating sustainable development. However, there are global issues and problems in achieving quality education. Rueckert (2019) argued that there are problems in global education that the world needs to take action to achieve quality education. Additionally, there are problems with the quality of staff, students, library, and laboratory (Rasool, 2007). Rueckert (2019) and Rasool (2007) both argued that the quality of staff- administrators and untrained teachers

contribute to weakening the quality of education. Moreover, according to DepEd, quality education has declined a few years ago because there are overcrowded classroom and poor teachers' performances. Many issues and problems are affecting the Philippine Education that needs immediate resolution. One of which is the deteriorating quality of education. Jung I (2005), Jerald's and Ingersoll (2002) argued that one of the most widely and loudly discussed issues in education is the quality of teachers.

Teacher instructional proficiency affects the quality of education. Handrik et al. (2017) states that competency includes understanding structure, concepts, and mastering the subject or discipline they teach. Hess et al. (2001) claimed that content mastery is recognized to be vital to effective teaching. Similarly, Shulman (1986, 1987) and Tobin and Fraser (1988, 1990), as cited by Child et al. (2007) argued that mastery of subject content knowledge by teachers is an essential condition for effective teaching.

One of the problems in achieving quality education is out of field teaching. According to (Brodbelt, 1990, p.1), as cited by Sambe (2015) it is education's dirty little secret. Moreover, Hobbs (2015) and Ingersoll (2000) defines it as a phenomenon where teachers are teaching out of field. This study reveals that the nation made no progress in reducing out of field teaching. Sambe (2015) and Hobbs (2015) contended that out of field teaching happens because of the decision of the school management team.

The present situation of the Philippine educational system is the increasing number of teachers teaching out of field. Teachers might rely on and use strategies, approaches, methods, and techniques that are traditional and ineffective. Teaching unfamiliar contents may cause incompetence among proficient educators, for the reason that their foundation sprung from a different specialization. Shulman (1986), as cited by Ghorbani et al (2018), argued that subject knowledge and content knowledge are vital for competent teachers. Selvi (2010) states that these competencies affect the values, behaviors, communication, aims, practices, and productivity of teachers in school.

This study is anchored on the theories of Experiential Learning by David Kolb (1984) and Constructivism by John Dewey (1859), which best explains the experiences of the teachers teaching subjects outside their area of expertise.

Teachers are devoted professionals who have an enduring influence on students. They implicate themselves in molding their students into responsible citizens of their country. Moreover, teachers must be knowledgeable in both teaching and assessment practices to meet the demand of quality education. Kolb's model of Experiential Learning is grounded in humanistic and constructivist perspectives, suggesting that people are undoubtedly capable of learning. In other words, understanding follows when someone creates knowledge through experiential transformations. Dewey's Constructivism argued that people construct their own understanding of the world and using what they know based on previous experiences in the process of connecting new information to these experiences.

Teachers teaching subjects outside their area of expertise may learn when they involve themselves directly in the experience. In a classroom setting, it's not only that students are learning, but an educator who teaches must also learn. They accommodate new ideas, then articulate their own learning needs and consequently direct their learning. The curriculum, resources, and training that are handed and offered to the teachers who are teaching another field of specialization may be a form of a construct or a social learning construct to them. Their experience from the classroom simulation is already a social construct as they need to strive to learn not based on their foundation but the new basis of specialization assigned to them. This research, therefore, argues that an educator may or may not learn from the specialization he/she is assigned to.

This study will seek to answer the following research questions:

1. Why do teachers teach outside their specialization?
2. What are the challenges encountered by the teachers teaching outside their specialization?
3. What are the coping mechanisms of the teachers teaching subjects outside their specialization?

This study sought to determine the lived experiences of professional teachers from Philippine Public Schools. Selected participants should have rendered government for three years, handling and teaching subjects outside their specialization. The aspects to look into are the reasons, challenges, and coping mechanisms of the teachers teaching subjects outside their area of specialization.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Phenomenology pertains to the experiences that we encounter everyday at varied contexts and how we put meaning to these. (Patton, 2002). This phenomenology captures the lived experience of numerous individuals experiencing similar occurrence transforming that lived

experience into verbatim expression of the essence (Creswell, 2007). This emphasized the importance of understanding the deeper meaning and essence of the teachers teaching subjects exterior to their area of specialization. Teaching different subjects may be a challenge to them as to how they will deliver the topics/lessons that are unfamiliar to them.

Ingersoll, R. (2001) contended that the occurrence of out of field teaching has long been unacknowledged problem in schools. Teachers who are competent may become unqualified when they teach out of field. Ingersoll, R. (2003) argued that the teachers can no longer cope with these change in the system just to cater to another concern which is the unavailability of teachers in the education sector. These tend to worsen the the situation of those teachers who are compelled to teach other subject not vertically aligned to their specialization. The reasons for the prevalence of underqualified teaching is the result of failure of teacher policy and program. Moreover, Hobbs, L. (2012) claimed that education should focus on how to properly bring into line teachers mastered subject to the subjects they teach in the real field. Research and information about these increasing issue in the society needs to be addressed accordingly. Jerald, C. D., & Ingersoll, R. (2002) posited that the uneven classes in secondary schools and most schools in the society being taught by teachers not on their specialization.

Ingersoll, R. (2002) based from his Exploratory Analysis posited that administration and organization of schools are significantly connected to teachers teaching subjects outside their area of specialization. This shows that this phenomenon arises not because of teacher shortages but because of the quality of principal leadership, and strategies of schools concerning teacher recruitment and hiring.

Childs, A. and McNicoll, J. (2007) argued that teachers assigned to teach out-of-field encountered many challenges such as selecting effective and appropriate strategies to promote teaching and learning, teacher elucidations, student misconstructions, inflexible, derivative teaching, and student enthusiasm.

METHODOLOGY

Experiences, teaching problems, difficulties encountered by them and the coping mechanism/strategies grounded on individual experiences while teaching the subjects assigned to them. Phenomenology is used to explore the day-to-day lived experience of these teachers. Explicitly, this study employs hermeneutic phenomenology, which is basically categorized by Martin Heidegger's interpretative approach that centers on research participation through ongoing interpretation (Thompson, 2007). The researcher sought to uncover the essences, interpret, and describe the meaning of this occurrence. Moreover, in the hermeneutic approach, it restraint researcher conventions by means of studying and examining through questioning and reflecting upon one's pre-understanding and involvement in the phenomenon (Dahlberg, 2006).

Interviews and discussions were held at the location of each participant's choice. All conversations were recorded by video and audiotape, to accurately transcribed the data into written form. Purposive sampling was used for this study; in this sampling method, the researcher selected participants who have the desired experience in teaching subjects that do not match their training in their actual job. The criteria for participation were (a) Male or Female; (b) Filipino Citizen; (c) Graduate in Bachelor of Secondary Education; (d) Department of Education Public High School teacher; (e) Teachers teaching subjects that are outside their specialization; and (f) Agreeable to participate in this study.

Interviews or open-ended queries is the primary means of data collection in a qualitative study, an interview procedure directed to address the following areas: reasons, school experiences, challenges, and coping mechanisms of teachers teaching subjects that are not their specialization.

The researcher conducted an interview. Discussion and interviews were held at the location of each participant's choice for the study. The participants were provided written consent letter to properly collect data. Supplement questions were raised if needed to focus the discussion on the lived experiences of teachers teaching subjects not of their specialization. Results were transcribed and the data were shown to participants, to check if it matches from their responses during the actual interview.

The data analysis for a phenomenological research following Colaizzi's (1978) seven-step approach, was utilized in this study, the main advantage of this is that it helps in data collected being reduced and simplified. Through this, the researcher were able to examine and record the responses of the participants.

Result , Analysis and Findings

In this analysis the results were collected and construed to expansively present the views and experiences of teachers. The researcher identified three themes that described their lived experiences: (a) Teacher Shortage vis-à-vis Teacher Saturation, (b) Mastery of the Subject Matter, and (c) Challenges and Coping Mechanism/Suggestions.

Theme 1: Teacher Shortage vis a vis Teacher Saturation

The present educational system demands a conducive classroom environment, effective, competent, experienced and proficient teachers for students in the Philippines. The shortage lies in the distribution of teachers. There are not enough teachers who are qualified to teach a particular subject. Additionally, the initiatives and policies developed to address the problem are misguided. Below are the varied responses of the participants that lead them to teaching a different subject from their area of specialization.

Participant 1

“Shortage/lacking of teachers.” (P1)

“The school where I am in lacks teachers who teach in a specific field (e.g., accounting), and some teachers specializing other subjects are saturated, yet with lesser offered subjects in the curriculum relating to their area of specialization.” (P2)

“Lack of teachers, that’s why I am told to teach the subject.” (P3)

As understood through the lens of the informants, teachers are given and required to teach subjects that are outside of their area of expertise, because the qualified teachers are not sufficient with the demands of the education sector. Furthermore, there are many hired teachers in public schools specializing in a specific field that the present curriculum is less offering; that’s why for them to be full-time teachers, they need to have enough load of subjects.

Theme 2: Mastery of the Subject Matter

Guaranteeing a well-qualified teacher in every classroom, is stressed to be the top priority in the educational system for quality education. It seems evident that educators have the most direct contact with students and considerable control over what is being taught in a real classroom setting. In preparing a particular subject, one should know a lot about the subject, for example, in teaching history; one should learn first a lot about history. From the varied responses of participants, there is a real emphasis on the subject matter knowledge of the teacher that will make them an effective teacher.

“Not at all. Comfortable in teaching the subject that is align in my degree. Less comfortable when I am not familiar with the topic.” (P1)

“Some of these are correlational with subjects I have in college; others are not that easy, so you have to research.” (P1)

“Honestly, I am a bit hesitant to accept it. I was convincing myself that as a Social Science major, I could handle it if I relate it to economics, because it is business related. But it turned out that the concepts were primarily focusing on accounting for accountants. Of course, I am more confident in teaching subjects such as history, geography, sociology, anthropology, psychology, logic for these are subjects which I studied exhaustively. Social Science deals more with observation, experience and learning about the society, this has aided me to teach in all subjects I am assigned into.” (P2)

“I focused more on the subject area I am not really familiar with (accounting). You just need to study it to be more familiar with it. I am not really into technicalities of it. I focused more on delivering practical knowledge out of its context.” (P2)

“I am not confident teaching the subject, sometimes I’m having a hard time to understand a particular concept and to decide what activities will suit to the topic. It’s very challenging for me, every time I encounter unfamiliar topics.” (P3)

Based on their responses, teachers don’t feel comfortable and confident in teaching all the subject matter assigned to them; they described their familiarity with the content standards in their subject area. From their statement, it was observed that content expertise/subject-knowledge of the teacher is not substantial because it’s not inline in their area of expertise.

Theme 3: Challenges and Coping Mechanisms/Suggestions

Educators in different contexts face many encounters in the classroom and school, no matter how much experience they have. The challenges of teachers teaching subjects outside their area of

expertise put a strain on the teacher's ability to provide quality education. This is based on the responses of the participants during the interview.

"During my first teaching experience, I always find difficulty in teaching subjects that aren't under my specialization because you have to understand it every details of it prior to deliver it to my students. Also the lacking of resources in terms of internet and books contribute a lot in doing your own research about the subject." (P1)

"Unfamiliarity of the subject - you really have to research and have resources so as to connect and deliver the content well to students." (P1)

"Strategy of teaching to address the diverse kind of students since I am not an education graduate - I have to ask and observe my co-teachers so as to pick and emulate the good strategies they expressed. I also seek advice tutorial with my superior." (P1)

"Handling some students that aren't interested in learning. I have to talk to them about our topic and telling them in a nice way instead of kept on reminding them that it is one of the requirements to complete their term. Find other means of getting the attention of my students." (P1)

"Knowing your subject thoroughly. I have to prepare well and be a master of my subject. Research and read as many as you can cos I know it requires immense receptivity on my part as a teacher to really help my students in the articulation of their questions." (P1)

"In my activity, I sometimes use Images that they're going to analyze. This is to lead my students in a critical analysis of an image that enhances their observational, interpretive, and critical thinking skills." (P1)

"Gauge students' understanding and interest in a topic by asking them to write down takeaways, questions, and something they enjoyed about a text, film, or lesson." (P1)

"Attend training and seminars relevant to teaching and other strategies. Enroll in post graduate education for me to become more effective and efficient teacher." (P1)

"It was difficult, sometimes though I need to pause and check whether I have delivered the thought properly. I always carry books (if there are any) most of the time though researching through the internet, asking the experts, taking down notes. It's awkward sometimes, but as educators you need to show them that you know what you are studying about/teaching about." (P2)

"When the students are required to answer an activity using spreadsheets, this is very technical, what I did is I ask for an accounting major to speak in front of them like an invitational collaborative teaching." (P2)

"Resources has been the primary reason of educators as a challenge especially that the curriculum changes from time to time. I suggest that despite the requirement for teachers to be resourceful, out of their initiatives, the governing bodies should make sure that they are also offering them options to access resources if possible without high-pays." (P2)

"Cliché as it may sound trainings and seminars should be conducted and focused on people/educators rightful to be trained." (P2)

"Another is peer collaboration, among the educators themselves, it is only among us, we can help each other learn from these challenges." (P2)

"Independent learning, research and collaborative learning are the main strategies I employed for my students." (P3)

"Assessing something that you are not expert about is hard. But what I did is I asked for help from the experts. There was one time when I have conducted an activity and my judges were those people who specialized accounting. I know very well that they are the ones who can assess them well. Rubrics are still used as assessment tools. Also, peer assessment." (P3)

"Currently, I am studying my Masteral degree, I see this as one of the ways where I can improve my professional growth. Also, doing/writing research, attending conferences, trainings and workshops, and personal motivations to learn from people, accept positive/negative criticisms with an open-mind." (P3)

The participants had difficulty in delivering the subjects they're assigned to teach, due to content unfamiliarity and subjects are not under their area of specialization. To cope up with these challenges, teachers tried their best to know and study the subject thoroughly, asking and observing teachers that are experts in the field, inviting collaborative teaching, peer collaboration, and attending seminars, training, conferences and workshops that would help them learn more about the subject.

Conclusions and Recommendation

Teachers encounter many challenges in the real setting, it was shown from the responses of the participants, that content knowledge and familiarity of topics to be taught must be seen and observed in the actual teaching, it was much emphasized that foundation and academic training is essential. Due to a shortage of teachers, administrators and other concern stakeholders, choose to

allow and assign teachers to teach subjects that do not match their field of specialization to cater the ratio of enrolled students in public high schools. Republic Act 10533, otherwise known as “Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013”, aims to provide quality education in both private and public educational institutions. Teachers implement the said curriculum in the actual classroom setting, supported with the essential knowledge and abilities to become an effective educator. With the challenges mentioned by the key informants, it is vital that the school have a thorough orientation and assigning of subject loads to teachers. Also, the need to comprehend the substantial details such as the displacement of subjects given to teachers that do not match their training and their area of expertise. The existence of teacher shortages in particular subject specialization creates problems in the educational system. Thus, this study encourages all educational institutions to design, plan, and implement pieces of training, seminars, and other related activities for their teachers. Likewise, the administrators, supervisors, and school leaders will be guided in the appropriation of assigning teachers to varied disciplines where the teacher must have a credentialed level of content and pedagogical knowledge to teach effectively. Also, teachers to continually seek knowledge, improve the skills that would aid them in being effective educators.

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THE STRUGGLE OF INDONESIAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN IMPROVING INDONESIAN WOMEN'S WELFARE THROUGH INDONESIAN WOMEN'S CONGRESS I AND II

Syahidah Sumayyah Rahman and Abdurakhman

History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia
(syahidah.sumayyah91@ui.ac.id, abimaman@gmail.com)

Abstract

Indonesian women have been fighting for more rights for them for many years through various way. This article thoroughly discusses how women organization in Indonesia fights for their right especially those who come from middle and lower classes. The Indonesian Women Congress I started to raise the awareness of women particularly those who were part of an organization to defend women's rights. Through the Indonesia Women's Congress I and II, problems related to women were discussed. This article will discuss the steps that the women organization take and how far is their achievement to improve women's fate through Indonesian Women Congress. Most of the previous studies only focus on the process of the congresses without discussing further on how far they took the steps and what were the achievements. This adopts historical method. Data were collected from newspapers, magazines and books during the period of the Indonesian Women Congresses I and II.

Keywords: Women Organization, Marriage, Education, Indonesian Women Congress

Introduction

The situation of Indonesian women before the 20th century was far behind when compared to men. However, this cannot be generalized given the existence of various tribes in Indonesia causing differences in each tradition in viewing the position of women (Blackburn, 2004: 8). The position of women in each region is strongly influenced by adat. Customs prevailing in Indonesian society restrict women from direct socialization with the community and its environment. Not only are there differences in customs from each region, there are various levels based on social status and religious groups also influence the differences in the position of women in Indonesia at that time. Indonesia has a traditional system that is widely used, namely the matrilineal and patrilineal systems. In the matrilineal system, it is depicted that women in family life and social life have a higher position. In contrast to the patrilineal system where the position of married women is lower because marriage means that the woman no longer has a relationship with her family and has moved to become a family member of her husband. In fact, at that time the position of women was not as described especially as described by the matrilineal system. The different social level influences in determining the position of a woman (Holleman, 1971: 31).

There was a change in the Dutch colonial political system in 1901, known as the Political Etische or Ethical Politics resulting in the emergence of several new policies, especially for the Dutch colonies. This ethical-political policy began to emerge due to the influence of some Dutch people who showed a debt of honor from the Dutch to their colonies which gave benefits to the Dutch in the long term. Abundant profits were obtained by the Dutch through the Cultivation System since 1830 where the indigenous people suffered from it. This gave rise to the assumption that the Netherlands had an obligation to improve the welfare of the indigenous population, among others by providing education. Therefore, efforts began to emerge to expand education so that more indigenous children get the opportunity to go to school (Suryochondro, 1984: 70-71).

The beginning of the 20th century was also a time of national revival where a sense of nationality began to be marked by the establishment of an organization, the Boedi Oetomo. National awakening also gave rise to a movement of women that began with the idea of improving the position of women in marriage through education (Kartini, 1972: 42). At that time the position of women, especially in Java, in social life was governed by a tradition in which the rights and obligations of women were lower than men (De Stuers, 2017: 44). Schools opened by the Dutch were preferred for men from the *prijaji* group. A woman aged 10 to 12 years no longer has the freedom to move outside the home. They must be prepared to be married to men who have been chosen by their parents. Women must accept their fate and become a wife who is obedient, submissive and loyal to her husband and circumstances. Because of this, education is considered unnecessary by women (Kartini, 1972: 42). After the national awakening, the struggle of the Indonesian people was increasingly organized with the formation of various national organizations or political parties. National resurgence also resulted in the formation of women's organizations, both as part of existing organizations or forming separate women's organizations carried out by women's struggles in a particular sector or level (Hatta, 2017: 3).

In its development, the women's movement in Indonesia succeeded in giving birth to many women's organizations. The first women's organization formed was *Poetri Mardika*, founded by Budi Oetomo. Women's organizations that were established at this time had a variety of objectives to be achieved. After the founding of *Poetri Mardika*, other women's organizations or associations began to emerge which were supported by public organizations whose members were men or who stood independently. These organizations include the Romance of the Mother to her Ancestral Children (PIKAT), *Purborini*, *Wanita Soesilo*, *Wanita Hadi*, *Poetri Boedi Sedjati*, *Wanita Oetomo*, *Kaoem Iboe Soematra Union* and many others. (Ihromi, 1995: 43)

The growth of organizations in the post-1920s is increasing, including women's organizations. This shows the interest of women to be involved in organizations also increased. In addition, political organizations and parties in Indonesia have begun to pay greater attention to women. This is because they consider women as educators and have an important role in the household. Increased interest of women to be involved in organizations is also caused by increased learning opportunities for women. Not only for those who come from noble families, but those who come from ordinary families can also get an education (Suryochondro, 1984: 130).

Problem statements, research questions and objectives

Women's movement is a form of development in a society where there is a desire from individuals who want change and who then join in joint action. In the early 1900s, there were efforts from individuals and groups to improve the position of women. In 1912, the first Indonesian women's organization emerged, *Poetri Mardika*, on the initiative of Boedi Oetomo. After the founding of *Poetri Mardika*, many other organizations began to emerge that had various backgrounds. The growth of organizations in the post-1920s is increasing, including women's organizations. This shows the interest of women to be involved in organizations also increased. Seeing the developments, the idea emerged to hold a congress that was devoted to discussing the fate of women. Departing from the explanation above, the issues raised in this research is how the shape of the work done Indonesian women's organizations to improve the fate and position of women in Indonesia at that time. Then, what steps are taken by Indonesian women's organizations through the Indonesian Women's Congress I and II to make these improvements

The purpose of this study was to explain the efforts made by various organizations women in Indonesia in improving a lot of women through the Indonesian Women's Congress I and II.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Past research has linked with the implementation of the Indonesian Women's Congress I've researched by Susan Blackburn (2007) in which she describes how the congress run and any conflicts that occur in the passage of the First Women's Congress. The book also contains speeches delivered by representatives of the organizations present at the congress. Of these speeches can be seen any issues discussed in the congress. Research on the history of Indonesian

women's movements from before the 20th century where there was still much to do with customary law from each region until the 1950s by Cora Vreede-De Stuers (2017). Other research related to the Indonesian Women's Congress entitled *The Development of the First Indonesian Women's Congress of 1928 in Yogyakarta* by Winingsih Trimurtini and Terry Irenewaty. In this journal, it is discussed that the rise of the women's movement is the realization of Kartini's ideals of fighting for the improvement of women's social position. The movement of women in the early 20th century was identical to movements in the social and educational spheres. From the results of tracing the previous writings, it can be seen that the study of the struggle of Indonesian women through the Indonesian Women's Congress is an interesting matter for further investigation. The author tries to see how the efforts made by Indonesian women's organizations through the Women's Congress I and II and see the relationship between the two.

The holding of the Indonesian Women's Congress aims to improve the lot of women both in the family and society. Women's organizations that have diverse backgrounds discuss in congress to discuss steps that must be taken in improving the lot of women. To explain the problems in this study, the authors use a structuralist approach where this approach is raining to explain the invisible factors that encourage phenomena that can be captured through the five senses in society. In the structuralist method, there is a hermeneutic element for understanding historical sources concerning phenomena that occur. An event has the power to change a social structure and social structure contains obstacles that can prevent these changes from happening. The social structure referred to in the structuralist approach is not a concrete collection of people but it is a unit that has general characteristics that are emergent namely roles, rules, patterns of interaction and also thought. According to the structuralist approach, social change is not caused by other social structures but is caused by concrete actions of individuals who deliberately change roles, rules, interactions based on certain thoughts (Leirissa, 1999: 10-12).

Agency as a part that must exist in a social structure cannot stand alone without a social structure which according to Lloyd agency is an autonomous power of a social structure. Humans who are part of the social structure as an agency have thoughts, views, and insights written in historical sources. The invisible factor of an event can be obtained through analysis from historical sources whose truth can be tested. In this study, the Women's Congress I and II are phenomena that occur in society and have invisible factors that encourage the holding of the Women's Congress I and II and the decision-making related to improving the fate of Indonesian women at that time.

Methodology

This study uses the historical method which is divided into 4 stages, namely heuristics, source criticism, interpretation and historiography (Notosusanto, 1971: 17-24). The first stage, heuristics, is carried out by gathering various sources in the form of primary and secondary sources related to the Indonesian Women's Congress I and II. The primary source obtained by the author is in the form of articles from newspapers published in 1929-1935 such as *Wife and Persatoean Indonesia*. In addition, the author uses secondary sources in the form of books that discuss the movement of women and existing organizations and Dutch archives in the form of congress minutes.

The author makes a critique of the physical and validity of sources and data that have been obtained through heuristic stages. Furthermore, internal criticism in which the writer sorts out data and sources in accordance with their relevance to the research theme. After making a critique, the writer makes the third stage, interpretation. The author looks back at historical data and sources and establishes their meaning and relation to the facts. The last stage of the historical method used by the writer is historiography where the writer must compile and write the historical event in complete writing.

Results

Analysis and Findings

Indonesian Women Movement during Early 20th Century

The women's movement is a development in a society where there is a desire from individuals who want change and who then join in joint action. At the beginning of the 20th century, women were regarded as second-class creatures, meaning that the position of Indonesian women was under the position of men. Women at that time were not only colonized but also constrained by the customs that prevailed both in the family and society. Kartini has the belief that education can provide a way out for all these sufferings. Education will give people the ability to improve their economic lives, and education will also improve the position of women.

In 1901, there was a change in the Dutch colonial political system known as the Political Ethische or Ethical Politics. This ethical-political policy began to emerge due to the influence of several Dutch people who showed the existence of a debt of honor from the Netherlands to its colonies which had been giving a long time. Abundant profits were obtained by the Dutch through the Cultivation System since 1830 where the indigenous people suffered from it. This gave rise to the assumption that the Netherlands had an obligation to improve the welfare of the indigenous population, among others by providing education. Therefore, efforts began to emerge to expand education so that more indigenous children get the opportunity to go to school (Suryochondro, 1984: 70-71). The Ethical Policy itself is not fully supported by the Dutch. Even so, there is a group of natives who receive education from the west has ideals of devoted themselves to the interests of society. One of these people is R.A. Kartini. He considers that education is considered to be one of the things that have an important role in the progress of society (Suryochondro, 1984: 80).

In the first 25 years of the struggle of Indonesian women, most of the focus that was fought was cultural in which they fought for new values in education, humanity and in particular in an effort to improve the position of women both in the family and community. After the founding of Poetri Mardika in 1912, other women's organizations or associations began to emerge which were supported by public organizations whose members were men or who stood independently. The initial purpose of the establishment of women's organizations before 1928 was to promote education and teaching for women, improve social standing in marriage and family and to improve the skills of women as housewives. Besides meetings, the activities of women's associations and organizations are skills courses such as sewing and cooking. Through meetings and conferences held over time, national emerges which are also carried away by the atmosphere of national revival that occurred at that time (Suryochondro, 1984: 87-88).

The First Indonesian Women Congress

After the Indonesian Youth Congress took place on October 28, 1928, a congress was held for women namely the First Indonesian Women's Congress in Yogyakarta on December 22-25, 1928. This congress was three women, two of whom were teachers. In its implementation, the Indonesian Women's Congress did not mention the slightest thing related to political activities. Discussions that took place during this congress both open and closed discussions only focused on discussing the problems of women that occurred at that time (ANRI, 1928: 4).

Both the Indonesian Women's Congress I or II discussed the situation of women in Indonesia at the time and discussed their views on this matter. Although in the beginning the congress was underestimated by those who were accustomed to seeing women only dealing with the kitchen where they argued that women in a congress were useless. This was strongly denied by congressional leaders who stated that the development of the times meant that it was time for women to get a better fate and treatment.

At this time the importance of the movement of the wives of the dark ages is seen, it is an age where wives are only considered good for the kitchen. That was in the past, today can be compared with the age of progress. Therefore, this time is the time to raise the rank of the wife, so that they are not forced to sit in the kitchen alone (Blackburn, 2008: 12).

In the opening of the 1st Indonesian Women's Congress, the congressional leadership firmly stated that with the advance of time, it was time for women to have the right to be appointed. What is meant by being elevated here does not mean that women stop working in the kitchen but rather they want women to be able to do other things besides work in the kitchen and get better treatment than before.

This congress was not only attended by representatives from women's organizations but also representatives from men's organizations also attended this congress. A total of 20 organizations sent representatives to this congress. These organizations include Boedi Oetomo, Muhammadiyah, Sangkoro Mudo, PNI, and Jong Madura (Darban, 2010: 79). Two prominent figures who are legal experts namely R. Soepomo and Ali Sastroamidjojo were invited to be speakers at the congress and discussed the position of women in the eyes of customary law and marriage according to Islam (De Stuers, 2017: 123).

In the first Indonesian Women's Congress, a lot of things discussed in the organization's representative speeches were about women's education, women's position, and marriage. In terms of education, the congress discussed the lack of schools for women in Indonesia so that new schools were distributed to women.

The first decision taken under the congress is to get Indonesian women's knowledge of marriage and their position in marriage are regulated by law. For example, child marriages are common at the time. It was stated in the congress how girls aged 11-12 are forced to marry men who are much older than they are and whom they do not know. Child marriage is the cause of many divorces at the time. Both men and women don't know each other. Not infrequently the marriages of children occur because of coercion of parents who will have a sense of pride when their daughters are able to marry wealthier men at a young age.

In addition, many practices of polygamy are carried out without applying as the polygamy law should be. Both men and women both do not understand and do not know the marriage law that existed at that time. In addition, if a man is no longer wanted her, they will divorce his wife and leave them regardless of whether the wife would be divorced or not. the number of forced marriages that occurred at that time began to show promiscuity. Most women at that time did not know that in a marriage, women also have the right to file for divorce if they feel they are no longer able to undergo the marriage. This practice, called *taklik*, can also protect women from polygamy if they do not want polygamy. These points were included in motions put forward to the People's Council after the women's congress took place.

The other decision taken under the congress was regarding the formation of the Indonesian Women's Association. The organization is formed like an organization where there are usually chairpersons, secretaries and treasurers. For organizational funding, members of PPPI are required to pay at least one guilder. Not only as an organization, PPPI will also establish a newspaper whose editorial will be chosen by the PPPI board (Blackburn, 2007: 145). Of the 30 organizations present, 18 directly stated their availability to join the PPPI while the rest stated that they had to ask permission from the organization's management (ANRI, 1928: 4).

Furthermore, PPPI will establish studies that will help disadvantaged women to be able to continue their schooling. The establishment of these studies will be separated from PPI and will have its own special management to help girls who are unable to pay for their schooling. In addition, the establishment of this body will be separate from the PPI itself. Not only that, PPPI will also strengthen scouting education for women and prevent children from marriage (Blackburn, 2007: 146).

PPPI itself is a forum for women's organizations to hold greater unity so that the efforts they make in improving women's welfare can be better. After it was established in 1928, PPPI conducted 4 congresses that discussed various matters relating to women. At its first congress in 1929, the PPPI officially changed its name to PPII. At the PPII congress in 1932, a commission was established, namely the Fusion Commission which aims to unite women's associations that have the same views and goals (KOWANI, 1986: 66).

In the implementation of the congress PPPI had encountered several obstacles such as the existence of a disagreeing women's organization that considered the gathering of organizations with different backgrounds in terms of religion, social, and national issues would not be able to decide to

take certain steps in reducing social crimes experienced by women. Opinions from the Isteri Sedar organization resulted in the exclusion of Isteri Sedar in the PPII congress. PPII also sent a delegation to attend the Asian Women's Congress in 1931 in Lahore (De Stuers, 2017: 125-126).

In the 4 congresses conducted by PPPI, there are 4 things that always get attention in each congress. This is the position of women in marriage, especially in Islam, protection of women and children in a marriage, prevention of child marriages and education for Indonesian children, especially girls. The number of new organizations that have not joined PPII has given rise to the initiative to hold a second Indonesian Women's Congress. (KOWANI, 1986: 56)

The Second Indonesian Women Congress

Preparations for the Second Indonesian Women's Congress have been carried out since 1934, which was marked by the issuance of a letter of appeal for a council by the Indonesian Women's Association Association. PPII officials invites women to participate in this congress since there are still many organizations that are not yet incorporated into PPII. This congress was held on July 20-24, 1935 in Jakarta. The convening of this congress led to the establishment of a binding agency called the Indonesian Women's Congress and the dissolution of PPII. The congress was attended by 24 women's organizations in Indonesia plus teachers from Padang Panjang. The Second Indonesian Women's Congress aims to strengthen the brotherhood between Indonesian women's organizations to improve the lot of Indonesian women and the people of Indonesia in general. When viewed from the gathering that came, many of them are middle to upper class. The increasing number of organizations present compared to the First Indonesian Women's Congress shows the enthusiasm of women's associations in Indonesia to improve the lives of women in general.

In the second women's congress, the issue of marriage was also still a subject of much debate, especially relating to polygamy. The second congress also discussed the plight of ordinary people who caused not only men to work but also women to take part in looking for work outside the home. In the congress, it was discussed how there were no rules governing women workers so that the congress felt the need for rules regarding this matter. These workers do not get a decent wage, are involved in debts and fines that are burdensome to the violence experienced by the factory owner. In addition, the high illiteracy rate in Indonesia at that time also became something that was a problem that existed in women. The congress established a special foundation to help girls who cannot afford to pay for their schooling, the Seri Derma.

To realize the image of women as Mother of Nations, women themselves must also prepare themselves as figures who will give birth to the nation's successors who have a high sense of nationality. So in this case, the limitation of illiteracy becomes a joint solution with the improvement of education for women in Indonesia. In the Second Congress of Indonesian Women, it still highlights the issue of marriage, especially in the case of polygamy, where congress specifically proposes a motion discussing marriage according to Islamic law. The motion contains the desire for clear rules for men who want to carry out polygamy. The regulation in question is about what punishment will be received by men who are polygamy and abandon their first child and wife, or clear rules about the conditions that must be met if a man wants to do polygamy.

In this congress it was decided that the Indonesian Women's Congress would be held every 3 years in the future. In an effort to improve the lot of women, the Second Congress of Indonesian Women took the decision to establish the Indonesian Women's Labor Investigation Agency (BPPPI) which was obliged to investigate the situation of women workers in Indonesia, considering the issue of labor became one of the talks in this congress. There was an opinion about work outside the home for some groups at that time considered unlawful for women. This is caused by the view of decency that looks down on the work, this view comes from the upper class. The congress also re-discussed the position of women in a marriage to support the Divorce and Marriage Investigation Agency which had been established previously since there were still many wrong applications of Islamic marriage law.

The high number of illiterates results in each congress member also being required to play an active role in eradicating illiteracy that is experienced by many Indonesian women. Congress

participants are also advised to send writings containing their views to existing newspapers. (KOWANI, 1986: 70-73) .

Discussion

Increasing the degree of women is one of the issues which is a matter of general welfare. The development of a nation will not take place quickly and strongly if education for women is ignored. The progress of women is an important factor in the development of a nation's culture. At the beginning of the 20th century, more and more women were allowed to obtain school education and there was also much support for efforts to advance women. Gradually, individual businesses were no longer considered sufficient to achieve the aspirations of women's welfare. To achieve these goals, a collaboration between women is needed (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1993: 4)

The organizations that were established at the time were general and voluntary in which eligible women could become part of the organization. Fostering awareness activities regarding progress and the nation is carried out through meetings, meetings, and organizational magazines. Some organizations began to establish schools and provide scholarships to women who could not afford to pay for their schools (Suryochondro, 1984: 129).

The desire to establish and promote unity among women's organizations began to be developed in the 1920s. In practice, there are limits that organizations that can participate in the First Indonesian Women's Congress are restricted to indigenous women, which indicates that their nationalist identity has emerged and distinguishes them from other women. Even though only organizations from Java attended the congress because of the distance and limited time for disseminating information about the First Indonesian Women's Congress, the participants of the congress saw themselves not as Javanese but as Indonesian women. (Blackburn, 2007: xxv).

At the First Indonesian Women's Congress, aside from the formation of study forms, most decisions were still under discussion about what steps should be taken and the motion to be submitted to the government. At the Second Indonesian Women's Congress, with the increasing number of organizations involved in the congress, efforts to improve the fate of Indonesian women were also increasingly visible. The establishment of a body to protect women workers in Indonesia and the implementation of an illiteracy eradication program are steps taken by the Second Indonesian Women's Congress. The cost of implementing this illiteracy eradication program for women is borne by members of congress where they make contributions to finance the program (KOWANI, 1986: 72).

Conclusion

The 1st Indonesian Women's Congress is an initial step in efforts to improve a lot of women from existing women's organizations. The emergence of Indonesian women's organizations began to realize the many improvements needed to be made to the fate of women. Those who are members of these women's organizations are mostly middle-class and above who enjoy education in schools. They considered one important thing that had to be improved was education which at that time could not be enjoyed by Indonesian women. Because the focus of this congress is the improvement of the fate of women, the matters discussed at the congress fully address women and the problems that surround them.

From the first women's congress, it can be seen from the decision regarding the establishment of an organization that houses women's organizations in Indonesia and also established studies that will help women who are less able to receive an education. In addition to education, the lack of women's awareness of the rules governing women's position in society, especially in marriage, is also one of the problems for women themselves. Through this women's congress, I also submitted a motion to the religious court for holding a kind of counseling about the rules in a marriage for both women and men.

After the establishment of the PPPI which later changed its name to PPII, several congresses were held which had the same goal of improving a lot of women in various fields. During this period, several obstacles began to emerge from the women's organizations themselves,

including those who did not share the same views and goals when joining themselves as members of congress. In its 4th congress, the PPII finally decided to no longer carry out the PPII congress but rather prepare for the holding of the Second Indonesian Women's Congress considering that there are still many women's organizations that have not been part of PPII.

The results of the second Indonesian women's congress also showed that the efforts made to improve a lot of women in Indonesia were started by female workers in Indonesia who at the time were getting a lot of abuse. Not only that, the important thing that was stated as one of the decisions of the congress was regarding the important role of women who became the figure of the "mother of the nation" in which they were responsible for growing a sense of nationality to their offspring. In addition, in addition to efforts to improve formal education for women as decided at the first women's congress, the second Indonesian women's congress obliged its members to take part in eradicating illiteracy experienced by many Indonesian women. Congress set a target of 5,000 people to be free from illiteracy at the next women's congress which will be held within the next 3 years. This shows the growth on the step taken by the congress to improve Indonesian women welfare through the congress.

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IN WITH THE OLD: COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN HERITAGE MANAGEMENT IN PETALING STREET'S TOURIST SITES

Rachel CHAN Suet Kay

Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA), National University of Malaysia (UKM)
(rachelchansuetkay@ukm.edu.my)

Abstract

Rather than replacing the aged with the brand new, lifestyle producers and consumers are embracing a vintage revival. The rejuvenation of pre-war buildings as tourist attractions have become a recent trend, especially in Petaling Street, a major historical site in the heart of Malaysia's capital city, Kuala Lumpur. However, there is a lack of study on the existing forms of community participation in heritage management among historical tourist sites in Kuala Lumpur .

My study addressed this issue through ethnographic fieldwork in Petaling Street's Chinatown, combining participant observation which included site visits, photo-ethnography, and interviews. Surveys, library research, and content analyses were also conducted to supplement this research as part of my overall FRGS project.

My study found that in Petaling Street, there are two forms of cultural heritage preservation - firstly, the adaptive reuse of historical buildings; and secondly – the continued use of a historical building. The former consists of heritage-style hipster cafes and locales; while the latter is manifested in the sustenance of a Chinese clan association, Chan See Shu Yuen Kuala Lumpur and Selangor (CSSYKL). The former has been rejuvenated to feed a hipster aesthetic as well as to attract tourists from around the world. Meanwhile, CSSYKL is made up not only of tangible cultural heritage through its century-old building, but also organic intangible cultural heritage which is its Cantonese clan association membership and its practices. Thus, it is apparent that the Asian-based community participation approach to cultural heritage preservation functions in two ways - first, the preservation of tangible and intangible forms of cultural heritage for the benefit of clan association members as well as for tourism purposes; and secondly to fulfil market demand. These two co-existing forms of community participation successfully adds value to the cultural identity of Kuala Lumpur in the era of super-diversity.

Keywords: (five keywords) *Chinese clan associations, Petaling Street Kuala Lumpur, cultural heritage preservation, community participation, super-diversity*

Introduction

Rather than replacing the aged with the brand new, lifestyle producers and consumers are embracing a vintage revival. This can be seen not only as an act of advocacy, but also as aesthetic enjoyment. The tourism and leisure sectors have reignited an interest in reconciliation with heritage. Some buildings are entirely historical in origin, while others are designed to appear so, sparking a movement called facadism, which entails "the preservation of historic facades, the creation of facsimiles in front of new buildings and the decorative exercises of postmodernism" (Richards, 1994). The actual definition of what constitutes "heritage" has been decided by UNESCO, having allocated three categories to it which are tangible, natural, and intangible (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2018).

Table 1 - UNESCO Definitions of Heritage (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2018)

Heritage	Definition
Tangible heritage	A monument, group of buildings, or site of historical, aesthetic, archaeological, scientific, ethnological or anthropological value.
Natural heritage	Outstanding physical, biological, and geological features, habitats of threatened plants or animal species and areas of value on scientific or aesthetic grounds or from the point of view of

	conservatism.
Intangible heritage	All forms of traditional and popular folk culture.

Where tourism is concerned, heritage plays an important part, especially if it has been designed a World Heritage Site (WHS). Tourism started off with public interest in tangible and natural heritage (Ryan & Silvanto, 2009), but has since expanded to include intangible heritage, such as cultural festivals and practices. Over time, the WHS designation has evolved from a technical measure adopted to preserve historical sites, into a brand used by countries to attract tourists, possessing the promises of quality and differentiation (Ryan & Silvanto, 2009). Because of its status as a “destination brand”, heritage sites now face the usual branding challenges, as they have the involvement of many stakeholders such as UNESCO, their national governments, tourist boards, merchants, and others (Ryan & Silvanto, 2009).

In addition, another challenge faced by heritage sites in developing nations is that of intensified urban problems due to rapid economic development and population growth (Shahrul Yani Said et al, 2013). For example, in Malaysia, many historic cities have been exposed to the threat of identity erosion (Shahrul Yani Said et al, 2013). This is because the introduction of new townships has exposed these historic cities to the pressures of “commercialisation, poor design, and cultural uniformity” (Shahrul Yani Said et al, 2013).

Historical buildings in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia’s capital city, have also been sacrificed to make way for urban renewal projects (Al-Obaidi et al, 2017). Historical buildings, especially privately-owned ones located in Kuala Lumpur’s tourist zones have been converted into hotels and cafes to cater to market demand (Al-Obaidi et al, 2017), while others have been reused in different capacities such as museums, libraries, offices, or hotels (NH Salleh & AG Ahmad, 2009). This process is known as adaptive re-use, and incurs some benefits such as increased sustainability and lower costs (Reed et al, 2008) but also creates physical and environmental issues (Al-Obaidi et al, 2017).

Problem statement, research questions and objectives

Studies of cultural heritage and tourism in Malaysia took off after 2008, after the listing of Malaysian cities George Town (Penang) and Malacca on the UNESCO World Heritage List. However, there is a lack of study on the existing forms of community participation in heritage management among historical tourist sites in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia’s capital city. In this paper, I demonstrate the case of co-existing urban regeneration and heritage preservation community efforts in Petaling Street, Kuala Lumpur.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

A growing body of opinion supports the view that adaptive reuse is a powerful strategy for urban regeneration and sustainability instead of preservation (Bullen & Love, 2011). Adaptive reuse involves converting a building to undertake a change of use required by new or existing owners (Latham, 2000; Wilkinson et al, 2009). The change of use may require refurbishment and/or complete renovation of existing buildings or structures (Bullen & Love, 2011). These could involve major internal space reorganisation, service upgraded, replacement, or just minor restoration where nothing changes except the building’s functional use (Bullen & Love, 2011). Adaptive reuse conserves the building’s original architectural, social, cultural, and historical values (Latham, 2000). Bromley et al (2005) have advocated that adaptive re-use is essentially a form of heritage conservation (Bullen & Love, 2011).

In Al-Obaidi et al (2017)’s study on the adaptive re-use of heritage shop houses as budget hotels, it was found that several considerations need to be addressed before adaptive re-use can be carried out. These include natural lighting, natural ventilation, the recycling of materials, and water efficiency (Al-Obaidi et al, 2017). Otherwise, it is likely that the project might encounter fire, which is one of the greatest threats to heritage buildings, the building’s occupants, as well as the building’s fabric and contents (NH Salleh & AG Ahmad, 2009). Heritage buildings are vulnerable to fire, due to several factors such as “large scale buildings, flammable priceless contents, large number of

visitors, and existing structures weak in fire resistance” (NH Salleh & AG Ahmad, 2009). Dysart (2006) also compared a series of adaptive re-use initiatives based on factors such as lighting, signage, parking, façade, recognisability of previous structure, elevation, use of space, the heat island effect, water conservation, and eco-friendliness, finding that different initiatives performed differently across the elements.

On top of this, there are social consequences to bear in adaptive re-use. There have been incidences where adaptive re-use initiatives had taken a piecemeal approach to conserving only individual buildings regardless of the whole system (Orbasli, 2009). The growth of cafes and restaurants with historical facades also contributes to the formation of the “architectural theme park” where the commodification of leisure and the privileging of tourist needs overrides the needs of residents (Parham, 2001).

Thus, there are arguments for and against adaptive re-use of historical buildings. Reed et al (2008) summarised the arguments for adaptive re-use of existing buildings, arguing for and against it across a few dimensions, namely the social, environmental, economic, and technological ones.

Table 2 - Arguments for and against adaptive re-use summarised (Reed et al, 2008)

	For	Against
Social	Existing buildings represent social and cultural capital Wider appreciation and more enlightened attitude towards heritage value Enables revitalisation of neighbourhoods and controls urban sprawl Prevents crime and vandalism Lends character to a place For future generations to enjoy	Old buildings cannot achieve the standard of new buildings Some building stock is simply too ugly Some projects failed to provide affordable housing/social mix (failed in their social objectives)
Environmental	Lower material usage Lower overall embodied energy	None at the moment
Economic	Cheaper than demolition and rebuilding	Adaptive reuse could be more expensive Many existing buildings are of poor construction quality, thus raising costs for remediation Hidden costs, eg. loss of tenants' goodwill, loss of amenity
Technological	Technological changes mean that buildings can become obsolete in a short space of time	

Therefore, the decision whether to consider a building for adaptive re-use entails a complex set of considerations, including heritage preservation, architectural assets, and market trends (Bullen & Love, 2011). Nonetheless, according to Adlin Baizura Ariffin et al (2017), there is still a lack of study on the consequences of adaptive re-use of historical buildings towards actual tourist visitation.

From the above, it is apparent that it is important to find a balance between conservation and redevelopment in order to preserve a city's identity (Wan Abdullah Zawawi et al, 2008). Moreover, the bulk of the literature shows that the success of global cities relies increasingly on the distinctiveness of places, rather than on “faceless cities” (Wan Abdullah Zawawi et al, 2008). Towns in Malaysia are rich with built heritage from its colonial days and stand as historic testament to the symbiotic relationship between the dominant ethnic groups in urban areas, namely the Malay and the Chinese (Wan Abdullah Zawawi et al, 2008). Indeed, it has been found that ethnic events can help to reinforce a sense of cultural identity and community cohesion, as long as it is not over-commercialised (Smith, 2003). For example, festivals can be used to increase racial tolerance through cross-cultural exchange and education (Smith, 2003). The development of ethnic festivals can sometimes help to raise the profile of local community groups, leading to a greater understanding of and interest in their culture (Smith, 2003).

However, unchecked redevelopments are destroying Malaysia's unique multi-cultural heritage (Noor Amila Wan Abdullah Zawawi & Alias Abdullah, 2011). More often than not, the decisions pertaining to traditional shophouse redevelopment are based on guidelines inherited from the monocultural British system, whose perspectives narrowly represent the multi-cultural society in Malaysia (Noor Amila Wan Abdullah Zawawi & Alias Abdullah, 2011). This observation has also been made by

Shamsul Amri Baharuddin & Athi S. M. (2013) regarding the British epistemological conquest in Malaya where the view of plural society was enforced to divide Malaysians according to ethnic lines. In their study, Noor Amila Wan Abdullah Zawawi & Alias Abdullah (2011) found that even those with similar interests and decision contexts can have divergent views about the relative importance of the decision criteria. Since urban areas are complex and dynamic systems, urban redevelopment is a response to the opportunities and challenges which are manifested by urban decay in a particular space at a specific moment in time (Noor Amila Wan Abdullah Zawawi & Alias Abdullah, 2011). In this paper, I argue that the two co-existing forms of community participation in heritage management in Petaling Street, Kuala Lumpur, successfully adds value to the cultural identity of Kuala Lumpur in the era of super-diversity. Super-diversity is a notion intended to underline a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything the country has previously experienced (Vertovec, 1997). It is distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of immigrants who have arrived over the last decade, who are: new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified (Vertovec, 1997). In Vertovec (2007)'s argument, observing ethnicity or country of origin provides a misleading, one-dimensional appreciation of contemporary diversity. It is not enough to see diversity only in terms of ethnicity (Vertovec, 2007). He also calls for examining other dimensions such as "differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights", "divergent labour market experiences", "discrete gender and age profiles", "patterns of spatial distribution", and "mixed local area responses by service providers and residents" (Vertovec, 2007). The attributes of new immigrants include net inflows, countries of origin, languages, religions, gender, age, space/place, transnationalism, and migration statuses (eg. workers, students, spouses and family members, asylum-seekers and refugees, irregular, illegal or undocumented migrants, and new citizens) (Vertovec, 2007). Ultimately Vertovec (2017) emphasised it as a device for drawing attention to new social complexities, or the search for better ways to describe and analyse new social patterns, forms and identities arising from migration-driven diversification (Chan, 2018). At present, Malaysia has borne witness to more complex changes in its demographic composition. Malaysia's foreign population increased rapidly in the last three decades, with over 0.49 percent out of 13 million citizens in 1980, to 2.3 million or 8.3 percent out of 28.4 million in 2010 (Azizah Kassim et al, 2014). In this era, it is more pertinent than ever to echo UNESCO (2016)'s observation on the need to maintain social cohesion through cultural heritage preservation.

Methodology

This study stems from the FRGS project, "Superdiversity Networks: Cantonese Clan Associations in Malaysia as Transnational Social Support System", which examined in particular the Chan See Shu Yuen Kuala Lumpur & Selangor Clan Association (CSSYKL). CSSYKL is an example of a historical heritage building which continues to function today albeit in an evolved form. Besides being a clan association catering to the needs of its members, CSSYKL is also an important international and local tourist attraction. Upon conducting initial fieldwork, it was observed that CSSYKL is also surrounded by many other heritage buildings, similarly functioning as tourist attraction sites after undergoing adaptive re-use. As a tourist, the sum total of one's experience walking from CSSYKL on one end of Petaling Street, to the other end of Petaling Street with its heritage shop houses, is purely immersive in the city's culture. I would go as far as to phrase it "accumulating cultural capital in Malaysia's cultural capital".

Hence, the scope of research is limited to observing cultural heritage sites whose primary functions are tourism or consumer-oriented. Thus, sacred places such as religious structures, or administrative buildings were not covered in this study.

Fieldwork consisted of participant observation including sites visits, photo-ethnography, and interviews. Surveys, library research, and content analyses were also conducted to supplement this research as part of the overall project.

To gauge tourists and visitors' actual opinions regarding their visits to the few selected places chosen for observation in this study, I harvested reviews from tourism website TripAdvisor, as it enables tourists to review places they have visited. I selected the three latest reviews regarding building design on the front page of each tourist spot, as of the writing of this article, in July 2019. I

have eliminated any identifying information about the tourist reviewers as well as the selected tourist attractions for the reason mentioned above, which is to not prioritise or advertise any business concern and also to protect the reviewers' privacy. Although these reviews are made publicly accessible online by the reviewers, I have considered the issue of privacy and anonymity so as to be objective and not endorse any particular viewpoint. The reviews are produced in its original form here, but only parts mentioning the tourists' opinion of the building's ambience are selected. Mentions of food and service quality are left out as this is not the scope of my study.

Results

Analysis and Findings

Petaling Street is known as Kuala Lumpur's "Chinatown", and is a place of interest to tourists (Mahsa Mansouri & Norsidah Ujang, 2016). Kuala Lumpur's "Chinatown" (KLC) is one of the most visited tourist sites in Malaysia due to its local heritage and unique character (Toong & Utaberta, 2014). KLC is not just a stretch of Petaling Street but covers several streets and alleys, eg. Jalan Sultan, Jalan Hang Lekir, and along Jalan Hang Kasturi (Guelden, 1986; Wong 2011) (Mahsa Mansouri & Norsidah Ujang, 2016). Petaling Street is one of the earliest roads and one of the seven streets that Kuala Lumpur had before 1880, where Lam (2004) describes it as "the mother of all markets" and "KL's original shopping centre" (Wong, 2011). Like other "Chinatowns" in the world, KLC has diverse activities and services (Mahsa Mansouri & Norsidah Ujang, 2016). Besides the markets, street-markets, food stalls, and shops, wet market, and flea market, there are also old shop houses, offices and hotels and several temples in the KLC area (Mahsa Mansouri & Norsidah Ujang, 2016).

One of the most famous landmark cases of adaptive re-use in Kuala Lumpur, is the Central Market building, on Jalan Hang Kasturi nearby Petaling Street. Initially a wet market built in 1936, the Central Market was adapted into an arts and crafts marketplace in 1986 after citizens' groups campaigned to save the building through conservation (S.N. Harun, 2011; Yacob Omar & Nor Haniza Ishak, 2009). It is now known as Pasar Seni (Art Market).

KLC also possesses a stock of pre-war shop houses with differing architectural styles and historical values (Toong & Utaberta, 2014). As mentioned above, to cater to tourist demand, some owners of these pre-war shop houses have renovated their buildings to suit lifestyle changes, urbanisation, and economic pressures (Toong & Utaberta, 2014). In their business-oriented outlook, multi-storey hotels, guesthouses, and offices would be more profitable in comparison to pre-war shop houses (Toong & Utaberta, 2014).

The heritage buildings of Petaling Street are influenced by a combination of Western and Chinese architectural styles. In 1894, the British Resident of colonial Malaya, Frank Swettenham initiated the building of masonry shop houses along Petaling Street (Toong & Utaberta, 2014). However, these shop houses' features were very much influenced by Southern Chinese architecture (Toong & Utaberta, 2014). European architecture only influenced the later design and development of these shop houses (Toong & Utaberta, 2014). Certain aspects of the buildings, such as the verandas, were adapted to the local context, giving rise to a new hybrid style known as the "Southern China Eclectic Style" (Toong & Utaberta, 2014). However, the verandas are now occupied by street stalls which park in disarray, causing walkability problems for pedestrians (Toong & Utaberta, 2014).

The Chinese shop house is mainly two to three floors in height, with a certain typical interior layout (Al-Obaidi et al, 2017). The shop houses are built along the street with an established uniform grid (Obaidi et al). The long rectangular floor plan of shop houses offers a narrow frontage (Al-Obaidi et al, 2017). The ground floor, which faces the street, is for commercial purposes, whereas the rear section and upper floor of shop houses are for private use (Al-Obaidi et al, 2017). Generally, most private heritage buildings along Jalan Sultan and KL "Chinatown" have been converted into hotels, cafes, bars, and restaurants to fit the modern needs of locals and tourists (Al-Obaidi et al, 2017). Malaysia's tourism statistics stated that there were 25.7 million tourists arrivals in 2015, which contributed RM 69.1 billion to the local economy (Al-Obaidi et al, 2017).

The stylistics of shop houses have hybrid characteristics, incorporating architectural influences from Western, Chinese, and Malay origins (Mahsa Mansouri & Norsidah Ujang, 2016). The adaptation of

Western design only became popular after local exposure to the European culture in the late 19th century (Mahsa Mansouri & Norsidah Ujang, 2016). Since the 17th century, the architectural style of shop houses in Malaysia has evolved through this hybrid combination of influences, including those introduced by the British, such as Moorish, Tudor, Neo-Classical and Neo-Gothic styles (NH Salleh & AG Ahmad, 2009) as well as Chinese styles (Amira Elnokaly & Wong, 2014). These are outlined below:

1. Southern China style (1700s - 1800s): Earliest Chinese influenced shop houses found in Malacca city. The shophouse embedded the notion of Chinese symbolism to promote spiritual harmonies. The structure is built with lime plastered brick and timber roofing. The architecture has close assembly to Chinese shops in Southern China.
2. Early (1800s - 1850s): Simpler shop house following the Southern China style. Normally built as double storey with connected pedestrian arcade. Earlier style has smaller form and facade, constructed with timber. Masonry part walls are adopted.
3. Dutch (1600s - 1700s): Only in Malacca.
4. Early Transitional (1860s)
5. Early Straits Eclectic (1890s)
6. Late Straits Eclectic (1900s)
7. Neo-Classical (1920s)
8. Dutch Patrician (1930s)
9. Art Deco (1930s)
10. Modern (1960s)
11. Utilitarian (1990s)
12. Late Modern (1980s)
13. Contemporary (2000s)

(Amira Elnokaly & Wong, 2014).

Shop houses which fell under the Modern style from the 1960s onwards were not considered to be historically significant, which is a pity as observed by Mahsa Mansouri & Norsidah Ujang (2016). This is because these shop houses were thought to lack the unique characteristics of earlier shop houses and had been diluted by mass development (Mahsa Mansouri & Norsidah Ujang, 2016).

Besides pre-war shop houses, KLC's back lanes are also of interest to tourists. Wan Hashimah Wan Ismail & Low (2016) studied the back lanes used as social spaces in KLC, especially those belonging to old shop houses. Initially these back lanes were used as backyards, service routes, and fire escape routes for shop houses (Wan Hashimah Wan Ismail & Low, 2016). However, in KLC, the back lanes have been now utilised for other functions, turning them into social interaction spaces (Wan Hashimah Wan Ismail & Low, 2016). Wan Hashimah Wan Ismail & Low (2016) found that the back lanes of KLC successfully underwent urban regeneration from backstreets into lively alleys (Wan Hashimah Wan Ismail & Low, 2016). Thus, they concluded that back lanes can be considered as part of urban design strategies and not merely as leftover spaces. The evolution of back lanes has slowly contributed to the urban scape positively, increasing interaction due to its diversity (Wan Hashimah Wan Ismail & Low, 2016).

In this study, several instances of adaptive re-use of heritage pre-war shop houses have been observed. I visited these places as part of my fieldwork, patronising the businesses involved, talking to the proprietors, accessing more information through the businesses' social media sites and its news coverage, as well as photography and videography of the buildings' aesthetics. However, the buildings are not specifically identified here apart from CSSYKL, so as to avoid prioritising any business concern over others and to avoid the breaching of privacy.

Table 3 - Selected heritage locations of the study

	Place	Features
1	CSSYKL	A traditional Cantonese clan association building with tangible heritage (architecture) and intangible heritage (the Chinese clan association body).
2	Hipster Cafe	A cafe which retains the original structure of the pre-war building in KL. Formerly a brothel several decades ago, but the aesthetic was maintained as a tourist attraction and novelty. Specialises in colonial-style cuisine and is a photo-friendly place for the hipster and social media influencer crowd.
3	Street/back lane	A back lane of one of Petaling Street's famous roads. Recently rejuvenated with murals suggesting characters' lives in pre-war times. Combines the pre-war vibe of

		Chinese back lanes which served as a social space, with contemporary tourist-friendly features such as being photo-friendly and caters to tourists, hipsters, and the social media influencer crowd.
4	Tea house/restaurant	A well-known and long-established tea shop which has expanded as a popular youth hangout selling food and also offering traditional Chinese tea rituals. Housed in an adaptive re-use shop house with décor resembling a traditional Chinese tea house but with a contemporary bent, featuring also a little art gallery where art classes are conducted.

Besides adaptive re-use buildings and structures, there are also traditional Chinese heritage buildings in Petaling Street, such as the tourist attraction and historical site, Chan See Shu Yuen Kuala Lumpur & Selangor Clan Ancestral Hall (CSSYKL). It is situated on Petaling Street, at the intersection of Lorong Petaling and Jalan Stadium opposite Bulatan Merdeka. CSSYKL was originally set up by a founder of Cantonese origin a century ago to facilitate labour migration from mainland China into British colonial Malaya (Chan, 2019). Members still maintain relations with the ancestral temple's branch in Guangdong, China where the building's design originated from (Chan, 2019). The association is registered with the Malaysian Registrar of Societies.

The Chinese clan association temple is an example of cultural heritage which is situated in the crossroads between tourism and tradition, especially those located in central urban areas (Chan, 2019). Chinese clan associations used to provide lifelong social, cultural, and economic support to its members. Chinese clan associations can be found in many parts of the world, due to the Chinese emigration from mainland China in the 1800s (Chan, 2019). Clans are made up of kinship-bound families (Yen, 1981). The clan is a group formed with a patrilineal blood relationship based on a common ancestor at its core (Sun, 2005). Hence, the Chinese clan association is an organisation whose membership includes individuals with the same surname (Ch'ng; in M Makmur, 2018). In the past, Chinese clan associations possessed several main functions. These were preserving the family unit, which is of paramount importance to Chinese identity (Sun, 2005); affiliation with one's dialect group; maintaining Confucianism as their main value system, comprising concepts such as justice, work ethic, and respect for parents (Acs & Dana, 2001); operating as hybrid institutions combining British law and Chinese customs (Cheng, Li, & Ma, 2013); providing a vocational education system to transmit entrepreneurial knowledge and skills from successful to budding entrepreneurs (Loewen, 1971; Light, 1972; Wong, 1987; Dana et. al., 2000); responding to the growth of the nation state and changing socio-political environment besides taking care of its members' needs (Chan, 2003); and organising religious ceremonies such as celebrating Chinese festivals, providing community representation, and arranging funerals and burials (Ng, 2002; Tan, 2017: 109) (Chan, 2019).

CSSYKL possesses both tangible and intangible heritage as defined by UNESCO. This is because it retains the original clan association building or ancestral hall, a fine example of Southern Chinese or Lingnan architecture, which is tangible heritage. Simultaneously, it also continues the tradition of ancestor worship and clan lineage among its association members, in following the Chinese Confucian norms of filial piety as well as community engagement, which is intangible heritage. It does not however possess the aspect of natural heritage.

The CSSYKL also has its headquarters in Guangzhou, Mainland China called the Chen Clan Ancestral Hall, upon which the Kuala Lumpur one is modeled, physically and organisationally. This hall originally functioned as an "academic temple" for candidates' preparation for the Qing Dynasty imperial examinations and was the template for the Chan See Shu Yuen built by its descendants in Malaysia. It prides itself on the inherited "Ling Nan Style of Architecture" derived from Guangzhou, Guangdong. The "CSSYKL building was modelled after the Chan Clan Association in Xi Guan, Guangzhou China as a design blueprint, which combined the characteristics of a family temple and an ancestral hall features, incorporating the ancient Cantonese-style art and Southern China architecture, which has a mix of Han and Bai Yue elements." (Chan See Shu Yuen Clan Association, 2016) (Chan, 2019).

The CSSYKL has persisted in functioning ever since. "For more than a century, the Chen's descendants of CSSYKL had kept the tradition alive and upheld its core values generation after generation. Celebration and paying homage for the birth commemoration of Chen's Great Grand Ancestors, Honourable Shun Di, Honourable Chen Shi, and Honourable Chen Yuan Guang, Spring

and Autumn Festival Praying are the main occasion for CSSYKL. Other celebrations like CSSYKL anniversary, Lunar New Year, Duan Wu, Lanterns Festival, Winter Solstice Festival, etc. will not be missed yearly. These everlasting practices of CSSYKL is likened to the immortal of incenses.” (Chan See Shu Yuen Clan Association, 2016). The main hall is used for worship and paying homage to the Chen Clan Ancestors, which stretch all the way back to China’s civilization from 5000 years ago. It also houses a mini museum dedicated to preserving official documents regarding its founding and establishment, as well as examples of antique pottery and furniture. Upstairs, the office section has been rented out to a tuition teacher of Chinese ethnicity who conducts a Malay language class for primary and secondary school students. There is also an administrative office and a kitchen for the CSSYKL staff, comprising two administrators and several housekeepers (Chan, 2019).

Table 4 - Comparison of clan association functions then and now (Chan, 2019).

Features	Past Features of Clan Associations (Carstens, 1975)	Present Features of Clan Associations: (Findings from fieldwork at Chan See Shu Yuen) (Chan, 2019)
Functions	Major activity is ancestor worship Provides welfare services for beneficiaries of deceased members eg. money, loan of funeral requisites, and attendance of fellow members at the funeral A few offer unemployment or disability compensation Provides scholarships for needy children Invests money from sale of association's property into a separate organisation and controlled by trustees But does not give money to charity and only provides for members of the clan Encourages importance of education Used to assist members who desired to return to China (but has now ceased) Welfare benefit assistance however has decreased with the increase on charitable activities eg. raising money for hospitals, schools, and old folks' homes	The major activities are fund-raising, charity, facilitating visits by trade leaders and businesspeople from abroad such as China or Taiwan, hosting visits by local colleges, hosting academic talks, as well as ancestor worship. Also provides scholarships for members. For income generation purposes, an ethnic Chinese Bahasa Malaysia tuition teacher rents the upper floor to conduct his classes. There used to be Chinese language classes conducted at CSSY but they have now ceased as the teacher has retired due to old age. A great number of tourists come from various European countries as well as China and Malaysia itself. These are recorded in CSSYKL's guest record book, and also observed during participant observation where tourists trickle in daily with their cameras. The CSSYKL has been listed as a historical relic in the protection of ancient buildings by the Malaysian government (cssykl.com/ 2018). It was also featured as one out of twelve places to visit on a tourist trail, designated by the Ministry of Tourism and Culture of Malaysia (Malaysia Tourism Centre, 2017).

Thus, in Petaling Street there are simultaneously two forms of heritage management among tourist sites which are the adaptive re-use of historical buildings; and the preservation and continued use of a historical building. CSSYKL represents the preservation of a historical building as can be seen from the functions outlined in Table 4, which still persists.

Discussion

From my collection of tourist reviews on TripAdvisor, the following are the tourists’ opinions on the effects of the buildings’ design in my selected sites of observation:

Table 5 - Tourist opinions on TripAdvisor

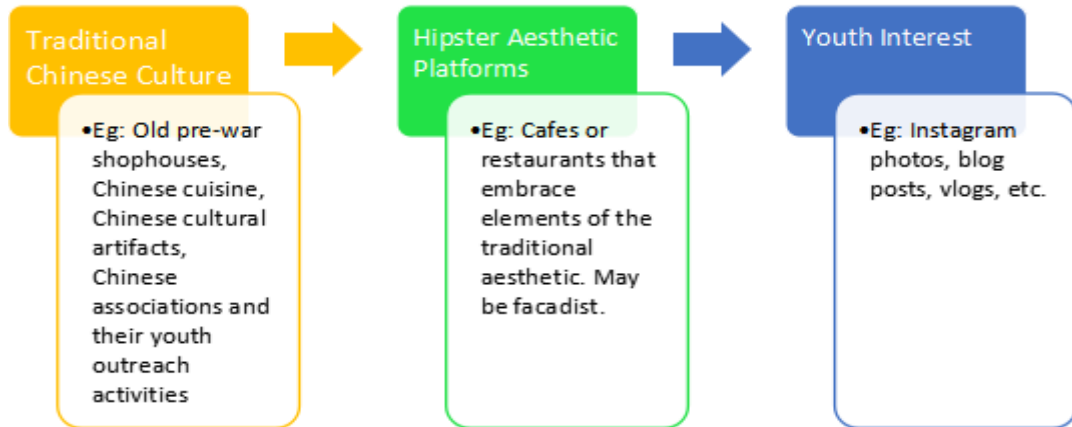
	Place	Tourist Opinions
1	CSSYKL	A. <u>Free entry, nice temple</u> Really well kept and clean beautiful Chinese temple in KL's Chinatown with some nice Chinese ornaments. Entry is free. Date of experience: June 2019

		<p><u>B. Exemplary and beautiful</u> Built in 1906, the complex in gray, red and gold colors is over a century old and beautifully renovated. Well maintained by members of the Chan clan. As far as I am concerned an example for others to follow. Beautiful carvings and sculptures, festive Chinese lanterns and inside an altar enshrining the three main ancestors of the Chan clan. A small informative room with photos and historic details is part of the compound. Free admission. Date of experience: January 2019</p> <p><u>C. Really cool Clan House</u> If you do the Historical Centre of China Town Walking tour, this is where things start off. I was amazed at the detail on this temple, (built in 1906). I found it easy to find, right next to the huge fountain from the 1950s. Date of experience: November 2018</p>
2	Hipster Cafe	<p><u>A. Cozy place</u> Right next to pentaling street. The entrance doesn't say much but once inside the place is beautiful and the food is quite good. Date of visit: July 2019</p> <p><u>B. FUN BRUNCH EXPERIENCE</u> You will never notice this place if you didn't do your research. Hidden in the shophouse, entrance is a green wooden door. They have divided the restaurant into 3 parts, each part seems as though they have created different themes and owner have tried to maximise the space. Date of visit: June 2019</p> <p><u>C. Cute place to visit</u> We found this place on TA when researching hidden gems in Chinatown. It is a gorgeous little cafe with a lovely atmosphere and pleasant staff members. Date of visit: June 2019</p>
3	Street/back lane	<p><i>(There was no TripAdvisor page for this newly rejuvenated attraction, possibly because it was only very recently launched on 11 April 2019. The closest equivalent to a reviews site was the attraction's official Facebook page. Tourists left their recommendation on the Facebook page):</i></p> <p><u>A. Is good for tourist visit</u> 16 Jun/June 2019</p> <p><u>B. - Utk foto keren, gambarnya keren (Translation: Makes for cool photos)</u> - Destinasi tanpa biaya (Translation: A no-cost destination) - tempatnya gampang dijangkau (Translation: Is an easily accessible place) 22 Jun/June 2019</p> <p><u>C. A nice balance between conservation and restoration . Providing the visitor a glimpse into old Malaya :)</u> 25 Mei/May 2019</p>
4	Tea house/restaurant	<p><u>A. For tea lovers...</u> Great place near the LRT Pasar Seni station. All kinds of tea on offer, together with a whole host of tea relayed stuff (pots, cups etc). Date of visit: January 2019</p> <p><u>B. Cool place</u> The place is cool, very clean and has a really positive vibe with people painting and relaxing. Date of visit: November 2018</p> <p><u>C. All about teas</u> the place is now at the ground floor , at the end lot facing the pasar seni lrt station , outside was decorated with lovely benches and garden to seat , good packaging for teas and interior design here. Date of visit: March 2018</p>

In the comments garnered from the tourist reviewers, it appears that the design of a place affects their touristic experience. This is naturally obvious with areas such as the CSSYKL building and the rejuvenated back lane, whose qualities are mostly tangible. However, reviewers often mentioned

this aspect alongside their reviews of the food and service quality even when the outfit is a food and beverage-oriented one. The ambience such as “people painting and relaxing” also adds value to the overall tourist experience in a cafe. An interest in photogenic locations is also observed through the comment “Makes for cool photos”, where the touristic value of a place can sometimes be measured through its “Instagram-worthiness”, as outlined in Figure 1.

Figure 1 - Conceptual Framework of Heritage-Based Tourist Attraction



There is an apparent process in which traditional and historical aesthetics have become popularised as a trend among consumer youth. For example, traditional Chinese cultural practices such as Chinese tea rituals are offered in some of these themed restaurants which are housed in adaptive re-use buildings. The contemporary décor of these buildings is embedded in their historical facades, which in turn derive influences from a variety of sources, including Western and Chinese origins. Consumer youth, many of which are hipsters, both discover these places and popularise them through social media where they act as influencers, as well as discover them through social media as followers. These historical places, with their newly acquired trendy vintage aesthetic, resonate well with the hipster crowd who are always in search of something “not too mainstream”. This aesthetic appreciation also overlaps with the rise of “ruin tourism”, or public interest in “industrial ruins, abandoned places and landscapes of urban decay”, which is also “widely circulated through various social media platforms and online networks; enacted by such groups as urban explorers, ruin tourists and heritage tourists” (Jansson, 2017). Some consumer youth are observed being willing to queue up for long periods just to get a seat at some of these outfits. The vintage aspect of these places suggests a non-conformist bent, separate from the reach of consumerism. Of course, whether this is truly the case is up for debate, as one may well argue that social media influencers are yet another capitalist ideological tool where the consumers are co-opted into marketing the product. As Le Gallou (2018) found, “ruin tourism” can be viewed as “a new practice of urban tourism based on the reappropriation and commodification of alternative practices developing in marginalized urban areas”.

Table 4 - Matrix of community participation in cultural heritage management among Petaling Street tourist sites

	Membership-based (Intangible heritage which is association-based)	Market-based (Tourist or customer demand)
Adaptive Re-use	Probably not viable since adaptive re-use itself suggests change of ownership.	Pre-war buildings formerly used for other purposes e.g. hotels/brothels, now re-used as cafes but with the original façade maintained as part of the attraction.
Continuous Preservation	Chan See Shu Yuen Kuala Lumpur & Selangor clan association building (CSSYKL).	Pre-war back lanes rejuvenated as photo-friendly tourist hotspot.

Conclusion

From Table 6, it is observed that there is a matrix of heritage management in Petaling Street's tourist sites. The Asian approach to heritage management differs from the dominant Western one, in that it recognises ways and means of preserving cultural heritage with community participation and different understandings of heritage that exist outside of Europe (Nagaoka, 2014). In this study, the two most apparent community approaches are that of adaptive re-use and continuous preservation of historical buildings. Continuous preservation is enabled by the sustained membership of associations such as CSSYKL because this aspect preserves its ownership within the association. Thus, it does not need to be replaced in ownership nor function. This is the advantage of having intangible heritage nested within tangible heritage, as in the case of the clan association having a membership which continues to practice Confucian traditions which are adjusted to accommodate a society experiencing super-diversity. However, for buildings devoid of intangible cultural heritage, the status of ownership changes through the machinations of market demand. It is thus more likely to be preserved using the method of profitable adaptive re-use. This in turn requires serious attention to be paid to compatibility factors such as safety, natural lighting, fire hazards, and others.

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“BALL IS LIFE” :
THE TEMPORARY ECONOMIC MIGRATION OF FILIPINO BASKETBALL
ATHLETES AND THE ASEAN INTEGRATION

Michael Anjielo R.Tabuyan

High School Unit, St. Scholastica’s College – Manila /
Student (MA), Asian Center, University of the Philippines Diliman
(martabuyan@ssc.edu.ph)

Abstract

This research aimed to explore the diaspora of Filipino basketball athletes across the ASEAN region. It sought to inquire on the (1) factors affecting the migration of Filipino basketball athletes to ASEAN countries, (2) their life as migrant basketball players, and (3) the effects of these migrations to the host countries. It also looked if the ASEAN Integration has a role in these temporary economic migrations, in terms of being a factor in the decision of the athletes in migrating to other countries, and the host countries to accept them as well. In this study, the paper assumed that the lack of playing opportunities in the top professional sports leagues in the Philippines forces these athletes to seek opportunities abroad, especially in the neighbouring ASEAN countries. Moreover, it is also motivated by the increasing popularity of the sport in this region, as manifested by the rise of various professional basketball leagues in the member countries. As a result, these diaspora of Filipino basketball athletes contributed to the improvement of basketball skills of their respective host countries. For the purposes of this research, the researcher used the concept of temporary economic migration as its analytical lens. To gather research data, it conducted interviews – personal and online – to selected athletes who are part of the phenomenon. The resulting interviews and related literature were analysed in order to get the data and interpretation needed.

Keywords: Philippine Basketball Association, ASEAN Basketball League, Filipino Diaspora, Temporary Economic Migration, ASEAN Integration

Introduction

This year, Philippine basketball fans were stunned when news outfits have reported that one of the renowned players of the Philippine Basketball Association (PBA), Chris Ellis, has migrated to Thailand to play hoops (Dioquino, 2019). Known in the league as the “Air Force” Ellis for his slam dunks, he was compelled to play abroad after not being able to suit up in his last PBA team due to a kidney disease. As of this press time, the sixth overall pick in the 2012 PBA Draft has not disclosed the reasons of his transfer in a foreign league (Bacnis, 2019). As a basketball athlete in Thailand, he is currently playing as part of the Luan Prabang team in the Thailand Super Basketball League (TBSL) (Dioquino, 2019).

Ellis’ act of moving in an Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) – based basketball league is not new among Filipino basketball athletes. Said to be the basketball capital of Southeast Asia, Filipino cagers and coaches are among the athletes being invited by the basketball teams – both professional and amateur – of neighbouring countries to assist them in improving their own basketball programs. One can see it more in the context of the ASEAN Basketball League (ABL), where, as a commercial basketball league composed of different teams coming from different countries in the region, picks Filipino basketball players to play as imports or foreign reinforcements in their respective clubs.

However, what is puzzling is that this trend is not fully discussed or studied by Filipino academics specializing in diaspora and migration studies. Most of the studies on Philippine basketball are viewed from the perspective of physical education and gender studies. Studies about the basketball-politics or basketball-migration relations however, do not merit the attention of some scholars in the field. This condition is not limited only to basketball but also reflects in other sports as well. Thus, it can be seen that there is a prevailing research gap in this area of study, which was also observed by other scholars who studied Philippine sports and society such as Rafe Bartholomew (2010) and Lou Antolihao (2012; 2009).

Problem Statement, Research Questions, and Objectives

In view of this, this research aimed to explore the diaspora of Filipino basketball athletes across the ASEAN region. It sought to inquire on the (1) factors affecting the migration of Filipino basketball athletes to ASEAN countries, (2) their life as migrant basketball players, and (3) the effects of these migrations to the host countries. It also looked if the ASEAN Integration has a role in these temporary economic migrations, in terms of being a factor in the decision of the athletes in migrating to other countries, and the host countries to accept them as well.

In this study, the paper assumed that the lack of playing opportunities in the top professional sports leagues in the Philippines forces these athletes to seek opportunities abroad, especially in the neighbouring ASEAN countries. Moreover, it is also motivated by the increasing popularity of the sport in this region, as manifested by the rise of various professional basketball leagues in the member countries. As a result, these diaspora of Filipino basketball athletes contributed to the improvement of basketball skills of their respective host countries.

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Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The idea of globalisation and ASEAN Integration

Globalisation refers to the inter-relatedness of the different parts of the world. Under this system, concepts, products, beliefs, as well as political, economic, and cultural activities spreads out among different countries and cultures, which results to near-similarity of experiences of people across various societies (National Geographic Society, 2011; Boli and Petrova, 2007, p. 103; United Nations, 2005; Scheuerman, 2002).

Roland Robertson and Kathleen White (2007) notes that there are two directional tendencies that comprise globalisation: increasing global connectivity and increasing global consciousness. Furthermore, they also noted that it is focused on four aspects of the modern world as being reflected in the United Nations (UN): nation-states, world politics, and humankind. It is also comprised by four major facets of human life, which are the (1) cultural, (2) the social, (3) the political, and (4) the economic facets. These facets are intertwined, and one or two aspects of them may become more prominent at any given time or place (p. 64).

While some scholars consider that this phenomenon have already started since the Age of Exploration, this idea became prevalent after the Cold War and became the international standard after the formation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in the 1990s (Maguire, 2012, p. 2). In his speech in Colombo, Sri Lanka, John Williamson (1998) noted that one of the major factors in the emergence of globalization is the technological boom that the world has experienced at the dawn of the 21st Century. At present, the key players of this international system are the states, the international governmental organizations (IGOs), the international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), and the multinational companies (MNCs) (Thomas, 2007, p. 84).

Scholars have different opinions with regards to the effects of globalisation. Among the frequently cited good effects of globalisation are (1) the easement of communications between individuals in different areas of the globe; (2) improvement of human lives through the creation of new job

opportunities that are relevant to the processes and norms of globalisation; and (3) opening of educational opportunities through distance learning and opening of various schools in that caters education for foreign students. On the other hand, among the major criticisms in globalisation are (1) possible loss of a society's culture and traditions; and (2) worsening of economic inequality between developed and developing countries (NGS, 2011; Scheuerman, 2002).

On the other hand, ASEAN Integration refers to the processes made by the ASEAN to respond to the demands of globalization and the rise of neighbouring non-ASEAN states through the deepening of the cooperation and coordination between its member-states (Han, Cheng, Yuan, Zhang, Shen, Liu, Li, Xiong, 2008). Formed by the 2008 ASEAN Charter, these aims are being manifested by the three institutions forming it: the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), the ASEAN Politico-Security Community (APSC), and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) (Albert, 2017).

Among the aforementioned institutions, ASEAN Integration is more known in its AEC, on which it aims to forge economic development in the region through highly integrated and cohesive economic policies of the member states (Association of Southeast Asian Nations, nd-a). On the other hand, the ASCC aims to improve the quality of life of the citizens of ASEAN through activities and policies that promote sustainable development, human development and resiliency (ASEAN, nd-c). The APSC plans to respond to the various security issues in the region through the establishment of a rules-based community that adheres to the principles of international law (ASEAN, nd-b).

Scholars have different opinions with regard to the ASEAN Integration. Some believe that ASEAN integration will bring prosperity to the citizens of the region because of its ability to lower down the region's cost of living, and provide job opportunities because of the free trade policy that it promotes. It also encourages tourism and education easier for ASEAN citizens as it makes travelling and studying in the different parts of the region easier (Gutierrez, 2017). Among the criticisms in the ASEAN Integration, on the other hand, are its ability to worsen economic inequality in the region as the promise of free trade only favors the developed countries in ASEAN (Mordecai, 2017). Furthermore, critics argue that ASEAN member countries are in reality, hesitant to open up their countries to free trade, thus leading to the unrealistic or slow liberalization process of the economic bloc (Ocampo-Tan and Sobrevinas, 2019).

Temporary Economic and Sport Migration

Considered as a facet of the global phenomenon of migration (John, 2015, p. 238), temporary economic migration refers to the condition where migrant workers, under the principle of rotation and return, stay and work abroad for one or more years and afterwards return to their country of origin. Also known as the guest worker programme, this type of migration is considered as temporary because the schemes related to it assert the return of the migrant worker to his/her origin after a specific period of time (Martin, 2006, as cited by Panda and Mishra, 2018). Said to be the norm in labor migration, this behavior is often caused by the enforcement of contracts, or at some cases, due to an individual's optimizing behavior (Dustmann, 2000, p. 7).

In his study on the Indian Pentecostal churches in Kuwait, Stanley John (2015, pp. 241-243, citing Gardner, 2010) has noted that there are two types of temporary economic migrant: the diasporic elite and the transnational proletariat. Diasporic elite refers to migrant workers who are considered to be part of the affluent sectors of the society because of their know-how and skills that may be classified under the white-collared job category. On the other hand, transnational proletariats are the migrant workers whose skills are located in the blue-collar spectrum. While this classification may not be permanent due to the nature and status of a migrant worker's job, John further notes that because of their lowly social position, transnational proletariats suffer from abuse and discrimination in their host countries compared to their diasporic elite counterparts, who are seen as more educated.

Christian Dustmann (2000), in an earlier study, categorized temporary economic migrants based on their behavioral patterns. He distinguished them as either return, contract, transient, or circulatory migrants. In circulatory migration, migrant workers move frequently between one's source and host country and stays in the latter for a short period of time. Transient migration, on the other hand, is the condition where a migrant worker moves between different host countries without necessarily

mean returning to his/her country of origin. Contract migration is the situation when a migrant worker lives in a host country for a number of years as regulated by a contract, and return migration happens when migrants return to their country of origin after being abroad for a number of years (pp. 8-9).

Another aspect of global migration is the phenomenon of sport migration. It refers to the migration of athletes in their home country to play their sport in foreign lands (Love and Kim, 2011). This phenomenon became prevalent due to the rise of globalisation manifested thru the internationalisation of sports events, where teams are composed of athletes coming from different parts of the world. Among the examples of this phenomenon is the rise of foreign players in professional leagues such as the National Basketball Association (NBA) and the National Football League (NFL) (Maguire, 2012, p.1).

According to David Andrews and Andrew Grainger (2007), sport migration acquires a multi-directional movement due to globalization. It happens as elite foreign players from lesser leagues migrate to well-known sports leagues, and not well-known athletes from these developed countries migrate to developing countries, thus making the reverse journey. These schemes are controversial on some cases as developed countries "mine" athletic talents from the underdeveloped or developing countries (p. 490), which some sports officials do not approve of. In an article in Financial Times (2003, as cited by Andrews and Grainger, 2007), then-FIFA president Sepp Blatter said that:

I find it unhealthy, if not despicable, for rich clubs to send scouts shopping in Africa, South America and Asia to 'buy' the most promising players there...Europe's leading clubs conduct themselves increasingly as neo-colonialists who don't give a damn about heritage and culture, but engage in social and economic rape by robbing the developing world of its best players. (Quoted by Andrews and Grainger, 2007, p. 491)

Andrews and Grainger (2007) further added that this leads to economic and social consequences such as the de-skilling of the sport in the donor countries, "unfulfilled dependency" on the host nation, and the replication of the "west and the rest" narrative in the sporting context (p. 491).

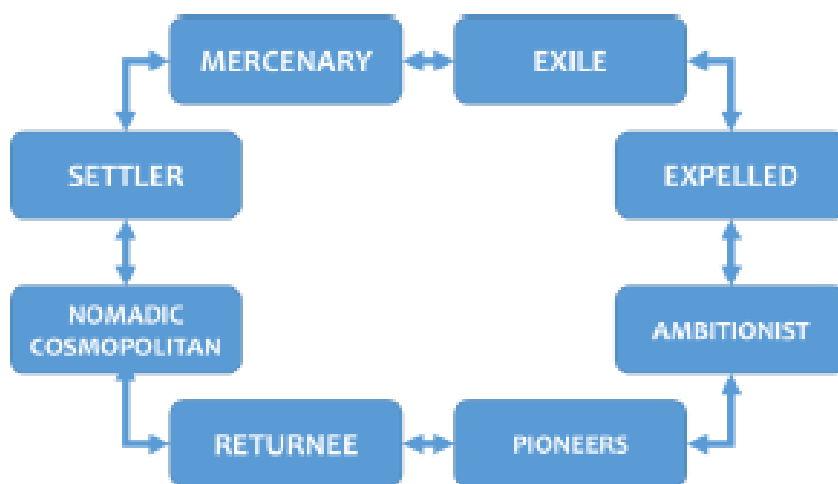


Figure 1: Typology of sport migrants according to Love and Kim (2011, pp. 98)

Synthesizing the ideas of Jonathan Magee and John Sugden (2002) and Joseph Maguire (1999), Adam Love and Seungmo Kim (2011) made a typology that classifies the different sport migrants in the world. *Mercenary athletes* are those play abroad to earn bigger income (p. 92), while the *settlers* are the ones who stayed and settled in the society where they "performed their labor" (p.93). *Nomadic cosmopolitans* refer to sport migrants who are "motivated by desire to experience different nations and cultures," and returnees as those who become return migrants after becoming settler, mercenaries, or cosmopolitans. *Exile* sport migrants are the ones who, due to sport-related, personal, or political reasons, leave their country of origin to play abroad; *expelled* sport migrants are the athletes who were forced to leave their country of origin. *Pioneer* athletes are those who

proselytize their sport by extolling its virtues and convert the natives of their host countries to their body habitus and sport culture; *ambitionist* sport migrants are those who desire to achieve a sport career anywhere and improve it by joining a higher-quality league (p. 94).

However, it must be noted that the classifications stated above are not rigid but are also shaped by the “lived experiences of migrants, the different dimensions overlap and shade together in different combinations” (Maguire, as cited by Love and Kim, 2011, p. 94).

History and Situation of Basketball in ASEAN

While basketball had its origins in the United States in 1891, it became part of Asian sports towards the end of the decade due to its introduction to the region by Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) missionaries. The Westerners taught the sport to Asians as part of the Western belief that it will teach them discipline and good conduct (Krasnoff, 2017). First taught to the Chinese in 1895 (Krasnoff, 2017; Gao, 2012) and to the Filipinos in the early 1900s (Antolihao, 2012; Bartholomew, 2010), the game spread out to the other parts of the Southeast Asian region due to Chinese migration (Krasnoff, 2017; National Basketball League Indonesia, 2010; Basketball Association of Singapore, n.d.; Malaysian Basketball Association, n.d.). Later, these countries formed amateur and professional basketball associations, some of which still exist to these day.

SEA countries have different responses in the introduction of basketball in the region. Similar to the Chinese response, basketball became the de facto national sport of the Philippines since the 1930s, thanks to the patronage of the Filipino elite schools in the sport and its exemplary results in the different international basketball contests that it joined during the 1930s to the 1970s (Bartholomew, 2010, pp. 59-64; Antolihao, 2012). These gave the Filipinos the advantage over the sport and be recognized as the “basketball capital of Southeast Asia.” However, in the other parts of the region, the sport received a lukewarm response, as they preferred the European-introduced football over the American-instituted sport (Joy, Rollin, Guilanotti, Weil, & Alegi, 2019).

The globalization-influenced popularity of the NBA in the 1990s became the major factor to its gradual popularization of basketball in the region (Krasnoff, 2017; Ky, 2017). It prompted the revival of different basketball associations in the Southeast Asia, capped by the establishment of the NBA-patterned, region-wide ABL in 2009. Since its inception, it has been observed by some sports analysts that non-Filipino basketball athletes are slowly catching up with their Filipino counterparts, which still happens as of this date (Naredo, 2017; Philippine Basketball Association, 2017).

Methodology

In order to understand the sport migration of Filipino basketball athletes, the researcher has conducted expert interviews from the athletes who became part of this phenomenon. Consistent with the concept of temporary economic migration, the participants should have (1) started their careers in basketball in either amateur or professional Filipino basketball league, and later (2) went abroad to play basketball in any ASEAN-based teams, and (3) eventually returned to the Philippines.

The interview was formed in a semi-structured manner, where the respondents were asked about their basic personal and career profile, their inspiration for embarking in a basketball career, their decision to play and their daily life abroad, and their perceived contribution to the regional basketball. Because the research was done in a limited time, only two (2) athletes responded in the interview requests of the researcher. Thus, to supplement this, news articles from the different reportage made by sports journalists in the region – whether Filipino or foreign – about these athletes are gathered.

Results

Analysis and Findings

The Filipino involvement in the ASEAN Basketball

With the emergence of the ABL, some Filipino basketball athletes and coaches were contracted by the other non-Filipino teams to become their import players or part of their training staff (Flores-Colina, 2015). Most of the Filipino imports were basketball players who went undrafted in the PBA, the ones who were drafted but have little or no playing time, or those who were not able to get another contract in any PBA team.

On some cases, they also get talents from the players of the PBA-Developmental League (PBA D-League) or in the various Filipino collegiate leagues such as the University Athletic Association of the Philippines (UAAP) and the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) (Kulsomboon, 2016). These athletes consent to play abroad in the belief that it will help them to be noticed again by the Filipino basketball fandom, especially by the PBA, which is considered as the most prestigious professional basketball league in Asia (Tan, 2016; Henson, 2015).

Although the ABL has halted the practice of acquiring ASEAN-based imports (Jacinto, 2018), some sports analysts have argued that these imports are vital to the championship campaigns of some ABL teams, and in a way helped the development of basketball knowledge of the Southeast Asians (Flores-Colina, 2015).

Profile of the Respondents

Two (2) athletes were interviewed by the researcher for the study, and to protect their identities, they will be thus referred as "Victor" and "Charlie" in the study. The two athletes have both started their careers in the Philippines, went abroad and played in the teams of the neighbouring Southeast Asian countries thru the ABL. After a period of time, both of them returned to the Philippines to play in the country's semi-professional and professional leagues.

Being part of a family of basketball players, Victor stated playing basketball since high school. During college, he played in a UAAP team and later became one of their school's star players. After his collegiate stint, he was drafted in the PBA but was not given a contract to play there; instead he was sent to the PBA D-League and played there before signing up in ABL. Upon his transfer to ABL as an import he became one of the league's superstar because of his high-scoring performances, prompting Filipino fans and teams to notice him again; from this, one PBA team later offered him a contract to be part of their team, which he happily accepted. At the time of the conduct of the interview, he is still part of that team's roster.

On the other hand, Charlie is also a former UAAP athlete and one of his collegiate team's superstars. Just like Victor, he also started playing basketball during high school. He also played in the PBA D-League and from there, he was imported by an ABL team where he became one of the league's superstars. Because of his exceptional performance, he was able to return to PBA as a franchise player for two years, and afterwards, played again in the PBA D-League and in the new Maharlika Pilipinas Basketball League (MPBL). At the time of the conduct of the interview, Charlie contemplates to return in the PBA D-League as a player.

Embarking on a Basketball Career and Going Overseas

Both Victor and Charlie noted that it was their respective families, especially their parents, who served as their inspiration in making basketball as a career. In Victor's case, he was inspired by his father's career in a Filipino semi-professional league. He said:

...I grew up in basketball because I saw my father play it [professionally] when I was young...I remember that he used to play in [a Filipino basketball team] team; from there on, I saw his sacrifices for our family, how he raised us...I also saw his joy in playing basketball, because being inside a basketball court makes you forget all your problems...you tend to have another identity whenever you play inside the basketball court... [translated from Filipino by the researcher]

On the other hand, Charlie was motivated to make basketball his lifetime vocation by seeing his relatives play this game:

It was my family [who motivated him in choosing basketball as a career]...my father used to be a basketball player too, but not in PBA or in commercial [leagues]. I have also cousins who also play it. I'm just having fun while playing basketball [translated from Filipino by the researcher]

When asked about the reasons of their overseas migration and playing in foreign leagues, both of them were enticed by the idea and the opportunity of playing basketball abroad. As Charlie narrated:

During my last year in [a known Filipino basketball league], while playing in [a Filipino basketball team], the [identity concealed] basketball team held try-outs in Manila. I just tried it out, taking chances. Luckily, I was selected, and that's it...[translated from Filipino by the researcher]

In his part, the need to provide the needs of his family influenced Victor in making a decision to take his basketball skills abroad:

First and foremost, financial reasons, because we know that you [as a basketball player] earn little if you do not play in the PBA; at that time, I was already married in 2016, so in 2017 I decided to go abroad and indeed, I earn higher there. Secondly, my team at that time, [identity concealed] told me that 'if you have found another team to transfer, then go there.' I believe I didn't grow in [team name redacted], and my ultimate goal is to actually make it to the PBA. I think I made a good decision, my overseas stint helped me to grow not only as a basketball player, and a felt I became more mature as a person...[translated from Filipino by the researcher]

When the respondents were asked about the reaction of their relatives, fellow cagers, and fans on their decision to go abroad, both of them recounted that they received mixed reactions. Victor clearly remembers that his peers felt bad for him. He recalled:

The local coaches and friends in the basketball community really objected to my decision because they believe that 'if you leave the Philippines, you will be forgotten, you will be lost in the rotation, and you'll be an unknown...'

But my family never doubted my decision, because they know that I'm leaving my comfort zone, and that I need it for me to become a mature person and a basketball player. Well, I think we reaped positively what we invested in going abroad. [translated from Filipino by the researcher]

For Charlie, however, his decision was respected by the management of his old team. As he confided to the researcher:

I asked permission to the management [to leave the team and play abroad], they allowed me to do so because they see that it's a once in a lifetime opportunity. A week later, I left the Philippines for [name of country concealed]...My family was very happy about it; they really gave their all-out support to me since I started playing basketball. [translated from Filipino by the researcher]

Life as a Migrant Athlete

Asked about their life as a migrant Filipino athlete, both Victor and Charlie admitted that life is indeed hard overseas, especially on the fact that they are away from their respective families. As Charlie have noted:

Life there [as an athlete abroad] is okay. It's great because I'm considered as an ASEAN import. Life there is good but it's lonely because you are far from your family. It's really true that you will learn to become independent when you are abroad. I really got the chance to meet several people there. [translated from Filipino by the researcher]

Victor also experienced the same situation, and during those times, he always think that he do it for the welfare of his family:

My first experience here is upon my arrival in my apartment in [location concealed], there's that feeling that you want to go home right away: you feel homesick because you're not used to it, you are not used to be away from your family. Secondly, when you're alone in your room, you'll suddenly wake up, feel lonely, and cry because it's hard...it's hard to be an OFW [overseas Filipino worker]; and what I realized there is that I slowly become a mature person by being strong for your family; you do all of those things for them. [translated from Filipino by the researcher]

Another memorable experience for Victor in his host country is the chance of playing with people of different nationalities:

[Another experience is] of course, you play with foreigners: unlike before, they are not Filipinos, we're a mixed group, there are [nationality concealed], some are Americans. So that's where you

may test how are you able to interact with others [Filipino: pakikihalubilo] and get along with them [Filipino: pakikisama]. I think I became more mature when I learned to get out of my comfort zone. [translated from Filipino by the researcher]

As migrant athletes, both of them narrated that apart from playing basketball, they do little in their host countries apart from eating or resting in their apartments. When asked if they experienced discrimination from the locals, they both responded in the negative. As Victor elaborated:

Based from what I have experienced, there was none. I believe that it depends on how you treat them. Of course, if you excessively hold yourself in a high regard, it will form a distinction, it will create a conflict on how people should treat you. But if you treat others fairly, there will be no problem at all. I'm really thankful that my colleagues abroad have treated me in a respectful and in a fair manner. [translated from Filipino by the researcher]

Charlie did not experience any discrimination during his stint abroad, and even remembered that some locals are also fond at him. He recalls:

I do not experienced any [discrimination]. In fact, they [the locals] are really kind and caring at me. I even had a closed [sic] Muslim family in [location concealed]. They are just like my second family. [translated from Filipino by the researcher]

With regards to the question if there are other Filipinos in their host countries, both of them answered in the affirmative. Joining them alleviates the loneliness that they feel during their stay abroad. Victor recounts:

They are too many there! Yes, too many! I remember that every Monday and Wednesday, they organize basketball games. Being lonely, I join them because at least, they are your fellow Filipinos, they remove your loneliness...that's why I join them, even playing [basketball] with them. They make the burden of being alone lighter. [translated from Filipino by the researcher]

The same sentiment was also echoed by Charlie, as he said that:

Yes, they [Filipinos in their host country] are a lot. Most of them are teachers, whom I just met there. I'm very welcome in their circle, and I have no problems about the team management and in the community. [translated from Filipino by the researcher]

Filipino contributions in the ASEAN Basketball

Both players recognize that as ASEAN imports, they are bringing the so-called "Filipino brand of basketball" in their host countries. They recognize it as their greatest contribution to their team. As Victor further explained:

Yes, that's it [Filipino brand of basketball]. I think that's my greatest influence to them, especially they say that a Filipino is brave whenever he/she plays basketball. On my part, I influenced them in playing basketball, the Filipino way...now, as I see that they imbibed it whenever I watch them play. [translated from Filipino by the researcher]

Victor recognizes further that his overseas stint is another way of expressing his being Filipino:

I was interviewed by a media organization upon my return here to the Philippines. They asked me 'why did you leave the Philippines? Why did you played there instead here in our country?' That's what I've answered: as a Filipino, I play with foreigners, I tell them that I want you guys to be proud to those who like me who have shown to foreigners how we play, which is all-heart, brave, and does not surrender.

Perhaps I express my Filipino identity by being resilient...because for several times, during games, we were outgunned by the opposing team with a wide margin, yet we still go on and cut down it further, sometimes even winning. That's what I think will be my greatest impact in our team in ABL, that you don't give up until the game is over. [translated from Filipino by the researcher]

Charlie also believes that this trait is his greatest contribution in the ASEAN basketball, especially in ABL:

Oh, yes [resiliency as his greatest contribution in ASEAN basketball]. We Filipinos are known for not giving up in any situation in basketball. Perhaps, our hard work, dedication, and our prayers really endeared us to them, as shown by their great respect to me. [translated from Filipino by the researcher]

When asked if the presence of Filipino imports in ASEAN leagues such as the ABL have helped the region in their practice of basketball, Victor noted that:

Yes. Because as the region's top performers in basketball, they wanted not only to see us how we play the sport, but for the Filipinos to influence them as well. Of course, if the entire region is looking up to you, you'll also influence them for them to see how we play...especially when I joined the ABL, that's the chance where games in every country like China, Hong Kong, Philippines, and Vietnam were broadcasted live. So, I think it's a big thing that as a player, you are not only gaining exposure from your opponents, but also in the whole part of the ABL. You'll really be well-known. [translated from Filipino by the researcher]

Charlie holds a different view on this question. Although his answer was brief, he said that through social media, basketball is already famous in ASEAN even prior to his entry in the ABL.

Discussion

Based from the interviews and reportages, it can be seen that the emerging popularity of basketball in Southeast Asia and the opportunity of gaining greater income in playing basketball overseas lured some Filipino basketball athletes to try their luck as imports abroad. These factors are further reinforced by the by the lack of available opportunities for these athletes to show their talents in Filipino professional basketball due to the small number of available teams and Filipino basketball leagues. These sport migrations has resulted in the improvement of the basketball skills of non-Filipino ASEAN teams, as manifested by their rankings and the reportage of sportswriters in the recent international competitions such as the ABL, the Southeast Asian Games (SEAG), and the Southeast Asian Basketball Association (SEABA).

Judging from Love and Kim's (2011) typology of sport migrants, we can see that the Filipino migrant athletes fall in the ambitionist-mercenary fold. It can be said that they are mercenaries in the sense that they play basketball abroad for the hopes of gaining higher income. They may be as well be considered as ambitionist migrant athletes because they believe that playing abroad may improve their athletic careers by being able to re-enter the Philippine basketball scene, especially the PBA. Analyzing them from the lens of Stanley John (2015), these athletes may be classified as diasporic elites because their talents and athleticism are considered as skilled and vital to the countries where they played, and from there, the latter hopes that these skills be transferred to them. The ability of the non-Filipino ASEAN teams to tap their talents also speaks greatly about the role of globalization and of the ASEAN Integration in availing them, as they were able to scout, conduct tryouts, and even tap these players even if they are beyond the shores of their locality.

Moreover, the lifestyle and norms which the respondents have adopted while being abroad are notable as they still attempted to live like Filipinos even if they are outside of the confines of the Philippine state. Even if they are with other cultures, as much as possible they faithfully subscribed to the values systems of the Filipinos, especially on pakikisama, pakikitungo, and resilience. These precepts and the belief that it promotes the Filipino spirit abroad affirms Benedict Anderson's (1983) idea of imagined communities, as it indicates that being Filipinos is not being confined by territory but can transcend beyond it through the minds and hearts of its people.

Conclusion

In sum, it can be seen that the migration of Filipino basketball players to neighbouring ASEAN countries are anchored in the project of globalisation and ASEAN Integration. With limited opportunities in their locality, they were lured to be part of the global athletic migration where they become transnational athletes. As an exploratory study, it is worth notable that further studies should be conducted about this area, especially in the context of ASEAN migration, in order for us to understand more how this phenomenon affect us as a nation of basketball lovers and as a region.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF ASEAN'S NEW INDO PACIFIC OUTLOOK FOR INDONESIA'S GLOBAL MARITIME FULCRUM POLICY

Artha Yudilla, S.I.P, M.A

Lecturers of International Relations Department, Faculty of Social and Political Science,
Universitas Islam Riau
arthayudilla@soc.uir.ac.id

Abstract

This research will analyse the importance of ASEAN's new Indo Pacific Outlook for Indonesia. As one of the founding countries of the association, Indonesia has become quite vocal in proposing new outlooks for making the better ASEAN, and one of the outlooks is "Indo Pacific" outlook, which will broaden the cooperation with not only among ASEAN countries but also with other countries outside ASEAN, or to be exact, around Indian and Pacific Ocean. So this research will analyse what the motive behind Indonesia's action by using qualitative method based on three basic theories, which are, neoliberal institutionalism, open regionalism and geopolitics. The conclusion of this research is that first, like the neoliberal institutionalists say, an international association like ASEAN is supposed to help the members in gaining their interest though strategic cooperation. That's why, as regional organization, ASEAN is like home for Indonesia and other members to solve problems or gain international interests. Second, like any other open regionalism cooperation, this new outlook will give ASEAN members, in this case Indonesia, bigger scope and greater opportunity to have mutual cooperation with other countries outside ASEAN. And at last, it will show how from geopolitics perspective, this outlook is somehow complementary with Indonesia's concern to be "Global Maritime Fulcrum" and be an axis in indo pacific area. The timeline of this research is quite recent as the idea of ASEAN's "Indo Pacific" outlook has just got into force in this year's ASEAN Summit in Thailand and this research is also quite urgent as the concept of global maritime fulcrum is getting more and more important to Indonesia.

Keywords: *ASEAN's New Indo Pacific Outlook, Global Maritime Fulcrum, Neoliberal Institutionalism, Open Regionalism, Geopolitics*

Introduction

Indo-Pacific emerging as a geographical concept that includes the Indian Ocean region and the Pacific since Guurpet S. Kurana use the word "Indo-Pacific Strategy" in 2007 as a Marine Strategist in Executive Director of the New Delhi National Marine Foundation (Kurana 2017). Since then, the strategic map of Indo-Pacific experienced a variety of changes in meaning and interpretation, especially with the emergence of China's policy of reform and openness in the 1980s. For President Donald Trump, the concept of "Indo-Pacific" means the withdrawal of democratic forces such as India, Australia, Japan, Australia and other Asian countries in the front line "dealing" with China within the framework of a new "cold war" (Chen 2018). Meanwhile individually, each country also maneuvered to the perspective and strategic interests, giving rise to a variety of new dynamics in various forums. No lag, Indonesia through diplomacy Indo-Pacific has been actively involved to promote Indo-Pacific concept that emphasizes the principles of inclusiveness, transparency and respect for international law (Kompas 2018) included an emphasis on the centrality of ASEAN. What

exactly Indonesia and ASEAN want to achieve in the discourse involving the regions and the actors were very spacious where large state part of the 5 P (UN 's Security Council' s Five Permanent Members) - United States, China, Russia - have been involved? What are the immediate interests of Indonesia and ASEAN? Is it realistic for Indonesia / ASEAN considering various multilateral agenda, framework, the political challenges and the funds for the realization of the Indo-Pacific diplomacy? This paper proposes to look critically and comprehensively urgency Indo-Pacific agenda from the perspective of Indonesia and ASEAN realistic needs and the resources available.

Problem Statement, Research Question, and Objectives

This article will try to explain how importance actually the ASEAN Indo Pacific for Indonesia foreign policy as it also complementary with Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum Vision

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Neoliberal Institutionalism

Like what the famous neoliberalist, Robert Keohane (Keohane, 1989) says, it is defined as the principal view on the role that international institutions ought to have in international relations among states, both economically and politically. As Joseph M. Grieco and G. John Ikenberry suggest in *State Power and World Markets* (Grieco, 2003), its main purpose is to serve as a mediator to find solutions to interstate problems.

It is here when institutions such as the United Nations (UN), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organization (WTO), and any regional cooperation like ASEAN step in. Their role is to be a guide for affiliated countries to promote cooperation to resolve global economical or political issues; thus, making member states better-off. If each nation had to deal with issues independently it would not only most likely result in war, but it is also more costly and certain. This is why it is better for member states to rely in international institutions to resolve problems. International institutions enhance this by providing information and advice to member countries on economic and politic matter. In the eyes of Grieco and Ikenberry, neoliberal institutional theory "sees institutions as agreements or contracts between actors that reduce uncertainty, lower transaction costs, and solve collective-action problem

Geopolitics

The geopolitical concept is a concept of international relations stating that one region/geography holds a significant role in determining the direction of one country's foreign policy. Elements such as location, area, climate, topography, demographics, natural power, and the utilization of science/technology become very important (Cohen, 2014). Geopolitics see the power of one country from two points of view namely land power and sea power.

Land power here refers to the concept of the Heartland by Harold Mckinder (Mackinder, 1904), a British politician and geographer who focuses his theories on the Eurasian continent which extends from Siberia, China, central Asia to Central Europe. The region called the Eurasian by Mckinder is categorized as a pivotal area. He said the area was a very important area because the area could not be penetrated by maritime powers. In his opinion, Eurasia (heartland) can provide political and economic benefits for the country that mastered.

While Sea Power refers to the writings of Alfred Thayer Mahan in his writings *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History* (Mahan, 1890) which presents that the mastery of sea

lanes such as The Panama Canal and the Suez Canal is a Profit for the country that overhas it. He said that the world's trade and logistics routes through the sea areas. According to Mahan this is precisely beneficial for the country that use it because it can provide economic, political and military benefits. This theory was implemented by the U.S. with the policy of Blue Water Strategy whereby the U.S. annexed Philippines, Hawaii, GUAM, and Cuba islands to consolidate its military power in world waters

Countries that have an area/geography that is strategical and potential will make the country's foreign policy concerned to strive to explore more and maximize the region, and neighboring countries will also try to Benefit from the region, whether in the form of cooperation with the country of the owner of the region or by means coercive. It should be a land power owner or sea Power can utilize its power and have a good bargaining position in cooperation related to the region with other countries

In this case, Indian Ocean is long known as the "heart" of the world sea, from geopolitical point of view this area is so crucial and strategic for any cooperation, that's why it is no surprise Indonesia is more than happy to participate in this regional cooperation since Indonesia concern is to be the global maritime fulcrum and the later axis in Indian Pacific ocean area.

Global Maritime Fulcrum

Indonesia is the second largest coastal country in the Indian Ocean circumference (ASEAN Indo Pacific Outlook) region, and is at the intersection of the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean. Overall the total area covered by the ocean is four times more scatter than that covered by land. Indonesia also has sea line of communication such as Sunda Strait, Malacca, Lombok, and Wetar/Omboi (Saha, 2016). Indonesia divides its sea limits to 1,300 kilometers in the Indian Ocean with four countries including Australia, India, Malaysia and Thailand. It does not include the exclusive economic zone of about 1.5 million square kilometers in the eastern part of the Indian Ocean (Liow, 2014). As an archipelago country separated by many islands, Indonesia still has the same problem, lack of inter-island connectivity coupled with poor port infrastructure. It is also coupled with the exploitation of maritime resources such as illegal fishing, where Indonesia should potentially earn 60 billion tonnes annually (Saha, 2016).

The untapped potential of this, became the creation of a Global Maritime Fulcrum policy that was promoted by President of the 9th East Asia SUMMIT. Indonesia's maritime axis policy emphasizes the geopolitical position of Indonesia as an archipelago and puts emphasis on maritime sector as a medium in articulating Indonesia's foreign policy and defense. The foreign policy emphasized that Indonesia is capable of being a maritime power in the regional sphere not only in terms of power but also regional maritime diplomacy.

Furthermore, here are five pillars carried by Indonesia in an effort to realize the concept of the Global Maritime Fulcrum; Rebuilding Indonesian maritime culture; Maintain marine resources and create sea food sovereignty by placing fishermen on the main pillars; Priority on infrastructure development and maritime connectivity by building sea tolls, deep seaport, logistics, shipping industry, and maritime tourism; Increased cooperation in maritime field and efforts to deal with conflict sources, such as fish theft, sovereignty violations, territorial disputes, piracy, and marine pollution; and establishing maritime power as the responsibility of safeguarding the safety of the Maritime Voyage and security (Kemlu, 2014).

In all, the policy of Global Maritime Fulcrum is referring to three things; Strengthening Indonesia's military security; Expanding regional diplomacy focused on the Indo-Pacific doctrine; Projecting the Indonesian navy as a regional military force in the East Asian region. The main idea in taking Indonesia as the Global Maritime Fulcrum is to improve inter-island connectivity, and to improve the port infrastructure within the Indonesian archipelago, including thousands of islands,

With a broad landscape reaching six million square kilometers. Inter-island connectivity will expand the choke-points and maritime corridors that are believed to be able to increase

trade and business in and out of the country (Liow, 2014). It can be said that the concept of the maritime shaft Indonesia has emphasized on the aspect of connectivity both outside and inside, and the creation of maritime security in order to create a safe area of water conditions so that marine resources can maximally utilized.

Within the regional sphere, Indonesia's maritime policy is centered on expanding its involvement in the Indo-Pacific region, it is done by interfering with Indonesia's role in the Indian and Pacific oceans. The concept of Indo-Pacific developed by Indonesia emphasizes the habit of dialogue and cooperation, inclusiveness, and respect to international law (Perwita, 2015).

Methodology

The collection of this data is purposive, intends to strengthen the argument. The paper was conducted using qualitative method because the arguments are built based on a rational basis. This paper seeks to understand social reality by understanding the rational relationship between one concept with another concept. The research method used is the method of case studies which focus on the analysis of the importance of IORA for Indonesia Global Maritime Fulcrum Policy. To obtain the data, the data collection techniques are also used in literature review, by searching, collecting, and discuss secondary data that comes from a variety of literature such as the review of books, articles, journals, online data, news, journals, and magazines. While the primary data obtained from the interview or downloaded documents or blueprints that are obtained directly from the website of ministry of maritime, and Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) Website

Result (Analysing and Findings)

What Is the Indo-Pacific?



In biogeographical mention of the term Indo-Pacific or the Indo-West Pacific or the Indo-Pacific Asia will designate a vast area of the Indian to the Pacific region of western and central parts with various countries in the region including the countries of the east coast of Africa , Russia, South Asia, East Asia, including China, Southeast Asia, Australia, the United States. In terms of conservation, the World Wide Fund and the Nature Conservancy even divide an area called Indo-Pacific in three areas: (i) Indo-Pacific Central includes a number of

sea and strait linking the Indian and Pacific Oceans, including the sea around the islands of Indonesia, China Sea South, Philippine sea, the northern coast of Australia, the sea around New Guinea, Micronesia west and center, New Caledonia, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji and Tonga. Because of its location as a meeting of two Indo-central Pacific Ocean has a wealth of coral reefs and mangroves are great; (ii) the Indo-Pacific east around volcanic islands of the Pacific Ocean from Kep. Marshall, Polynesian central and southeast to P. Easter and Hawaii; and (iii) the Indo-West Pacific covering western and central Indian Ocean, including the east coast of Africa, Red Sea,

In a geopolitical context, noted the use of the term "Indo-Pacific" by the German geopolitics Karl Haushofer in 1920 in academic writings that "Indopazifischen Raum". Since it began to use the term in the context of Indo-Pacific economic and political-security to designate the area between two Indian and Pacific Oceans. Beginning in 2010, the concept of Indo-Pacific became the talk of policy makers, and academics analysis. Although Australia has used this term before, but Guurpet S. Kurana (2017) stated that the concept of Indo-Pacific appears first in the academic paper "Security of Sea Lines: Prospects for India-Japan Cooperation" Strategic Analysis published in the Journal of the Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis (IDSA) New Dehli the January 2007 issue

West or West Pacific Region (WP) including interconnected oceans in East Asia and Southeast Asia, although there are variations according to the preference of the definition of the relevant country. United States of America for example tend to interpret the Indo-Pacific as a whole Indian Ocean and the Pacific, to allow it as a big country entering influence in the region. Although the conditions of the Indian Ocean and the Western Pacific are very different but with the upswing in economic activity in the area of maritime Asia from East Africa to East Asia, including the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) by the United States in 2004 - then began to need a nomenclature regional joint suitable for communication effective (Kurana 2017).

As for the mention of "Asia" is too broad, heterogeneous and connotes kontinental than maritime, while the term "Asia Pacific" - referring to parts of Asia in the Pacific Ocean was inadequate. The term "Indo-Pacific" (a combination of Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean) is considered adequate / represent those needs. The mention of the Indo-Pacific region can not be separated from the rising position of superiority India entering the 21st century is marked by the impressive economic growth in India in the decade of the 1990s and the development of nuclear weapons. The rise of India becoming a key factor in the increasing significance of the Indian Ocean and India can no longer be ignored in the economic and political talks related to the Asia Pacific region. (Kurana 2017: 3). The recognition of the importance of India's position appeared in involvement in the ASEAN Regional Forum (1996) and East Asia Summit (2005) as well as a key participant in PACOM (US Indo-Pacific Command or USINDOPACOM). Indo-Pacific concept itself able to overcome the "feeling outside / non-inclusive" (sense of exclusion) India when it should be involved in discuss the issues of maritime Asia Pacific. Another important aspect of connectivity IOR and WP is the presence of hydrocarbon wealth that will drive prosperity around the island nations of the Pacific.

The development of the concept of Indo-Pacific also strongly colored by the interests of Japan will need marine transportation security guarantees, as Japan is highly dependent on imported energy and food through the IOR. To strengthen maritime security role, Japan establish a cooperative relationship with India and increasingly clear that the handling in the IOR and WP can not be separated. Japan's stance is made clear by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's speech in front of the Parliament of India (2007) on "" Confluence of the Indian and Pacific Oceans "as" the dynamic coupling as seas of freedom and of prosperity "in the" broader Asia ". (Kurana 2017: 4). Prime Minister Shinzo message underlines the significance of the interests of Japan and India in maintaining the interest, which is formulated in terms of geopolitical unification "Indo-Pacific".

So important role of India in its geopolitical interests of Japan that Prime Minister Shinzo Abe offered a "Global Strategic Partnership" in which the two sides will expand and improve their relationship. Japan highly appreciates the contribution of India in world history that is the spirit of the values of tolerance and the challenges faced is the large number of population,

demographic movement to cities and poverty. Embodiments of the Global Strategic Partnership is of increasing trade through the involvement of Japanese companies, ODA (Official Development Assistance) for reforestation and water supply as well as youth exchanges, India to Japan among others, to learn the language and Japanese language teaching.

In 2010 the United States for the first time officially acknowledged the concept of Indo-Pacific through the speech Hillary Rodham Clinton as Secretary of State on October 28, 2010 in Hawaii. The visit in order to travel to various countries in Asia Pacific (Hawaii, Guam, Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand, Australia and Samoa-America) - to complement President Obama's visit to India, Indonesia, Japan, and South Korea, Obama administration policy at the time was "American engagement" in the Asia Pacific region through a "forward-deployed" diplomacy is applying a very proactive footing by sending full diplomatic assets - including high-ranking officials, development experts and team issues - seeing growth of enormous economic transformation with Asia in business and trade and the growth of future generations in various fields (business, technology, politics, art). Three domains which emphasized the US is (i) shaping the economic future of the Asia-Pacific, (ii) ensuring regional security, and (iii) to support democratic institutions become stronger and spread the values of rights, universal human rights, including the military activity 3D (defense, diplomacy, development).

The approach used preceded by a joint meeting of the Asia-Pacific allies, such as Japan, Korea, Australia, Thailand and the Philippines are the basis of American strategic engagement. In addition to improving relations with its allies 5, the US also strengthened by its new partner Indonesia - as the leaders of ASEAN and the Bali Democratic Forum - including going to issue a Comprehensive Partnership Agreement with Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia and New Zealand. In addition, the US also recognizes the new dynamics with the growth of China and India. Meanwhile Australia in 2013 recognize Indian policy oriented to the east (Eastwest orientation). In Defense White Paper (WP) or White Book, Australia expressed the same strategic interests with India in the Indo-Pacific. Indo-Pacific strategy recently seen can connect the Indian Ocean and the Pacific through Southeast Asia. This new framework is driven by several factors: the massive growth in trade, energy and investment flows between East Asia and the Indian Ocean and the growing strength of India as a strategic, economic and diplomatic importance in South Asia.

The Urgency of Indo-Pacific for Indonesia

In the Indo-Pacific discourse Indonesian government looks very actively voicing the concept and become part of the agenda of Indonesian foreign policy formulation. Indonesia's diplomacy in various forums since 2013 showed Indonesia's initiative and "positioning" Indonesia is not only in ASEAN but also in the construct geostrategic new in the Indo-Pacific where Indonesia is considered to begin expanding the scope circles konsentriknya to the Indian Ocean and can even be seen as signaling emerging power (Shekhar 2018: 26).

Throughout 2018, the concept of Indo-Pacific has several times communicated; among others in the forum of ASEAN Foreign Ministers meeting 51st and Post Ministerial Conference 19 held on 31 July to 4 August 2018 by the Minister Retno Marsudi RI LN. Even in the Summit 33rd ASEAN President Jokowi stated the importance of the concept of the Indo-Pacific and ASEAN centrality while at the summit to 32 April 2018 the President also stressed the importance of ASEAN to develop cooperation in the Indo-Pacific that promote the principles of openness, inclusiveness, transparency, respect international law, and appreciate the centrality of ASEAN.

But in the midst of this enthusiasm, as an operational concept, "Indo-Pacific" to be recognized as "unclear". Indonesia Minister recognition of the need for time and has not explained the realization of the target indicates "a long way" that still Indonesia must be adopted. Chinese attitude which seriously questioned the concept of Indo-Pacific Indonesia for ASEAN adopted may also be an indication of "fundamental differences" in the reception

and integration of this concept.

Second, the Indo-Pacific region is a vast area that involves a variety of new actors as well as major countries (USA, China, Russia, India) with their respective interests are very strong. Exceeds the breadth ASEAN region (10 countries) and the ASEAN Plus commonly faced Indonesia. With the entry of new actors who are not necessarily complementary Could the Indo-Pacific is a project that is easy to implement?

Third, in the Indo-Pacific Indonesia will face challenges related to "culture of cooperation" and "mindset". South Asia for example, have virtually no culture of togetherness / cooperation (togetherness culture). Regionalism in South Asia is not developing quite well. ASEAN can survive until now because it has the determination to create an atmosphere conducive to building, not dominate and prevent the politicization of business forums (eg in the case of APEC). Challenges "mindset" to be faced, especially with China. China in a position right now is China that has its own norms (not subject to international norms) and obsessive to grab the "glory" (gloriness) evident in the behavior of geopolitics (geopolitical code) of China in the South China Sea as well as economic aid BRI (Belt and Road Initiative) for developing countries in South Asia such as Sri Lanka. Is it ready to challenge confronting Indonesia Indo-Pacific diplomacy?

Fourth, every effort will be required to promote an idea to realization and every realization requires funding. If the ASEAN plus 3, for example forum funds can be obtained from the partners, then in the discourse of Indo-Pacific source of funding remains unclear. Opportunity funds is very obtainable with a note that the development of highly political issues with the weight will cause counter-productive implications which the receipt of funds from one of the big countries would conflict with the principle of non-bloc ASEAN.

Discussion and Conclusion

The spirit of the Indo-Pacific diplomacy Indonesia should be appreciated as part of a push to create stability and security in the region. However, these efforts need to be viewed comprehensively and critically mainly related to the need, purpose and urgency. Politically very large weights in the Indo-Pacific regionalism would push Indonesia into the security dimension (security) that are not easy in addition to the mechanism (vehicles) are not yet available. Additionally, Indonesia and ASEAN already has various mechanisms and cooperation that has involved major countries are more dimensional socio-economic development (development / trade) mainly through cooperation with dialogue partners, ASEAN Plus and so on that are already built and proven so far this goes well

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RAMAYANA AND LEADERSHIP IN SHAPING ASEAN-NESS IN CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA

Ninny Susanti Tejowasono^{*1}, Linda Sunarti^{**2}, Hanafi Hussin³, Cecep Eka Permana¹, Abdurakhman², Azhar Ibrahim Alwie⁴, Noor Fatia Lastika Sari²

¹ Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

² History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

³ Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
University of Malaya

⁴ Department of Malay Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National
University of Singapore

(niniesusanti@gmail.com; noorfatials@gmail.com)

Abstract

Indian culture has great influences upon the earliest centuries of Southeast Asia, especially when it has affiliation to Hinduism and Buddhism. All of norms and values are highly influenced by both Hinduism and Buddhism, amalgamated into the culture of Southeast Asia, including the classic, epic work titled Ramayana, showcased in various art performances, establishing the space of life (*ecumene*). Rama is the central figure of Ramayana, portraying a noble knight with prominent characteristic, such as great leadership and decent personality that is admired by people all across Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, and Lao. Some important values regarding the leadership of Rama are mentioned in *sargga* 3 and 23 in the original scripture of Ramayana. This part is called *Astabrata*; eight behaviors of an ideal king. Through this source, we would like to make an assumption that kings in Southeast Asia region have stereotypical perception that shaped the way they lead their territory, which is Rama in Ramayana. However, unfortunately, the fall of all kings and his kingdoms in all across Southeast Asia extrinsically removes the influence of Ramayana, thus making it no less than being forgotten by today's generation. The question is: Does Rama in Ramayana still intrinsically manifested or materialized inside modern day Southeast Asia's great leaders? Moreover, would it be possible to re-introduce the communal *ecumene* that only belongs to and running in the realm of Southeast Asia, to eventually contribute further to the strengthening of ASEAN-ness in the modern day context? Through studying and assessing literatures, with the approach of historical observation, this article aims to elaborate Rama and Ramayana within the context of the leadership in ASEAN, both diachronically and synchronically. The last remaining question, then, is: how far and substantial would robust leadership could contribute to the internalization of ASEAN-ness in the region?

Keywords: *Ramayana, leadership, political figure, shaping ASEAN-ness, Southeast Asia.*

Introduction

The strong influence of Indian culture toward the region of Southeast Asia had started since the earliest period of the first century, through trade and shipping networks, connecting the two under a philosophical and cultural connection. The

theories and practices related to the spread of Hinduism and Buddhism were found as one of the developing factors that shaped today's Southeast Asia. Several tangible and intangible elements of religious and cultural aspects were found to be very familiar to the common practice of Southeast Asian's elites. Indian-based norms, with Hinduism and Buddhism as the underlying teachings, were amalgamated into the Southeast Asian culture in general, including the phenomenal, yet classic, work of art, *Ramayana*, adapted and reproduced in various versions, within numerous media. The influence of India in the Southeast Asia didn't only establish a psychological connection among the countries in the region, but also created a whole new space of life (*ecumene*) that eventually became the "home" of Indian culture, acculturated and assimilated further from time to time. Even though Southeast Asia were later got separated juristically after a series of colonialism and the right to lead an independent administration over their area and people, various communities in each country were still articulating their political authorities or developing their style of government through traditional Indian style. We identified the style as "the palace culture", practiced by various elites in the Southeast Asia, based on the adaptation and association to Indian roots.

A work of literature, in the shape of virtuous epoch, from India with the title of "Ramayana" was one of many Indian influences that was found and known in almost every part of the region. The story made accounts of Rama, a noble knight with gallantry and whose robust characteristics were appreciated and idolized by many people in Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos. Ramayana is a narrative piece that depicts one among many Indian versions about the story of Rama and Sita. The story mainly tells about the conceptions and ideas of heroism, wisdom, and many other acts of valour and pride. Walmiki was the one who supposedly composed Ramayana in Sanskrit, and thus it became the most renowned and notable version of the whole Ramayana story. *Ramayana Kakawin*, written by an ancient Javanese man of letter in Old Javanese, was rather a prototype of its Indian version. This fact goes all the same with "The Tale of Sri Rama" (*Hikayat Sri Rama*), published in Malaysia and some other countries in the Southeast Asia. During the age of ancient Java, such *kakawin*, a long narrative poems that is written in Old Javanese and derived from Sanskrit literature, was considered as the most prominent and magnificent work of art and literature of the time (Zoetmulder, 1983:277-89).

Later, the epoch gained its popularity and versatility as a work of art and literature; through the adaptation of the story as various art performances such as literary arts and motion arts (dance), and was immortalized on the wall of numbers of temple as reliefs. The region-wide spreading of Ramayana throughout the Southeast Asia was actually started by many people's belief toward an ancient Indian philosophy, introducing the king as a God-like entity, or at least close to the divinity of God. Such belief gave us prove that since the earliest time of the establishment of monarchies, kings had positioned as the surrogate entity of God on earth. Thus, these kings were required to be able to act and behave as if they were truly Gods. They were expected to be constantly decent and pious, an example for their subjects who perceived them as their patron in both mannerism and characteristic, as they were the kings who rule the realm under the clouds (Soebadio, et al., 1997:2).

As a God-like creature, a king were supposed and expected to always take side on his subjects and able to prosper them accordingly. However, it didn't mean that the authority owned by the king were absolute and unlimited. In the further period, we could see that the king was only perceived to have attitudes that inclined to certain Gods, so that the king was merely an epitome of the God. At last, in the *Book of Manusmriti*, we acknowledged the relation between the king and the Eight *Lokapala*, or the eight Gods whose protections spread across the eight points of the compass. The king was considered as an incarnation of not only one specific God,

but of many superior traits of Indra, a God who has the highest rank in the Lokapala, and also other traits from the other seven. The king was expected to be able to protect its country and people, just like those Gods would eventually did toward those who were living through the eight points of the compass. On the side of Indra, there were Surya (the sun), Candra (the moon), Agni (the fire), and Bayu (the wind), as well as Yama, Kubera, and Waruna.

The insight contained in the Manusmriti was actually inserted in the third part of the Indian version of Ramayana. The part describing such narration was on the messages addressed from Rama the King to his brother, Bharata, when Bharata decided to go after Rama to the jungle, asking Rama to return to the palace. Rama declined Bharata's plead gently by giving him wise words, which telling him to take his position as the king. Rama told Bharata to always hold on tight to the *dharma*, as well as being equitable, full of justice, and packed with merit for he had to punish them who did wrong and prize those who did good. He also had to be wise, not despotic, wide-awake of many situations lay upon him, able to ensure the people's welfare and satisfaction, and had full authority toward his self, military, and fortunes (Soebadio, et al., 1997:25).

Rama's word to Bharata in this version didn't clearly mention the difference between his traits as a king and the traits of the eight Gods, but rather explained only the traits of two Gods, the God of Sun and the Moon, with an extra elaboration toward the mountain. But, in the *Ramayana Kakawin* from the ancient Java period, which was actually the prototype of the Indian version of Ramayana, we could see the elaboration of word of Rama to Wibisana in the 24th *sargga* that explained such comprehensive comparison between the traits of the king and the eight Gods of the eight points of the compass.

In the 24th *sargga*, there was a sharp narrative about a great war happened between Rama and Rahwana, a war that really put the world on swings. Rama used the bows and arrows from Indra to decapitate ten of Rahwana's heads, killing him in the great battle. The death of Rahwana brought satisfaction to Rama and his legion, but sparked pain and bitterness in the heart of Wibisana, Rahwana's brother who took on Rama's side to pull a fight against his own brother. Rama tried to console Wibisana by saying that his brother, Rahwana, died a hero. From that time on, it was Wibisana's duty to take the throne to be the King of Lĕngka. To guide the newly appointed king, Rama delivered his advices, the *nitĭ*, to teach Wibisana about the act of wisdom in ruling a country (Zoetmulder, 1983:287).

Here is a part of the excerpt Rama delivered to Wibisana in *Ramayana Kakawin*, in the 24th *sargga* (51-60) (in Boechari, 1958:21-31):

51. And you were appointed as a king (to be respected), because you had the Gods in you. Eight Gods embodied in a feeble body of a king, making you laden with great power and immense authority.

52. Indra, Yama, Surya, Candra, Anila (Bayu), Kuwera (Kubera), Baruna (Waruna) and Agni. Those eight would live inside you, becoming the flesh and the blood of the king. Thus, he was expected to follow the *aṣṭabrata* (*aṣṭa* means eight, while *brata* means conduct).

53. Here's the conduct of Hyang Indra that you were supposed to acquire. He brought the rain down, delivering peace to the world. Follow the conduct of Hyang Indra, brought all the blessings down to earth until you drown them all with happiness (to all of the people).

54. The conduct of Hyang Yama was to punish those who did wrong. He beat them thieves down to death. You were meant to do the same, to give punishment over unjust occurrences. Kill them all; kill them all who couldn't stop corrupting the peaceful life on earth.

55. Batara Rawi (the sun) relentlessly absorbed the water on earth, bit by bit. Such conduct, you were expected to do the same in the process

of acquiring or acknowledging something. You didn't have to be in a rush. Be gentle and forbearing, just like Surya.

56. The conduct of the God of the Moon (Candra) was to bring happiness and calmness to the world. Be gentle, laugh gracefully like *amēṛta*. Provide proper entertainment for all; the elders and the highbrows.

57. Be as wise as the God of Wind (Bayu) while watching everyone's game. Have a good watch on others and stay invisible. Those were the conduct of Bayu. His sublime nature makes him invisible (unpredictable, but in a good way).

58. Feast on all pleasure and convenience, don't limit yourself in eating or drinking, dress and groom yourself up, and wear all the jewelleryes. That was exactly what Dhanada (Kuwera) wanted you to follow.

59. Baruna held the weapon, *Nāgapāśa*, the venomous weapon that could strangle anyone. In *paśabrata* (the conduct of law), you are entitled to frame those who did evil deeds.

60. The God of Fire (Agni) burnt them all enemies with no mercy. You should be as fierce as the fire. The God of Fire blesses all who strikes so brave in the fight for justice.

Such insights on the Manusmriti were perceived as the biggest influence on how *astabrata* were internalized among the Javanese people from time to time, transmitted from one generation to others. The author of *Ramayana Kakawin* perhaps wanted to initially established the idea that a king should have sovereignty over his kingdom. Thus, just like Shiva (*Siwa*), He was surrounded by eight Gods who took care of those in eight different points of the compass (*astadikpalaka/astalokapala*). *Ramayana Kakawin* was also describing that these Gods were installed inside the body of a king, so that everyone who were appointed as the king should prove their worth by following each conduct of the eight Gods.

Problem Statement, Research Questions and Objectives

During the age of heavy influence of Hinduism and Buddhism in the whole Southeast Asia, the type of leadership, as depicted in the story of Ramayana, was becoming a trend among Southeast Asian leaders. Rama had become the archetype of what a leader, especially a political one, should be like. King Jayavarman II from Angkor established the cult of *Devaraja* and started to rule according to Rama's concept of leadership, making his mark on the inscriptions made during his establishment. He was then followed by his successors. King Airlangga from the 11th century Java was also trying to adopt this style. He even proposed himself as the incarnation of Rama, according to the Pucangan Inscription, dated in c. 1037.

Other than that, in Java, King Balitung, the leader of Ancient Mataram Kingdom, recorded Ramayana as an example of cultural performance, conducted to the ceremony of *sima* arrangement, thus followed by the kings who were crowned after him. Ramayana was still on the spotlight until the period of Mataram Islam, as it was continually adapted and duplicated from time to time. Some important values regarding the leadership of Rama are mentioned in the 3rd and 23rd *sargga* in the original scripture of Ramayana. This part is *Astabrata*, which means eight behaviors that introduced the ideal type of a king, emanating from the radiant personality of eight Gods who control over eight points of the compass. Through this source, we would like to make an assumption that kings in Southeast Asia region have stereotypical perception that shaped the way they lead their territory, which is Rama in Ramayana. However, unfortunately, the fall of all kings and his kingdoms in all across Southeast Asia extrinsically removes the influence of Ramayana, thus making

it no less than being forgotten by today's generation. The question, then, goes on like this: Does Rama in Ramayana still intrinsically manifested or materialized inside modern day Southeast Asia's great leaders?

Suharto, Indonesian president from 1966 to 1998, was one of many prominent leaders of Southeast Asia who presented the concept of the Astabrata as the mandatory component of leadership. According to some of the initial discussion above, do leaders of Southeast Asia still understand, or willing to carry out further, the concept and values displayed in the Ramayana, which was once considered as the key of successful government during the pre-modern Southeast Asia? Moreover, would it be possible if we tried to re-introduce the communal *ecumene* that only belongs to and running in the realm of Southeast Asia, to eventually contribute further to the strengthening of ASEAN-ness in the modern day context?

Through studying and assessing literatures, with the approach of archaeological and historical observations, this article aims to elaborate Rama and Ramayana within the context of the leadership in ASEAN, both diachronically and synchronically. The last remaining question, then, is: how far and substantial would robust leadership could contribute to the internalization of ASEAN-ness in the region? The main idea is to find the *ecumene*; the ideal and plausible type of the leader, who could only be found in the region of Southeast Asia, to eventually strengthen the value of being a part of ASEAN (the ASEAN-Ness).

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Boechari (1958) had elaborated further about the concept of Astabrata, as the concept of teaching from Rama to Wibisana. The Astabrata in Boechari's work was the one translated from *Ramayana Kakawin*, in comparison with the quoted version of Astabrata in *Serat Rama Jarwa*, adapted during the age of Mataram Islam by Raden Ng. Jasadipura I.

Soebadio, et al. (1997) were also comprehensively studying Astabrata, including the evolution of its teaching throughout many ancient Javanese manuscripts, such as *Serat Rama Jarwa*, until it was transformed into wayang performance, titled *Wahyu Sri Mahkota Rama*, and reintroduced as a mode of propaganda by the New Order Regime in Indonesia, established by Soeharto, in the shape of indoctrination applied to the government.

Zoetmulder (1974) in his work, *Kalangwan*, had presented a very clear elaboration regarding *Ramayana Kakawin*, along with the overview of the content, as well as several notes taken by various Ramayana experts prior to his own research. According to the notes of the experts, especially those who were researching on foreign languages, *Ramayana Kakawin* was estimated to be a part of a grand work of literature, written in Sanskrit, between the 6th or 7th century, which is *Ravanavadha* by Bhatti-Kavya. After conducting a series of grounded research, C. Bulcke and C. Hooykas came to a conclusion that there was a strong connection between Bhatti-Kavya's work with *Ramayana Kakawin*, but limited to only the initial part of the *kakawin*. The similarity was found up until the 13th *sargga*, but then gradually became inconsistent, until both lost each other relevance in the 17th *sargga*. This, then, raised an indication, or a probability, that the *Astabrata* written in the 24th *sargga* was merely a work of the Javanese poet (Zoetmulder, 1983:292). What even more surprising was that the Indian version of Ramayana never did mention *astabrata* or *astavrata*, or any other definition that ever match the concept.

At last, this research also referred to Robson's (2015) translation of *Ramayana Kakawin* to English, along with special notes he took in order to make clear definitions of several peculiar phrases and terms, as Robson's work could provide a more contemporary reference to the research.

Methodology

The approach used in this research is related to the studies of identity. We managed to identify several areas in Southeast Asia that received influences from Indian culture and literature works, with heroic epoch of Ramayana as an example. The spread of the popularity of Ramayana among Southeast Asians is the main topic discussed in this research, especially on how it would affect the political leaders in conducting their authority. The epoch was developed openly in each country of the region, adapted and rewritten to meet the characteristic of the locals by various men of letters, and then became a part of the people's identity. The philosophy of leadership in Ramayana had inspired numbers of kings of ancient kingdoms, sultanates, and even today's political leaders to establish decent, favourable, and appropriate impressions toward their people.

Such identity was inspired by influence of Hinduism and Buddhism, as well as the story about Rama's word toward either Bharata or Wibisana, and found in nearly all across Southeast Asian countries. We found this phenomenon as an example of how the countries of the region were constantly sharing the same cultural and historical roots; the roots of ASEAN-Ness. The similarity of each country's depiction and adaptation of Ramayana was rather unique because there are some peculiar points of depiction and adaptation that were very much of a different with the Indian version of Ramayana, which we could elaborate it as "truly Southeast Asian".

This article used historical method to reconstruct historical events, as well as to elaborate the findings and analysis made according to the sources gathered and interpreted. We managed to gather primary and secondary sources that through archival and newspaper studies, literature reviews, and field research.

Soeharto and His Concept of Astabrata

Soon after the decolonization process came to an end in all across Southeast Asia, various independent countries in the region started to redefine their own homebred national character. In Indonesia, the resentment toward Western establishment – political, economy, sociocultural, and many other aspects – escalated to the point where Malay identity was intensely promoted as the national identity that accentuate the position of the *Bumiputeras* (native, local born) in the modern society. As an example, Malay Federation had turned into a fiasco in 1965, triggered by Singapore's decision to go on for its own desired independence. Thus, it left Singapore with the right to establish its own ethnic-based society, which is the CMIO model (Chinese, Malay, India, and Others) that justifies diversity in the making. Such paradigm of nationalism actually shaped a more sentimental national character, instead of a realistic one. This article discusses the development of national and regional leadership in the contemporary world of Southeast Asia, which is somehow still related to its pre-modern narratives, written in Sanskrit epics, such as Ramayana. Thus, what are the odds for Southeast Asia?

Nationalism in the modern Southeast Asia is very much likely to be constructed from up above, not from the reflection of history and culture from down below. Some of notable countries were even led by dashing power structures; Bhumibol Adulyadej (Rama IX) in Thailand, Norodom Sihanouk in Cambodia, *Yang di-Pertuan Agong* (Supreme Head/King) in Malaysia, and Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah in Brunei who ran the country as institutional monarchies. Meanwhile, some other countries were established as republics; the Philippines, Singapore, and Indonesia, with their own charismatic leaders who exercised a strong governmental administration that relies heavily on morals and traditions. However, these construction doesn't necessarily stepped out of the cultural impression that gripped robustly in the multicultural region, because there was, and perhaps is now,

tendencies to refer to the narrative of origins – possibly, or obviously, a myth – that could suavely be exploited in the means of boosting political influence of these power structures.

Ramayana is one of many notable art and cultural performance that is beyond epic. The popularity of Ramayana spreads all across Southeast Asia, spreading from India. The narrative of this piece of art keeps on developing by receiving influence from many other indigenous narratives, such as ancient script, legends, folklore, and various performing arts in Cambodia, Indonesia (Java, Bali, and Sunda), Malaysia, Myanmar, Thailand, Lao, Tibet, Vietnam, the Philippines, Japan, China, and the majority of India. Ramayana as a component of epic works of art had gained its own international scale popularity, to the point where it was “exploited” as an underlying statement that justifies political thinking of the head of the state, with the tagline of living under a single great myth that inspires the creation of “first order” – or a decent, but not less than authoritative power structure in a country.

In 1970s’ Indonesia, Ramayana has more popularity and adopted more than Mahabharata in the 1950s. Both were utilized as a metaphoric benchmark of good governance that is ideal and romanticized in motion. While Mahabharata considered as the base of principal recognition of Indonesia’s sovereignty over the land and the sea, within the context of a modern *état nation*, Ramayana gained a more contemporary acknowledgement during the New Order era as propaganda to boost Suharto’s *Pembangunan Lima Tahun* (Pelita) program. Another use of Ramayana was to provoke a more diffusive nationalism that encourages optimism and interconnectedness to surrounding region. The figure of Rama as a heroic, loyal, and epic leader is also introduced to emphasize the characteristic of an ideal leader; not merely strong, but someone who could bring balances to any domain in his/her time of administration.

The story of Ramayana had become the channel of propaganda for Suharto’s New Order administration, for there had been obvious tendencies to purposely align the myths and legends in Ramayana to the government-of-the-day’s governing manners. Ramayana was considered as an example of traditional Javanese political culture that positioned Suharto and his autocratic manner as a natural proposition, making the “kingly nature of Suharto’s rule” the key of the New Order era. Soeharto, the second president of the Republic of Indonesia who was known for his long lasting regime, the New Order administration, was one of ASEAN Leader of that time to acknowledge and adjust the concept of Astabrata in to the political orientation in establishing a supposedly peaceful government. Soeharto admitted openly that he adopt the concept as the basis of his subtle, but robust leadership, while other ASEAN leaders were rather implicit, or too timid, to pull a reference from the Indian epoch, though we could still identify the likeness.

Soeharto led the republic from the year of 1966 until the year of 1998, as the successor of Soekarno, the founding father of Indonesian’s independence. He’s a Javanese, born and raised within strong influence of Javanese culture. It, then, helped him develop his characteristic, especially in the scope of political sphere where people from Javanese descent were obviously holding bigger chance of entering the political arena. He had a powerful political strategy; all were related and based on the cultural roots and the politic of identity, so that we could see (some of us even had experienced his presidency) his allegiance toward the Javanese cultural and historical roots. It was proven further after he introduced the concept of Astabrata as the key to his leadership. Soeharto applied the concept many times around, positioned himself as the leader with the quality of the eight Gods.

Astabrata had explicitly explained the eight qualities of a great leader that should be followed by kings who desired to have the God-like divinity. The concept prompted them to prosper the land and the people living above it in an equal manner. One of the most prominent adaptations of Astabrata in contemporary political

development was seen on Indonesia under Soeharto's administration for no less than thirty-two years. His long lasting regime was mainly focusing on the massive efforts on establishing Indonesia as a welfare state through economic development, equal distribution, and social justice enforcement. Economic development was considered to be the key of reaching stability, as it was prioritized by the government for the whole three decades, split into multiple five-year development plan called *Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun* (Repelita). He aimed to reach constant growth of at least seven per cent per annum through a very careful and provident grand design of what he aspired Indonesia to be like in the upcoming future. However, the development was deemed to only prosper those who live in Java, the home island of the capital, Jakarta, and hadn't completely reached either the western or the eastern part of the archipelago. But, it was seen as the biggest challenge for the government to distribute wealth and development evenly, because it was the conduct of Indra who obliged the leader to ensure that everyone could cherish the same cordiality, in the shape of social welfare and justice (Wilda, 2017:55).

Soeharto, through numbers of government's policy, provided protection over injustice. He applied the policy to allow law enforcement officers to shoot down those who acted against the law, as well as executing death penalties over heavy calibre criminals. He positioned himself as the peacemaker through tackling all of the crimes and other delinquencies that considered to have gone beyond humanity, to give a rather deterrent effect toward any bad intentions, just like when Yama punished those who did wrong. Yama beat them thieves down to death, in order to give punishment over unjust occurrences. He killed them who couldn't stop corrupting the peaceful life on earth (Wilda 2017,56).

Suseno (1991) in his book, titled *Etika Jawa*, explained that the concept of power in Javanese culture was actually a concept of peace; both in generating a peaceful situation or accepting and embracing the challenge to eventually gain peace. He described peacefulness in Javanese culture as a serene and tranquil state, in combination with subtlety, refined personality, elegance, graciousness, politeness, and sensitivity, but not to be understood as mere gentleness of a feeble human, but more to an underlying strength. A leader wouldn't talk in a harsh or rigorous manner, or express unnecessary emotions, but address his displeasure in a polite and indirect manner instead. It was in accordance to Surya's conduct, which was gentle and forbearing toward every challenge posed to Him. Soeharto did show a polite, subtle, and mild characteristic in many ways (Wilda, 2017:60-1).

Soeharto was also following the conduct of Candra, the God of the Moon who brought calmness to the world by being clement and constantly neutral. Although he wasn't exactly a man of mercy, he refused to directly show his emotion or inclination, as it was his way of "drawing the line" between him as the leader and the others, both the public and the people belonged to his cabinet. His pretentious behaviour outwitted numbers of individual, as they failed to get a great hang on the leader's silent thoughts and movements. At some point, Soeharto was nicknamed "the smiling general" as he kept on smiling under any kind of circumstances he had to deal with (Roeder, 1969).

Moreover, he also had the strategy to position various members of the Republic of Indonesia Armed Forces (*Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia/ABRI*) in every hotspot in Indonesia to carry the intelligent surveillance functions on, in order to secure the harmony and stability of the nation. This was very similar to the conduct of Bayu who watched everyone's game while managed to stay invisible. He was unpredictable, but in a good way, so that he could carry the internal observation function on, without making a fuss (Wilda, 2017:71).

Security and military endurance were two major components in ensuring the stability of the nation. In order to establish a thriving economic development, a country should be politically stable, according to Soeharto's belief and background as

he used to be a part of the army. The dual function (*dwifungsi*) of ABRI during his administration, as both military front guard and government officials, were introduced, so that it was something ordinary to see some members of the army occupied strategic positions in the cabinet; from the regional legislative council and assembly to the house of representatives and the senate. Soeharto was like Baruna, with his military coalition acted as Baruna's Nagapasa (Wilda, 2017:72).

And, the most imminent conduct of Soeharto was his "ability" to feast on all pleasure and convenience that he didn't limit himself in accumulating his wealth through network of business ran by his family members and relatives, just like Kuwera who gathered all the wealth in the world and didn't hesitate on spending or gaining more than His hand could handle. Australian journalist, David Jenkins, had criticized such conduct. On his article, published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on April 10th, 1986, Jenkins described Soeharto as the same with Ferdinand Marcos, the president of the Philippines, who had been an "overnight tycoon" by having "hidden treasure" gathered from government's capital, credit, and concessions. As the examples, Soeharto's wife, Madame Tien Soeharto, was known as "Madame Tien (Ten) Per Cent" for having a quite large share on mining business. Also, his siblings and stepsiblings' shares in various banking institutions, industries, and manufactures, as well as some of his acquaintance in business (*The SMH*, April 10th, 1986).

And last, Soeharto followed the conduct of Agni, the God of Fire who burnt His enemies with no mercy in the name of justice. Soeharto encouraged his people to have strong political insights and nationalism, in order to deal with the outside forces that he claimed to be a rather destructive force that could compromise the unity and stability of Indonesia. Therefore, he introduced the Handbook of Appreciation and Practice toward Pancasila (*Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila/P4*) to all of Indonesians as a compulsory subject, taught at elementary, junior, senior, and university level. Such conduct was seen as the way a leader would impose certain measure to ensure the security and sovereignty of the country.

Conclusion

During his presidency, Soeharto based his political thinking and movement on the philosophy of Ramayana epoch, especially the concept of Astabrata in Ramayana Kakawin, as it was adapted or re-composed by an ancient Javanese man of letter from the Indian version of Ramayana. We could identify this concept from the general conduct or behaviour of Soeharto, including in all policies issued and developed under his lengthy administration. It was proven to be greatly influenced by the concept, and perhaps applied by his successors in the following period.

Such phenomenon was a rather common to be encountered in the Malay world of Southeast Asia, where each country in the region shares similar cultural and historical roots and development. Similar practices were also found, but will be elaborated further in the upcoming studies about how Ramayana influenced the region's nation-state building process. Various examples could be elaborated from both extrinsically and intrinsically, of the characters of the leaders of Southeast Asia, such as Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Cambodia, Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, and Myanmar. In Indonesia, the story of Ramayana had been closely related to the Javanese culture; a diasporic culture that is known for having large influence throughout the mainland and islands of Southeast Asia.

Hence, in contrast to many popular beliefs, as well as to some previous researches, this article proposes the idea that, perhaps, it could be just fine to "exploit" Ramayana story in a more decent way; as the basis of manifestation of ideal leader who could both be competent personally and proficient professionally. Rama is positioned as a stellar and celebrated leader who is able and trusted to be the king of his loyal subjects all across the Southeast Asia. He could go beyond his own

territories by becoming a natural custodian for many other regions around him. Rama, then, is believed to be the weaver of many nations. Such character of Rama is expected to emanate gradually from various leaders in Southeast Asia, to lead a more productive and adaptive ASEAN. These leaders then could act as the unifying symbols of ASEAN.

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LITERATURE AND THIRD WORLD SOLIDARITY: PERSPECTIVES FROM ASEAN LITERATI

Azhar Ibrahim Alwie¹, Ninny Susanti Tejowasono²,
Linda Sunarti³, Hanafi Hussin⁴

¹ Department of Malay Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore

²Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

³History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

⁴Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya

(sunartilinda70@gmail.com, noorfatials@gmail.com)

**“We are very much aware of our position in the Third World.”
- Mochtar Lubis**

Abstract

Literature provides a window to society, and by that extension to the nation that it belongs. Literary humanism, which is at the core of literary endeavors, could only have real meanings when it is organically rooted to the society. The literary intelligentsia, which formed the bulk of the thinking group in society, have often affirm the importance of cultural and artistic affiliation amongst the countries of the world, especially those with having similar historical experiences, challenges and destinies. While there is a segment that could affiliate literature with the spirit of Third Worldism, the same kind of outlook brought them to see the need of common solidarity amongst ASEAN countries. This affiliation may not be at the mainstream and substantively conceived, but the potential to be nurtured and planned is high. This paper argues that cultural affiliation and solidarity of ASEAN could enhance the grouping's outlook and vision, and the role of the literary intelligentsia is very crucial as the cultural broker in forging the spirit and cooperation of ASEAN countries.

Keywords: *literature, Third-world-ism, intelligentsia, ASEAN.*

Introduction

Literature provides a window to society, and by that extension to the nation that it belongs. Literary humanism which is at the core of literary endeavours could only have real meanings when it is organically rooted to the society inasmuch as it subscribes to the universal human affiliation. Generally the literati are the voices of conscience and passion for life of ethics, aesthetics and politics. By extension, literati, not only refers to fiction writers, but also literary scholars. This paper argues that cultural affiliation and solidarity of ASEAN literati could enhance the grouping's outlook and vision. The literati perform the crucial role as cultural broker in forging the spirit and cooperation amongst ASEAN countries.

The literary world and concerns of these literati could well encapsulate the will for Third World solidarity, or by that extension, the global solidarity. The intellectual and moral call of the literati for universal human rights and dignity, national sovereignty and self-determination in the face of neo-colonial hegemonies, are commonly expressed in many societies. The enlightened thinkers and leaders of Third World countries, which were subjected to colonial rule, are conscious of the fact that neo-colonial conditions are persisting, and that one way of responding

effectively is through political, economic and cultural solidarity amongst countries that had similar historical experiences.

Obviously the political realms have been the most visible pronouncement for such Third World solidarity, although we cannot be naïve of the fact that rhetorical declarations are more real than substantive in its commitment. Third World thinkers, like Frantz Fanon, had articulated one of the best global political solidarity amongst the subjugated peoples in Asia, Africa and Americas. In Fanon's own convinced words: "The people of the Third World are not interested in news about King Baudoin's wedding or the affairs of the Italian bourgeoisie. What we want to hear are case histories in Argentina or Burma about the fight against illiteracy or the dictatorial behaviour of other leaders."¹

When Vijay Prashad said that "The Third World was not a place. It was a movement,"² – it very well resonated with the ASEAN literati's clamour for Third World solidarity. It is important to note that this Third World solidarity is not about the self-serving agendas of certain leaders to gain political-mileage. It is important that we need to make distinction between the political pact and the cultural/social/intellectual solidarity, as expressed by the literati. Surely, Third World solidarity are encapsulated in various forms. The Bandung Declaration of 1955 was one of them. It demonstrated the awareness that decolonisation project was not over ; that their economic dependency to the Western economies need to be replaced by their own inter-dependency or self-sufficiency. Such are some of the concerns of the political leadership, culminated in the Non-Aligned Movement.

Goenawan Mohamed, a leading Indonesia poet and cultural critic noted the significance of the Bandung Conference, not only to Asian and Africans, but also to Black Americans, which was then subjected to colour divide in their country. "Clearly, the Blacks in America saw 'Asia-Africa' as a beacon. The Asia-Africa conference held in Bandung in April 1955, quickly became part of their story. So it was that Richard Wright came to Bandung. He is author of the famous novel *Native Son*, about Bigger Thompson who is trapped within 'White' life in America and turns murderer. In Bandung, Wright wrote a 'chronicle' of this conference of nations that refused to be oppressed, titled *The Color Curtain*. The books was published in 1956. Unfortunately , it's not very good. But Bandung echoed on. Listen to Malcolm X in November 1963 Detroit: At Bandung all the nations came together... black, brown, red, or yellow...The number-one thing that was allowed to attend the Bandung conference was the white man. He couldn't come. Once they found that they could get together. It turn out that 'Bandung' meant many things. The Asian leaders (Sukarno and Nehru) saw it as attempt to overcome the military tension between the Soviet Union and the United States that was threatening the whole world. To them, the A-A Conference was more a voice of peace than embittered yell of an oppressed race. But if 'Bandung' to them was criticism of the divided world, to Malcolm X 'Bandung' was precisely the affirmation of a divided world...Humans such as this felt represented in Bandung: a combination of ghosts from tyrannical pasts and confidence in the future, a movement trembling yet full of hope. Wright, in *The Color Curtain* wrote of the Call of April 1955: "The despised, the insulted, the hurt, the dispossessed – in short, the underdogs of human race were meeting."³

In fact several Asian writers have shown solidarity to Negroes in America, Palestinians, and many oppressed ethnic minorities all around the world. Having a sense of solidarity is a commendable human quality. To Paulo Freire, "solidarity has

¹ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 2004, p. 143

² Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*. New York: The New Press, 2007, p. xv

³ Goenawan Mohamad, *Faith in Writing Forty Years of Essays*. Singapore: NUS Press, 2015, p. 169-171

to be shaped in our bodies, in our behaviours, in our convictions.”⁴ In other words it has to be nurtured via ideas and actions. Freire adds: “Solidarity goes side by side with a critical mind. I cannot imagine the world getting any better if we really don’t adopt the feeling and immediately become a great mass of solidarity, if we don’t struggle for solidarity.”⁵ Such critical mind alongside humane alignment and affiliation meant that the role of the literati is therefore imperative to foster the will for unity and solidarity.

The Literary: Intellectually Conscious and Combative

The literari, which formed the bulk of the thinking group in society, have often affirmed the importance of cultural and artistic affiliations amongst developing countries, especially those with similar historical experiences, challenges and destinies. To many of them, substantive unity and solidarity can be forged and nurtured in the cultural and artistic realms, be it at national, regional and global scale. Surely political and economic realms are equally possible and relevant, but the cultural and artistic realms have a longer staying power, as it could penetrate into people’s imagination and consciousness in depth and breadth. It is not uncommon too that leading literary works in ASEAN countries have strong political and cultural imprint. Budi Darma, a well-known Indonesian writer and literary scholar, is in the opinion that modern literatures in ASEAN countries are essentially “literatures of political implications.” He adds:

“The literary works do not necessarily voice political discourse, and yet, political issues underline the creation of literature. Since all country-members, except Thailand, suffered from colonialism, the dominant embryo of political issues, explicitly, is nationalism... modern literatures of all country-members are bound by the same concepts of tradition and modernity. Tradition tends to go to the past, while modernity is cut off from the past. Modern literature, basically, is a new literature, separated from traditional literature...The different concepts naturally stem from different cultural orientation. Tradition is feudalistic-oriented, while modernity is people and individual-oriented. The orientation of modernity is the modern West. Modern Western thoughts therefore immerse in modern literature, such as in theme, game, creative process, canon formation, and writer’s attitude towards reality.”⁶

Certainly, the concerns of these literati are many, but we are interested to survey and appreciate their call for solidarity alongside their criticisms against the global politics that prevented such solidarity inasmuch as it should motivate resistance against it. The literati as social grouping are the men and women of ideas, and they often assumed cultural and intellectual leadership in their respective societies. Via sociology of knowledge as our reading and analytical approach, we could delineate and the articulations in literary works of writers in ASEAN, especially pertaining the need for solidarity (be it Third World and universal). Equally important in this discussion is to trace (a) why the feeling of solidarity emerged, including the context of its emergence; (b) how these are expressed; (c) what are some of the impediments and obstacles in achieving this solidarity; and (d) the efficacy of the literary and cultural approaches in forging such global/regional affiliations.

Criticism, Commitment, and Choice

The solidarity is not simply stemmed to face the challenge and dominance of the imperialist West, but to see that human predicaments today is never an isolated

⁴ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of Solidarity*. California: Left Coast Press, 2014, p. 44

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43

⁶ Budi Darma, “General Introduction: Modern Literature of ASEAN,” in *Modern Literature of ASEAN*, Jakarta: ASEAN COCI, 2000, p. 2-4

event or phenomenon. The injustices, poverty, sufferings and abuses that happened in one country inevitably have global dynamic force and effects. Generally the literati's concern for solidarity stems from various reasons, which we should enumerate the major ones here:

(1) The need for global human solidarity, in the face of imperialism and neo-colonial hegemony, and that cultural and intellectual solidarity amongst the Third World nations, are the most feasible and natural affiliation, apart from the political initiatives.

(2) That championing of human dignity, the right of self-determination, social justice, equality could come from a universal outlook, where humanity shared common values and commitment are pledged as part of the aims to create a better world.

(3) The realm of literature, with its primary purpose to affirm humanity and humanness, perceived as the best medium to articulate human ideals, visions, conflicts and predicaments at the same time.

Prominent literati in ASEAN saw the importance of their political and cultural alignment with the destiny of many Third World countries. To stand united against neo-colonialism is vital. To Pramoedya Ananta Toer, the Western's advancement, including their achievements in political democracy and human rights, could even be traced from the resources they appropriated and controlled from Third World nations.⁷ Pramoedya took pride of Indonesia's involvement in the international scene in denouncing colonialism, as compared to the present-day regime which could not stand firm against imperial powers. "*Zaman Soekarno, orang Indonesia dihormati oleh dunia internasional. Kita negara kedua yang membebaskan diri dari imperealisme Barat setelah Vietnam. Bukan itu saja. Indonesia mendukung perjuangan anticolonial di Asia-Afrika. Soekarno menjadi mercusuar di dunia internasional. Sekarang, apa yang dikatakan? kita minta dollar. Jauh bedanya.*"⁸ However he lamented that the Third World has now turned into consumer market, and by that extension, heavily indebted to Western economies.

"Penduduk yang kini juga dinamai Dunia Selatan atau Dunia Ketiga, diperlakukan sebagai konsumen semata. Dunia Barat yang telah dibikin kaya, kuat dan maju oleh Dunia Selatan tetap memegang kendali dunia. Dan dengan kekayaan, kekuatan dan kemajuannya, mereka menjerat korbannya dengan utang luar negeri dan diharapkan sampai dunia kiamat, mungkin juga setelah itu akhira."⁹

Solidarity Is Unity Against Neo-Colonialism

Most importantly, the political and moral commitment of Third World literati becomes part of their realisation to forge common solidarity in the face of global capitalism that prolonged the neo-colonial conditions, and buttressed by the authoritarian regimes in their respective countries. They aligned themselves as part of the peoples' struggle against such domination. Leading Third World intellectuals and literati have often made their stand against the neo-colonial hegemonies in the political, economic and social systems, where only the privileged elite could control and benefit. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, speaking on writers in neo-colonial state, exemplified one view of Third World intellectual who stood up against the present day age of neo-colonialism that are dominating and perpetuating in the global scene. He opines: "A neo-colonial regime is, by its very character, a repressive machine. Its very being, in its refusal to break with the international and national structures of exploitation, inequality and oppression, gradually isolates it from the people. Its real power base resides not in the people but in imperialism and in the police and the army. To

⁷ Tofik Pram, *The Wisdom of Pramoedya Ananta Toer*. Bandung: Mizan 2014, p. 270.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 274

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 272

maintain itself it shuts off all venues of democratic expression. It, for instance, resorts to one-party rule, since in effect the party is just a bureaucratic shell, this means resorting to one man rule, despotism a la Marquez's novel, *The Autumn of the Patriarch!* All democratic organizations are outlawed or else brought under the ruler, in which case they emptied of any democratic life. Why they should the regime allow any democracy in the area of culture becomes a threat to such a regime's very peculiar brand of culture: the culture of silence and fear, run and directed from police cells and torture chambers"¹⁰

It is in this context, that Third World countries facing the same predicaments, need to come together as "means of countering the supremacist and hegemonic tendencies..."¹¹ Ngugi reiterates: The Third World struggles against imperialism in its neo-colonial form will be the stronger if always linked to the overall international struggle for a new world.¹²

"in this respect the notion of South/South dialogue should go beyond the level of sentiment and wishes. Economic exchanges and cooperation can strengthen the links that bind. But quite as important as political and economic exchange is the cultural factor. The literatures of 'Third' World peoples of Asia, Africa and South America for instance have a lot of to learn from each other. Cultural exchanges at the people to people and at institutional levels are vital. This culture is not in contradiction with the democratic tradition in the literatures and cultures of the western people. I am thinking of tripartite cultural dialogue and exchange between the people of Asia, Africa and South Africa, on the one hand, and between the peoples of AASA and those of the West, on the other. For quite apart from anything else there are now millions of AASA peoples in the West and they are contributing to the democratic culture of struggle in the West."¹³

Ngugi also noted many enlightened writers takes this position, apart from being very clear to "take sides with the people in the class struggle.." p. 100 This is the democratic and socialist forces that aimed to counter their global imperialism that incarnated in multinational corporations as well as the local regimes that shared strategic interests with the neo-liberal capitalist forces. On a similar note, E San Juan, a leading Philippines leftist intellectual noted that the bulk of the writers and intellectuals, were in favour of:

"... A society founded on socialist principles, where those means of production are controlled and managed in the interest of the workers and peasant, for the majority of the people; where the guiding principle for the whole society is cooperation, not competition, and the spirit of working-class internationalism."¹⁴

Kassim Ahmad, a vocal Malaysian dissenting literati, once outlines three major tasks which writers should fulfil. In their "alignment with the people", they are to ensure that their works: (a) consolidate the political independence of the country and resist all forms of colonialism; (b) affirm the people's struggle to attain economic, military and cultural independence, and (c) assist the development and entrenchment of national solidarity.¹⁵ In other words, they ought to take a stand in their works as "the spokesperson of the people".¹⁶ But this is not enough. Elsewhere, Kassim points

¹⁰ Ngugi wa Thiong'o, "Writing Against Neo-colonialism" in *Criticism and Ideology*. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1998, p. 100

¹¹ Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Writer in Politics*. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981, p. 131

¹² Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Moving the Centre: The Struggle for Cultural Freedom*. Portsmouth: NH James Currey Oxford, p. 55

¹³ *Ibid.*, p 56

¹⁴ E. San Juan, *Ruptures, Schisms, Interventions: Cultural Revolution in the Third World*. Manila: De La Salle University Press, 1988.

¹⁵ Kassim Ahmad, "Penulis sebagai *Conscience* atau Batin Sesuatu Bangsa," in Karim Haji Abdullah (ed.) *Pemimpin dan Sasterawan*. Kuala Lumpur: DBP, 1993, p. 37

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 70

to the importance of the intelligentsias to comprehend the neo-colonial situation that are confronted by many Third World nations. He opines:

“Dalam bidang ekonomi negeri kita belum merdeka, kerana kita masih bergantung kepada Amerika Syarikat dan negeri-negeri blok Barat untuk kestabilan ekonomi kita. Dalam bidang ketenteraan kita belum merdeka, kerana kita terlalu banyak bersandar kepada Barat dalam lapangan buku-buku dan filem-filem yang kebanyakan lucu dan mengandungi pandangan-pandangan dan fikiran-fikiran yang menyinggung maruah dan nama baik bangsa kita dan bangsa Asia-Afrika lainnya dan yang menyalahi tradisi-tradisi ketimuran bangsa kita. Keadaan-keadaan ini menunjukkan sungguhpun kita mempunyai kemerdekaan politik, masyarakat kita masih banyak bersorak kolonial, dan ini salah satu ancaman besar terhadap kemerdekaan bangsa dan kesejahteraan masyarakat...”¹⁷

This neo-colonial conditions is extensive inasmuch it is expensive a price for the people and nations have to pay. Hence, it is imperative that writers all around world should unite.

“Maka tugas-tugas internasional penulis-penulis kita ialah bersatu-padu dengan penulis-penulis di negeri-negeri lain, terutama negeri Asia-Afrika dan menggunakan pena mereka untuk menentang kolonialisme corak lama dan baru dan mempertahankan kemerdekaan nasional dan perdamaian dunia.”¹⁸

Put simply, to understand the ideological oppression and infuse the people’s consciousness is therefore vital to their task, and this can only be effective if they avoid the idea that they will or should be “free from politics and ideology,”¹⁹ -- a common view that is found in depoliticised and formalistic literary milieu and scholarship.

Comprehending the Neo-Colonial Conditions

There is a critical awareness of the pervasively dominant ideology of the market, having effects to several sectors of life. San Juan’s description on this state of affairs in the Philippines, tells the challenges that many Third World countries are facing today -- where the imperial hegemony penetrated in various groups in society. San Juan’s description is apt:

“The nexus of ideas, attitudes and sensibility habitus reinforced by disciplinary regimes and collective practices of everyday life, continues to exercise a powerful influence on the intelligentsia and middle strata as well as on the general population. It is the hegemonic ideology which underwrites property relations, the alienated nature of work, and the iniquitous distribution of wealth, manipulate political representation, etc. This hegemony, as I’ve discussed earlier, exists precisely because it is able to accommodate the crude materialism of folk-religion, Christian rituals, libertarian impulse, reformist, programs, and metaphysics of all kinds. It promotes individualist competition above all and allows certain forms of communal ownership so long as it does not threaten or outlaw the elite’s (and foreign corporate’s) extraction of surplus value from the working people.”²⁰

By their consciousness to tell about the predicaments of their society, the literati themselves have made their readers (local or regional/global) to feel affiliated to the issues and problems that they have raised. This is where literature plays a powerful medium to harken human feelings and rally the sense of commonalities. Hence when F Sionil Jose, a well-known Filipino writer, wrote the following, most likely his Third World counterparts could relate to the struggle that he faced:

¹⁷ Kassim Ahmad, *Dialog dengan Sasterawan*. Kuala Lumpur: Obscura, 2014, p. 60

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 62

¹⁹ Kassim Ahmad, “Penulis sebagai *Conscience* atau Batin Sesuatu Bangsa,” p. 86

²⁰ E. San Juan, *From People to Nation*, Manila: Asian Social Institute, 1990, p. 116

"I have since then become comfortable; I have travelled a bit and attended literary seminars. Not too long ago, I returned to my village after many years of living abroad and in Manila and was saddened by what I saw, my distant relatives who were still poor, the inequalities of rural life that have not changed and have been compounded instead by the rapacious, new ilustrados former farm boys like myself who had been broken away. My distant relatives have not read me – of this I am deeply aware. Still, I hope that I have been able to express what they and many other Filipinos aspire for, an end to their poverty and above all, justice."²¹

Sionil's disappointment resonates with Mochtar Lubis' lamentation of the kind of popular literature which bears no concern with the problems and challenges of society.

"I think in our society there are writers who do that, who betray their own people by writing in the way you describe it. Take, for example the so called popular novelists. They can write well but they don't see the real problems of their people. They write about the rich people – how they live, how they make love – all these things. I don't think that's really meaningful to our people. It is our responsibility as writers to really express the real problems, the realities of human beings and our societies and, by so doing, help readers aware of these problems, these realities and hopefully, find a way out of these dilemmas."²²

Indeed, the Third World literati are not only facing with the hegemony of Western market capitalism, but also the silence and implicit collusions of the (local and Western) intellectuals themselves with the ideology of global imperialism and its corporate designs.

The voice of literati against the silences of the intellectuals and intelligentsias, tells something about the importance of the voice of consciousness that maintains its impulse in society. Indonesian writer-scholar, Seno Gumira Adjidarma recognises the role of literature (and therefore, literati) in spurring critical consciousness, especially when other forms of human expressions could no longer function. He puts this very well:

"When journalism is gagged, literature must speak. Because if journalism speaks with facts, literature speaks with the truth. Facts can be embargoed, manipulated, or blacked out, but the truth arises of its own accord, like reality. Journalism is bound by a thousand and one constraints, from business concerns to politics, from making its presence felt, but the only constraint on literature is one's home honesty. Books can be banned, but truth and literature are part of the very air we breathe, they can't be taken to court and they can't be stopped. Covering up the facts is political act, covering up the truth is one of the greatest acts of stupidity committed by human beings on the face of the Earth."²³

Apparently what Seno points out is not exclusively happening to Indonesia, but to the Third World countries as well. Moreover the silence of Western intellectuals on the atrocities, wars, and plundering made in the name of their "home-security" – is too obvious not to be noticed. This very moral hypocrisy have made many Asian literati feel the need of solidarity to their fellow Third World counterparts.

Resisting the Authoritarian Power

The resistance is not just against the dehumanised global capitalism, but also the equally parasitical and autocratic ruling regime that annihilates all forms of

²¹ "The Uses of the Past: A Personal Account," in Kirpal Singh (ed.) *The Writer's Sense of the Past: Essays on Southeast Asian and Australasian Literature*. Singapore: University Press, 1988. pp. 214-215

²² Moura R. Avena, "Mochtar Lubis: People's Voice." *Solidarity*, No. 113, 1987, p. 73

²³ Seno Gumira Adjidarma, "Fiction, Journalism, History: A Process of Self-Correction." *Indonesia*, 68, 1999, p. 164

dissent and opposition. San Juan's scathing criticisms on this point deserves our attention:

"Is a conversation possible under surveillance, punctuated by the threat of arrest or death? Can power be interrogated by unarmed defenceless justice? We are indeed faced with the long –entrenched monopoly of power and wealth concentrated in the hands of a few who resist any proposal for meaningful change. We are faced with everyday reality of violence from the police and military, from vigilante or death-squads. We are faced with the threats of torture, kidnaping and assassination, imprisonment, censorship, military massacres, all kinds of terror (enhanced by hunger disease, and hopelessness) through the use of state power to preserve inequality and perpetuate injustice"²⁴

Certainly many Third World societies are facing exactly what San Juan has described above. He made a good point here on the extent of which authoritarian regimes curbed dissenting voices. While it is commendable that San Juan, a Filipino-born scholar to highlight his country's problem, we can also see other Asian literati who are equally concerned of similar predicaments of other Third World societies. Mochtar's is an example in point:

"As I see it, it's not only the Philippines which is being threatened by what we call neo-colonialism. All of us Third World countries are facing countries are facing the same strife. This neo-colonialism takes a different form from the colonialism we used to know. In the old days, they came and occupied our countries. There was military occupation, and they manipulated us to their advantage. But today, they come in many forms. What we call "colonialism" still takes place because they exploit our resources. They exploit our people also to their advantage. But I don't think this colonialism would be successful if an affected country would try to fight it alone. It is time that all countries that have become independent after the second World War but are still in the same position of feeling, and rightly so, the threat of colonialism in its new form, banded together to really free our people from this threat, If it is only the Philippines that will do it, the move will not be strong enough, because the forces of this new form of colonialism are so big and strong ..."²⁵

Embracing and Affirming which "Global"?

Mochtar Lubis spoke of a kind of global affiliation – that men and women of contemporary could have feelings, empathy and solidarity with the other communities, the bigger humanity. During Indonesian revolutionary struggles against the Dutch, there were Asian leaders and intellectuals who pronounced their solidarity with their fellow Indonesian counterparts.

In fact, Mochtar has noted that Indonesian founding fathers (early nationalists) had all along seen the efficacy of recognising other Asian luminaries and their experiences:

"The modernization of Indonesian mind started with our nationalist movement for freedom. Our leaders then, the older leaders of that generation before the war, were already talking about Sun Yat Sen, Gandhi, and other Asian Leaders. Rizal was also one of the heroes of the Indonesian nationalist movement because he was often quoted by Sukarno, by Hatta and other nationalist leaders. Rizal, Sun Yat Sen, the philosophers of the West, French and American leaders like Jefferson... Their writings were used by our nationalist leaders to imbue our people with the spirit of nationalist freedom. So that tradition is there, and even the young intellectuals of Indonesia are familiar with it. Reaching out to the other countries in Asia is a natural thing for most Indonesian intellectuals, writers and artists. We are very much

²⁴ E. San Juan, *Reading the West/Writing the East*. New York: P. Lang, 1992, p. 234

²⁵ Moura R. Avena, "Mochtar Lubis: People's Voice." *Solidarity*, No. 113, 1987, p. 77

interested in making contacts, in developing close relationships with them. There is a real concern among us over what is happening in Asia."²⁶

What Solidarity Constitutes and How It Manifests?

Amongst leading Asian intellectuals there are those who are conscious of the need to forge solidarity with their fellow counterpart in other Third World nation. However this solidarity is not exclusive, with the aim to totally exclude or ignore the West. There is always a guarded position that we should not allow anti-West sentiments nor being slavish or captivated by it. Pramoedya Ananta Toer speaking on Indonesian intellectual, relates the importance of the Third World:

"Indonesian intellectuals who ignore their relationship with the Third World and the historical nature of their relationship with the West, will not be completely intellectual or objective, because they will not consciously be in full possession of their own history and the totality of their own experience. ... Indonesian intellectuals must also prepare themselves to come to terms with their people's past, and learn to treat the West as being in no way superior to ourselves, but as the centuries-old exploiter of the resources of the Third World. Indonesian intellectuals, as men and women living within Indonesian culture, must act in an intellectually and morally courageous manner towards the West and demand all that is best and most useful from science and technology."²⁷

To be critical of one's past and present is therefore important, apart from the ability to stand up before West, without timidity and captivity. For San Juan, in the parlance of dialectical thinking, the Third World cultures and society is best:

"Appreciated within the framework of a concrete and dynamic analysis of the sociohistorical formations in which it has emerged and continues to develop. This demands a precise accounting of historical specifications underlying the themes and conventions of literature, the composition of the audience, and the function of the artist. Everything hinges on what Amilcar Cabral, one of the most important theoreticians of the African Revolutions, calls."²⁸

Interestingly, in the era of high-tech communication, our Third World intellectual and literary life seem to be less connected, or engaged with each other, in comparison to our link and relation with the Western metropolitan centres. Certainly, in academia, there are regular contacts via conferences with Third World academics and researchers, but to say that we have a common intellectual outlook and concern would be difficult to be ascertained.

Apparently we do not recognise and acknowledge the intellectual/literary culture of each other. Indeed our intellectual staple has always been the Euro-American intellectual traditions, and it is not uncommon that Asian intellectuals and literati may be even divorced or alienated from their own traditions.²⁹ Obviously, amongst Asian intellectuals there are less, or hardly any cross references to each other. We seem to be quite satisfied with having intellectual and even cultural affinity with the West, yet without any qualms for not having any intellectual links with our fellow Asian counterparts. Edwin Thumboo's observation is therefore apt:

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 76

²⁷ Pramoedya A. Toer, "The Role and Attitude of Intellectuals in The Third World" translated by Harry Aveling, in Herring, Bob, *Pramoedya Ananta Toer 70 tahun: essays to honour Pramoedya Ananta Toer's 70th year*. Indonesia: Yayasan Kabar Seberang, 1995.

²⁸ E. San Juan, Jr, *Ruptures, Schisms, Interventions: Cultural Revolution in the Third World*. Manila: De La Salle University Press, 1988.

²⁹ As noted by Edward Shils many decades ago, "Asian intellectual life continues to suffer from a many-faceted intellectual dependence on the old metropolitan centers" Edward Shils, "Asian Intellectuals," in *the Intellectuals and the Powers and Other Essays*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1972, p. 379

“We do not know enough about each other F. Sionil Jose’s ongoing series that translates, for instance, Lyold Fenando’s *The Scorpion Orchid*, and Wong Meng Voon’s short stories is something in the right decision because they are now in Filipinos. We, of course, would like to see more Filipino texts, especially those in Tagalog, translated into English. Malaysian novelists like Khadijah Hashim and Indonesian novelist like Mochtar Lubis have already be translated into Filipino...”³⁰

In other words, Asian literary and intellectual discourse has remained largely isolated from each other. Not surprisingly we know more of the Euro-American traditions than our fellow Asian neighbours or Third World counterparts. So much so that in our enthusiasm in post-colonial debates, we still remain *colonialistically* enamoured, with our point of departure is invariably the Euro-American intellectual and cultural corpus.

What More Could Be Done?

This brings us what again to reflect the link between literature and Third World solidarity. To reiterate again this is not about regional pact or bloc, but as part of the concern to give meaning to the development of literature, intellectual discourse, and even literary studies. This Third world solidarity warrants our thinking and imagination, beyond our national borders, inasmuch as beyond the comfortable themes which many deemed as “literary.” A reflection by Thumboo, is useful to accentuate this point:

“While it is possible to write about life here out of a vision formed within parameters, tapping the resonances of the various cultural strands, I believe I ought to go beyond, into the cultures of Southeast Asia, the literatures of Southeast Asia. This domestications of our inherited cultures, the Chinese and the Indian especially, is something that has been going on as an essential component in the evolution of a national identity and consciousness. But we are at the same time, part of Southeast Asia, which is a blessing for we lack a hinterland, a larger permutations, an extended scale of culture, and active cultural forms which are traditional and which could balance the influences of an international culture. History – not merely the history of events, not merely the politics of events, but in the earlier phase of the Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic cultural movements within the region – provides the focus, formulates certain possibilities for me. We in Southeast Asia share more than we realise:

There are centuries here,
In these images.
My generations left
These signs contemplations,
Embodiments of Hope, despair-
In art. The Art of Living;
Of mounting better worlds...”³¹

Speaking of hinterland, Thumboo has elaborated succinctly on the need of creating “seas of hinterlands” one which is global and the other is the immediate regional ones. The global hinterland, according to Thumboo is the Western world, which inevitably we have to accept and even embrace, as they are the creators of all the ideational, cultural, economic and educational resources that we are currently using. Mastering them, including their languages is imperative. The global hinterland expands our imaginative and conceptual corpus. But this is not enough. We also

³⁰ Edwin Thumboo, “Literature and the Changing Societies of Southeast Asia” *Solidarity*, No. 125, 1990, p. 37

³¹ Edwin Thumboo, “Notes on a Sense of History” in *The Writer’s Sense of The Past*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1988, p. 233

need, adds Thumboo, the Southeast Asian hinterland, which is not so easily ready and accessible. He reminds us:

“This immediate hinterland is missing at the moment because each member country has a national one and an international one, What we want to establish is perhaps a regional hinterland to help add to our symbolic resources through image, metaphor and so forth. This is really vital because it is this area that all of you here, including us oldies, occupy. We are all, hopefully, both conformist and rebels at the same time. We follow the language but we also fracture it. We must do things to the language to make it our own because in the end, language is power, authority, instruction, and finally, life.”³²

Foremost, there is a need to critically examine the timidity in our context of forging a regional Third World (or even South-south) intellectual and cultural solidarity in the midst of academic imperialism imposed by the hegemonic powers in the metropolitan centres of the Northern hemisphere.

Conclusion

Historically, there were moments that Asian intellectuals were in close contacts and equally concern to each other's plight and destiny as colonised peoples.³³ Nevertheless while the desire and intent of forging Third World solidarity (or South-south) is occasionally expressed, we yet to see extensive appreciation and opportunity for substantive, concrete actions. There is a segment, amongst the literati who could affiliate literature with the spirit of Third Worldism, and this outlook similarly brought them to see the need of common solidarity amongst ASEAN countries, or in the case of maritime Southeast countries, the idea of *Nusantara keserumpunan* or commonalities.

However the need for forging solidarity is not simply for exclusive in-groups interest or pact, but collectively to undertake historical and intellectual responsibilities, in the face of neo-colonial conditions. Amongst leading Southeast Asian intellectuals the need for collective action and solidarity, as our wellbeing, development and destiny cannot be divorced from each other in this contemporary setting. Soedjatmoko reminds: “Within Southeast Asian region we will, each of us, have to work out our own answer in cooperation with each other.”³⁴ Obviously this is task of the intellectuals, and the literati, not to be excluded. As Renato Constantino emphasised:

“Intellectuals of the South therefore have a heavy responsibility – that of exposing the bitter truth about globalisation, often in contradiction with the propaganda of their own governments. There is no other group that can provide the counter consciousness against the prevailing ideas that have been imposed by the North. Intellectuals, including those who are in literature and the arts, are important guardians of indigenous values and aesthetics. They can serve as the best defenders of cultures now being eroded and inundated by the cultural avalanche from the North, which has been an avid promoter of a lifestyle of overconsumption, and therefore, of wastage and environment degradation. Through their artistic works, they can project the unique spiritual achievements of their people and during times of crises they often serve as conscience and source of inspiration for movements struggling towards social transformation... Among themselves, intellectuals can create a community of

³² Edwin Thumboo, “Literature and the Changing Societies of Southeast Asia” *Solidarity*, No. 125, 1990, p. 37

³³ An excellent account by Pankaj Mishra, *From The Ruins of Empire; The Revolt Against the West and the Remaking Asia*. London: Penguin Books. 2013.

³⁴ Soedjatmoko, “The Cultural Situation in Southeast Asia,” in Nancy Chng [ed]. *Questioning Development in Southeast Asia*, in Nancy Chng [ed]. *Questioning Development in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Select Books, 1997, p. 6

scholars dedicated to the life of the mind, but one in the service of their own peoples”³⁵

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³⁵ Renato Constantino, “Globalization and the Intellectual Tradition, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 27, 2, 1997, pp. 279-280

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FOOD HERITAGE, CULTURAL DIPLOMACY, AND EMPOWERING ASEAN-NESS

Linda Sunarti¹, Hanafi Hussin², Ninny Susanti Tejowasono³, Azhar Ibrahim Alwie⁴, Noor Fatia Lastika Sari¹, Raisye Soleh Haghia¹

¹ History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

² Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya

³Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

⁴Department of Malay Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore

(sunartilinda70@gmail.com; noorfatials@gmail.com)

Abstract

It is not a surprise when signature cuisines of one country are introduced as the mode of diplomacy; gastro-diplomacy. This mode of diplomacy is a type of cultural diplomacy that utilizes culinary prowess and particular taste as the key to high-end approach and negotiation. Some countries have introduced the concept of signature cuisines as a part of national identities. The question is, what if we wanted to introduce signature cuisines that represent a whole community in a regional scope, under a bigger cultural framework? This article studies on how food heritage could be the key to cultural diplomacy within the context of regional establishment, such as ASEAN, that could be the propelling factor of further mutual understanding. Taste of Southeast Asia is quite wide-ranging; from Indochina's savoury and tangy flavour, Malay Peninsula's richness, to Eastern Archipelago's opulent spices. However, these powerful sources of kinship are put into partition, territorially and juristically, after series of colonial subjugations and struggle of independences. Such partition creates distance and relative interpretations toward regional delicacy, making interstate relations in Southeast Asia nothing more than a conflict of ownership; who owns this food, who owns that recipe, whose ingredients is more authentic? Through analysing such issue, in contrast with some prior works, this article aims to elaborate the journey on how food is becoming one of the most important cultural heritage that doesn't simply belong or be claimed by specific group of people, nor even a country, but to a whole Southeast Asia under the establishment of regional cooperation called ASEAN. This article also aims to introduce components of ASEAN gastronomy and cuisine as a part of cultural diplomacy that promotes the concept "into a borderless Southeast Asian community".

Keywords: *food heritage, ASEAN-ness, cultural diplomacy, empowerment, Southeast Asian cuisines.*

Introduction

Win your opponent's heart through his/her appetite. That is one catchphrase we believe whenever food could simply alter the way we look or put interest on something. Then, it is not a surprise too when signature cuisines of one country are introduced as the mode of diplomacy: gastro-diplomacy. This mode of diplomacy is a type of cultural diplomacy, within the context of public diplomacy that utilizes culinary prowess and particular taste as the key to high-end approach and negotiation. Some countries, in some occasions, have introduced the concept of signature cuisines as a

part of national identities. The question is, what if we wanted to introduce signature cuisines that represent a whole community in a regional scope, under a bigger cultural framework? This article studies on how food heritage could be the key to cultural diplomacy within the context of regional establishment, such as ASEAN, that could be the propelling factor of further mutual understanding. We would like to see food as a genuine, yet sterling piece of art that preserve public memories of its own tradition.

Southeast Asia is a region developed above substantial cultural diversity with undoubted resemblances, with cuisines as one of the determining factors of such diverse and similar component. The region is greatly influenced by the marvellous culinary introduction by numerous Indian and Chinese traders and merchants in the era of pre-modern Southeast Asia. Taste of Southeast Asia is quite wide-ranging; from Indochina's savoury and tangy flavour, Malay Peninsula's richness, to Eastern Archipelago's opulent spices. However, these powerful sources of kinship are put into partition, territorially and juristically, after series of colonial subjugations and struggle of independences.

Such partition creates distance and relative interpretations toward regional delicacy, making interstate relations in Southeast Asia nothing more than a conflict of ownership; who owns this food, who owns that recipe, whose ingredients is more authentic? Durian, *ngoh hiang*, *otak-otak*, *yu sheng/lo hei*, *rendang*, *nasi uduk/nasi lemak/nasi hainan*, *laksa*, *bakuteh*, and many other *peranakan* cuisines are the subject to those questions. What comes around the corner is that the narrow-minded, exclusive, and disconnected sense of belonging that generated from the memory of past conflicts, the illicit contest of who's more ASEAN than another, and overrated nationalism, to the point that it is real hard to identify ourselves as a part of ASEAN.

However, such aversion is not much of a big deal for ASEAN, but quite vital to the continuity of regional harmonious cooperation, especially in enhancing mutual understandings and good fellowship. According to H. Kitamura (UN's Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific/ESCAP), members of ASEAN should push themselves to the point where they could discover high interdependency to one another, so that they could relatively and mutually grow, as they are geographically present in a proximate environment and subsequently related through history and culture. Cultural aspect is expected to rise as the mode of internalization of "what it's like to be a part of ASEAN" in the societal level, so that their senses of belonging are shifted to the point where they are willing to acknowledge the existence of shared values of ASEAN.

Through analysing such issue, in contrast with some prior works, this article aims to elaborate the journey on how food is becoming one of the most important cultural heritage that doesn't simply belong or be claimed by specific group of people, nor even a country, but to a whole Southeast Asia under the establishment of regional cooperation called ASEAN. This article also aims to introduce components of ASEAN gastronomy and cuisine as a part of cultural diplomacy that promotes the concept "into a borderless Southeast Asian community". ASEAN values are also expected to introduce and encourage association if not assimilation, in its own intangible fortunes. ASEAN is a "potpourri" of ample size of cultures, because ASEAN itself is a "salad bowl" where every component is present to be a complimentary entity. The issue, regarding what considered as national or regional cuisine then sparked another ownership conflict in Southeast Asia, making it urgent to establish the concept of "ASEAN Cuisine" that binds various cuisines under the framework of shared cultural values.

Some cuisines are identified based on their historical background, as well as judged based on how far it could give significant cultural means. As an example, French cuisine gained its status as Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2011, as it could exhibit the social value of the process of serving food, starting from the preparation to the time when it indulged by many, both as hunger relief and mere recreation. Thus,

we could also propose Southeast Asian cuisine, along with its cultural and social value, to become shared food cultures that we could proudly introduce to the whole world, titled ASEAN cuisine. Moreover, in the future, the concept of ASEAN intimacy and solidarity could be as fluid and dynamic as the concept of Malay world during the age of commerce, so that it could contribute as the tip of transformation in regional and interstate diplomacy.

Problem Statement, Research Questions and Objectives

Each ASEAN countries has their own signature cuisines, but ASEAN as a whole regional cooperation is lacking of such awareness to establish certain uniqueness to put forward as a part of its global identity that could be rejoiced by the people of ASEAN and international world in general. The concept of acquiring such signature value has become an important, yet essential, in expressing mutuality that could be the initial step to reinvent the values of being parts of Southeast Asia and to promote ASEAN-ness among the members. Other than that, gastro-diplomacy is the recently highlighted once again as one of the mode in diplomacy that promotes a subtler and warmer kind of “dialogue”, and further associated to a new, high-end approach and negotiation. Food, or at least the very particular ingredients could represent the commonness in cultural bonds and historical background as it encourages the spirit of ASEAN.

However, ASEAN was deemed as a region too diverse. But, the question is, aren't every part in this world built based on inevitable diversity? Where's the fun in being all-time homogenous? Diversity might be an obstacle for the members of ASEAN, such as cultural difference, corresponding or contradicting historical background, variation of point of views, internal disparities, not-so-well bilateral relationship between some neighbouring states— but it should be embraced by respectful behaviour and the willingness to adapt. And, not to mention, one last obstacle remains: how much do you acknowledge your own “*saudara serumpun*”?

Thus, this article observed the obstacle further in several case studies gathered regarding both intended and unintended similarities in between various dishes and food in all over Southeast Asia to trace the cultural linkage back, to eventually be able to reinvent, rebrand, and reconsolidate the values in the ASEAN Way that introduces the region as a construction of mutual and prudential kinship that encourages *musyawarah mufakat* (a customary practices of consensus decision making in order to maintain stability).

However, noticing that determining one out of many extensive and culturally rich cuisine of Southeast Asia might be difficult, perhaps, it would be wiser to only materialize certain aspects of Southeast Asian cuisine that is exclusively related, homebred, or genuine, and only Southeast Asian could relate further, such as the consumption of rice from the wet rice agricultural system that could be found all across Southeast Asia, which is considered as the staple food of all Southeast Asian. Breakfast, lunch, and dinner; rice-based dishes could be found in every Southeast Asian table, whether it is accompanied by side dishes that contains proteins, fat, minerals, and vitamins, or processed further as appetizer, crackers/*kerupuk*, dessert, and even herbal drinks (*jamu*).

And, perhaps, the most important thing is not about establishing one single component as regionally accepted material culture in the shape of an intangible heritage, but the needs of acknowledging and respecting each other's similarities, for we are actually one nation, predestined to be culturally and historically diverse.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Sahlins (1990) expressed his concern about how the world perceive every goods produced in a very material way, or based on the economic value they possessed, instead of the cultural value that makes these goods materialized themselves in the social realm within the society. He explained further that what makes us perceive that dog meat is inedible, but beef, lamb, and chicken are edible is the sociocultural value that binds the society abstractly. Thus, the meaning of food as symbolic code in the society depends on how would a group of people in a community perceive or articulate it. Such meanings could be generated differently from time to time. Foodstuffs were once perceived based on the nutritious benefits it could provide, or following the trends that shifts accordingly with the diets of certain group of people. However, at the end, there was a need to perceive food based on how it gave us more meanings than just objects that satisfy hunger, the most basic driving factor of mankind activity, since appetite is somehow considered as an insatiable inclination.

Based on what Sahlins observed, we could understand that the rules within the codification of food as symbolic code was a part of the order of goods. These goods had transcended its initial meaning as mere staple objects into a part of cultural codes or signs that represent the interests and values of particular subjects, occurrences, functions, and situations. Thus, food as the output of production is seen as cultural reproduction that gives meaning to the people who perceived it beyond practical convention, including on how Southeast Asian perceive their food culturally so that it could materialize further as a code or sign that represents the region's interest and value.

However, it was an easy task to discover how Southeast Asian, which consists of ten countries under the establishment of ASEAN as its regional cooperation, perceives and materializes food as symbolic code or sign of their cultural interest and value. Koh Kheng-lian (2014) studied how complicated it was for the regional community to forge their identities to eventually establish ASEAN Cultural Heritage, since there had been strong nationalistic sentiments against the regionalism found in every member countries. Food could be one of the components proposed as Intangible Cultural Heritage that considered as one example of future promotional media to encourage the development of ASEAN identity among member countries, to consequently internalize the idea of what it's like to be a part of ASEAN.

Each member countries have their own uniqueness and strong sense of belongings toward their own identity. Therefore, there must be an effort to re-introduce the cultures of ASEAN as regionally shared values that could minimize friction and conflict among them. Koh (2014) also mentioned several examples of such conflicts, with traditional foods, dances, religious buildings, songs, as well as myths and epochs as variables, in his study about ASEAN's journey to fully embrace a common regional identity. This study gave an initial sequence for our article to reinvent the concept of ASEAN identity through the world of cuisine. Appadurai (in Koh, 2014) also stated that cultural values in ASEAN could also be seen as an aspect of political identity, than just mere abstraction of values.

Then, we have Lily Kong and her written thoughts on the nature of Southeast Asian cuisine that she deemed to be myriad, kaleidoscopic, and fascinating, due to the fact that we could relentlessly study and wholly understand the history, geography, politic, economy, and society of the region through its foods (*ASEANFocus*, 2019). According to her studies about Southeast Asian food heritage, she defined the heritage as the result of positive hybridisation of various influences that came across the region through many channels and from multiple levels. Such condition put the region to an endless contestation in search for the origin, authenticity, and further development of the food heritage. Besides, Kong also stated the urge of positioning food heritage as the part of diplomacy, within the framework of gastro-diplomacy that could promote cultural diplomacy that encourage the utilization

of soft power and nation branding as propelling and negotiating factor. However, as Kong had listed some in her writing, such cultural diplomacy and heritage awareness were currently and limitedly enhanced by several countries in Southeast Asia, such as Thailand and Malaysia, for tourism and attraction purpose only. In this article, we aim to discover wider reflection on how Southeast Asia could deal with the challenge of such complexity and richness, so that this article could promote a less problematic and contentious regional interconnectivity.

Otherwise, we could just simplify the discovery into a component of Southeast Asian cuisine that we could easily come across or identify in every Southeast Asian food, which is rice, according to Hayley Winchcombe's writings on how rice is the grain that binds Southeast Asia (2019). In her writings, Winchcombe elaborated the core meaning of rice as the staple food for Southeast Asian that consumed in many ways possible. Rice has more meanings than just providing satiety, subsistence, and stability, but also the trigger to community's recognition of Southeast Asian tradition and food security. Rice is more than just staple diet of the Southeast Asian, but also a commodity that has to compete with growing challenges and healthier trends or alternatives. Thus, Winchcombe concluded that rice is a part of the food tradition that has been the real entanglement of the people of Southeast Asia.

Discussing about how identity could be embodied in the world cuisine and culturally materialised in foods, this research aims to elaborate the Theory of Identity Fusion that gives clear definition about how human perceives personal and social self (Swann, et al., 2012). Swann defines identity fusion as an experience of a visceral feeling of oneness with a group, where the union with the group is so strong among highly fused persons that the boundaries, which ordinarily demarcate the personal and social self, become highly permeable in which the aspects of both the personal and social self can readily flow into the other (2012:441). According to Swann, et al., identity fusion is divided into two process of association, which are local and extended fusion. Local fusion is present in a rather smaller group of people, bounded by acquaintanceship and kinship relations, while extended fusion is practiced within a larger group of people who doesn't even have to have any personal relationship.

However, slightly different with what Swann, et al. were focusing, this article particularly highlight identity fusion that was referred by Durkheim as mechanical solidarity, or notion of communal sharing by Fiske, and group identification by Lewin (Swann, 2012:442), since this article simply wished to elaborate the process of human adaptation toward personal and social identity, within the concept of salience introduced by Stets and Burke (2000).

In Stets and Burke's concept of salience, an individual or a group of people is up against depersonalisation of self when he/she chooses to fuse his/her identity toward a larger affiliation. Such phenomenon was analysed to overlook on how would this individual or a group of people deal with a strong connection over a specific circle without losing his/her own integrity in between the personal and social self, in both macro and micro level, to eventually understand that a new identity could be generated from such fusion.

Unfortunately, in some cases given, we often find that in every identity fusion there must be an individual or a group of people who project a rather dominating behaviour toward the other individual or groups. It was deemed as the after-effect of globalization that encourage uniformity at any levels, generating a common preference, to the point where we were accustomed to self-identified ourselves, creating "othering" behaviour to foreign entities outside our notions. Therefore, by presenting cultural and historical background of our identity, we could be able to explore the sense of belongings and oneness in a different level that allows our personal and social selves to steer clear of the practice of identity alienation over

dominating and overbearing behaviour, which is very likely to be found in most regional assimilation.

Methodology

This article used historical method to reconstruct historical events, as well as to elaborate the findings and analysis made according to the sources gathered and interpreted. The research explored more on the qualitative aspects and data available. The method used in this article was meant to create a historical writing, according to Nevins (1938), as an integrated narrative or description of past events or facts, written in a spirit of critical inquiry, for the whole truth. Kuntowijoyo (2005) introduced four critical steps within the method; heuristic, critics, interpretations, and historiography, or the historical writing based on the reconstruction of facts gathered from various sources.

We managed to gather primary and secondary sources that provided us the preserved culinary tradition and the materialized culture of Southeast Asian gastronomy world through archival and newspaper studies, literature reviews, and field research. Those sources were then examined further within the step of critics, both externally and internally, to verify the validity and credibility of the sources. Thus, historians have the liberty to make interpretations based on the data and facts from the sources that had passed the examination in the previous step, to eventually reconstruct these interpretations into a historical writing, presented in a chronological, scientific, and objective manner.

How Much Do You Acknowledge Your “*Saudara Serumpun*”?

At glance, we always know that Southeast Asia has a lot of potential to be developed at any level of cooperation. The region is packed up with a lot of uniqueness, as well as peculiarity, due to its geographical, political, economical, and sociocultural components that constantly promotes “unity in diversity”. Or, if we might be so bold about it, we would like to rephrase the phrase into “brotherhood of diversity”. Prior to this, we have heard the term, or concept, of “*saudara serumpun*” in every occasion held or discussed to elaborate the real bonding and binding factor of the region. But, the question remains the same: are we “*saudara serumpun*”? Why does such repetitive action of introducing the intimacy of the region with the term “*saudara serumpun*” feel like it was being imposed to us, instead of being internalized as a subconscious reflection? The concept of “*saudara serumpun*”, or “blood brotherhood” as it was introduced by Liow (2010:1) simply referred to the relations between Indonesia and Malaysia, but the notion of kinship within the concept might be suitable to be applied further in the relationship of the countries in the Southeast Asia, under ASEAN as the associating agency that is fundamentally established to stir the sense of such brotherhood within its member countries.

According to Liow, this concept of brotherhood could be traced back through historical evidence, social interaction, and cultural development in the whole region from time to time; starting from the earliest age of Southeast Asian thrive in commerce that allows pre-colonial kingdoms, such as Sriwijaya, Majapahit, Malacca, Minangkabau, and Bugis-Makassar, to establish and expand their prowess, during the colonial era, and after the separately generated independence movements of Southeast Asian nation. Such interrelations and interactions between the contending entities in the region had shaped further notion that gave implication toward the historical and cultural development of each country, including on how they are actually related to one another as a single and mutual racial and ethnic group.

Thus, Southeast Asia had become a region of a loosely configured world, where the borders in between each political unit is also defined by cultural network, developing a rather fluid state of contingency that doesn't really add-up to modern

day configurations. The connection is somehow unrelated, and even disconnected at some level of acknowledgement, since the region had to cope within three stages of territorial, authority, and domain re-demarcating process; before, during, and after colonialism.

Capitalism marked as the new mode of breaking-and-entering multiple parochial limitations, promoting nationalism, and enabling conformity to take shape in the community by introducing the concept of shared-nation as a new way of life and thinking, all across Europe, the United States, and Japan in the era of Industrial Revolution. Move down below to the south, meet Southeast Asia: a region consists of various countries that didn't go through any industrial phase, for they got to be colonial subjects during the colonial era that soar high for centuries. Thus, the concept of nation-state boundaries were arbitrarily imposed and demarcated by the colonial overlords during that time (Embong, 2008). The boundaries set were simply redefining authoritative limitations, but leaving the historical and cultural connection as mere additional components, a garnish, in neighbouring relations. Little did they know that this loose ends are sparking endless and dragging confusion among the Southeast Asian who haven't seemed to found their shared identity as one solid region, even after 52 years of the establishment of ASEAN, as there were still a lot of internal disputes waiting to be sorted out.

Southeast Asia has ASEAN as its own regional fortress that had long been "the caretaker" of its ten members, especially on accommodating and supporting all of them countries to walk through two phases of regional-born nationalism; the anticolonial phase that led to struggles of independence and the post-independence phase that encourage movements of individual development. However, globalization had forced the already independent and sovereign states of Southeast Asia to reach a more modern state of living; the more demanding, as well as associating and articulating their personal, collective, and historical identities (Rajadurai, 2010:291).

As a social creature, human basically needs others; not to distinguish, nor even discriminate, but to embrace the sense of mutual engagement in a globalized, and even disruptive, world mechanism. To establish such mutual engagement, we need relatedness to stay intact, rootedness to stay grounded, identity to share, and orientation to focus on, as the sociocultural identity should be in a consistent loose, fluid, impermanent, and "recyclable" phase (Ong in Reid, 2014:xix).

To this time, economy and political domains are two major aspects being developed in ASEAN, not the sociocultural one. Saihoo in Anand (1981) considered the sense of rootedness could aspire people and communities all across the region to stimulate the sense of belonging and communality. Consciousness that binds two persons or groups of different cultures, be it in the same nation or in a regional association of several nations, is that they share common interest that promises mutual benefit (Saihoo in Anand, 1981:117). So, what's the mutual benefit that could be gathered? The answer is simple: culture, along with people-to-people contact tangling the weave. A long, continuous processes had shaped ASEAN countries – from the early post-colonial period, during the colonial subjugation, to the post-colonial and post-independence era – to generate a mutual way of life.

Such philosophical meaning is absolutely giving us the real feels of being Southeast Asian, coupled up with past experiences, such as colonialism, multiculturalism, and even the fearlessness of assembling a multiplatform regional cooperation. In the term of sociocultural domain, we manage to identify some components of the materialized culture that could be considered, and even reintroduced as shared cultural heritage, such as food and cuisines of Southeast Asia. This idea might sounds somewhat futuristic, but not too far away from being reflective. Because, in contrast to what previous research had gathered, we had elaborated several discussions that combine the values of art and culture as the backbone of sustainable regional brotherhood in this article.

In the term of discussing about food and cuisines of Southeast Asia, Koh Kheng-lian (2014) highlighted a strong antagonism between nationalistic and regional sentiments after Southeast Asian countries gained their independence and sovereignty. Each country had their own liberty to introduce and internalize the concept of nationalism to their respective citizens. Brown (1996) identified the negative impact of the familiarization of nationalism, which is the emerging of national identity that was based on a rather egocentric behaviour, as “ego”. Ego allows us to build a notion that we have genuine identities, which differentiate our own with others who are not having enough similarities with us, or even complete strangers. We create numbers of stereotype, related to the values within such identity, which makes us more prone to perceive ourselves as “the good us”, and consider the others as “the bad them”. This leads to a negative breed of nationalism. We personally discover this phenomenon as having similarity to the “Otherness” Theory, where an individual or a group of people acquire their identity through a process of approval and disapproval, as well as through negotiation toward other individuals. Hence, this individual or a group of people could determine their behaviour and perception to eventually distinguish themselves from others (Mead, 1934).

Therefore, there’s always be a need of distinguish between cultural nationalism and political nationalism or nationalism in general. Nationalism in general is often described as a nation way of life that encourages and ensures unity in the making, in terms of detaching ourselves from primordial constrains to become “the citizens of a nation” (Brown, 1996). Sooner or later, a country that promotes nationalism will eventually deal with the disrupted of ethnic-state relations. Such political nationalism, according to Brown, is laden with strong colonial or Western influence. Cultural nationalism is a sort of nationalism that should be imposed further within the nation of Southeast Asia that could generate a decent point of view to explore their pre-colonial history and tradition. Through this point of view, Southeast Asians could develop a new definition of nation-state – of what it’s like to be independent and sovereign – within the framework of plural coexistence. It also lessens the homogeneity formed in the society, for we could address the diversity as the excess of the phenomenon of cross-marriage, migration, interregional interaction as a part of shared values among Southeast Asians.

Koh (2014) gave us the idea of ASEAN as a “potpourri” of many cultures, while we would propose ASEAN as a “salad bowl” where every components of the dish could blend in and fit up one another, and then create a common regional identity. The identity consists of similar characteristic, values, norms, beliefs, as well as aspiration from all of the member countries, which could generate harmonious vision and mission for the regional association, sense of belonging, and considerate behaviour toward collective culture, history, beliefs, and civilization.

However, collective identity would be hard to establish and imply in a superficial degree where there are no such identity that is dominant enough to make the other identity, under the same framework, submitted to it. But, ASEAN is a completely diverse region where no authoritative units are more dominant or controlling, since every country in the region is making their own robust statements about themselves, making the complete achievement of more dominant group would never accomplished. Hence, Saihoo opted to chase on the feasibility of ASEAN culture to be the foundation of the awareness that the region is standing on the ground of rootedness, which was actually the primary element of the sense of communality and the sense of belonging. Saihoo defined both senses as the consciousness that binds two persons or groups of different cultures, be it in the same nation or in a regional association of several nations, is that they share common interest that promises mutual benefit (Saihoo in Anand, 1981).

At last, Appadurai (in Koh, 2014) mentioned that there would always be substantial differences, contrast, and comparison in the context of cultural

assimilation. Such matter should be responded by the willingness to mark on recognition, in spite of having inevitable tendency to “othering” others. Otherwise, in ASEAN, such problematic identification of identity in ASEAN could also be interpreted as the matter of either political identity or politics of identity.

Southeast Asia on the Table: the Quest of Regional Identity

The water and forest of Southeast Asia were two major elements that rule the life of the people. Both were blessed by the fertile soil and friendly monsoon wind, making the region known better as the “land below the wind”, where many enacted the so-called Mediterranean sea of the south-eastern part of Asia as a perfect and beneficial area of sojourn (Reid, 2014:4). However, culturally, the region was the home of diversity and historical rendezvous point that subconsciously exposed the region to cultural assimilation. But, the region maintained to have strong and rooted cultural and historical attachment by having such great tradition within the tributary and subsidiary mechanism.

The great tradition was belonged to not only one specific entity, but also the whole Southeast Asia, both in the mainland and the archipelago. It was passed down from one generation to another, from one political unit to others, and from one community to neighbouring communities. The spread of the tradition was also supported by the availability of commercial line that was established during the pre-colonial era of Southeast Asia, or the age of commerce, as Anthony Reid would identify, far before the arrival of colonial administration.

Based on these geographical and cultural measurements, Reid (2014:6) identified that the regional community had specific diets, such as the habit of consuming rice, fish, and palm tree based products. Ong (in Reid, 2014:xxi), stated that Anthony Reid, as an enthusiast in the Southeast Asian culture, had elaborated that rice is the staple foodstuff for Southeast Asian that is produced by a rather primitive, or simple, method of both wet and dry rice cultivation found throughout the region. Rice is consumed by lower, middle, and upper class of the society with various side dishes, such as fish from open seas, river streams, and even water ponds fishing, then followed chicken, beef, duck, or any other poultry and cattle products. Some other foods consumed daily was tropical fruits and vegetables, though the variety of fruits was a lot more substantial than the vegetable. However, instead of highlighting the richness of the taste and spice of the food, Reid explained the healthy composition that was maintained in the society, with constant consumption of natural foodstuffs, such as rice, palm sugar, coconut oil, tamarind, and *terasi* (shrimp paste).

There were some other notable sources of carbohydrate produced in the region, but the popularity and versatility of rice perhaps would be hard to replace. Entering the 15th century, as an example, almost every part of Southeast Asia could produce their own rice, and started adopting rice as the staple food, such as Indonesia, the Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, Brunei, and the peninsula area, though only certain unity with large possession of area could mass produce the rice, since the cultivation of rice requires extensive fields (Reid, 2014:26).

Esterik studies (2008) suggested that according to the historical sources available, we could not simply identify the Southeast Asia with any borrowed concepts of Western world, because the region was proven to be rich in diversity and deeply rooted to its own definitive cultural and historical structure. Thus, Esterik argued that the region had to declare its own concept of identification. In context with the quest on finding the signature food, dish, or cuisine of Southeast Asia, Esterik divided the region into two parts, mainland in the west and archipelago in the east, since both had different option and behaviour of consumption.

Moreover, Esterik also found that the character of Southeast Asian food culture wasn't just shaped by the daily food practice, practiced by the communities

inside the region, but also the capacity of these communities to feed others by sponsoring rice meals, ceremonies, and feasts, in order to gain some degree of prestige and status (2008:xxiv). The most interesting part was her findings on how rice played a notable and significant role in defining the key product of ASEAN cuisine, such as when a person utters his/her desire to “eat”, it automatically refers to “eat rice”, or rice is a dish served in a larger container where people usually take individual servings on separate plates, bowls, or leaves. Other than that, there was a piece of extreme and intriguing catchphrase that is very familiar to Indonesian, and perhaps some other countries around the peninsula, which was “*belum makan kalau belum makan nasi*”, meaning that having no rice for breakfast, lunch, and dinner means that none of us are eating properly.

Rice is the most staple and “exploited” commodity of the region that lays its base on the prowess of agricultural sector in Southeast Asia. Rice is often processed and prepared into noodles, flour, wine, paste, and even herbal drink to meet the increasing demand in the region. Rice also has particular meaning for the people of Southeast Asian, because traditionally, it was the personification of fertility, exuberance, and prosperity. Rice production has long been associated with myths and legends of ancient Southeast Asia, which is the sanctity of rice production and harvest, for it is believed that each stalks has a soul imposed upon. A successful rice production is believed to be blessed by rice goddesses, such as *Dewi Sri* in Indonesia, *Mae Po Sop* in Thailand, *Po Ino Nogar* in Cambodia, *Than Lua* in Vietnam, *Semangat Padi* in Malaysia, and *Kelah* in Myanmar (Winchcombe, 2019:39). Ceremonies were also held to celebrate stages of cultivation. By that mean, rice has become more than just a product of subsistence agricultural effort, but a shared cultural heritage of all Southeast Asian.

However, we also found the difference between the rice cooked and consumed in Southeast Asia and the rice that is cooked in all over Asia. Rice in Southeast Asia uses blends of spices and herbs as seasonings that could only be found and produced within the region itself. According to the research conducted by Esterik (2008), we managed to make a list of seasonings used in most of Southeast Asian creation toward their rice, such as: salt, white pepper, basil, cardamom, cinnamon, cloves, coriander, galangal, lemongrass, mace, nutmeg, *pandan* leaves, turmeric root, and sometimes coconut too.

The meat of the mature coconut, usually identified to have brownish colour, is grated into softly shredded pieces, and then squeezed to juice out rich and savoury milk, a bit thicker than the regular milk. It could also be further processed as coconut cream, which is a lot more condensed, or combined with palm sugar to produce a rich and creamy flavour for desserts. Esterik found both type of coconut products are rarely used in Chinese dishes, or Asian cuisine at large. Similar to rice, coconut is one of the examples of versatile foodstuffs of Southeast Asia, since we could utilized it as incorporating ingredients and condiments to various Southeast Asian foods and drinks.

Various dishes could be found as the example of creations from rice, such as *nasi uduk*, *nasi lemak*, *nasi katok*, *bai sach chrouk*, *nasi tumpeng*, *nam khao tod*, *mohinga*, *pho*, *arroz caldo*, *khao mun ghai*, *ketupat*, and many more (JSIS, 2018) that could be consumed for breakfast, lunch, and dinner. Several other unique dishes of Southeast Asia are *ngoh hiang*, *otak-otak*, *rendang*, *satay*, *laksa*, *bakuteh*, *banh mi*, cabbage salad (Asian coleslaw), *kolak*, *rujak*, peanut sauce, *asinan* (pickled vegetables), *kway teao*, sour soup, and durian (foodnetwork.com).

Southeast Asian food is also served as “family style” meals that absolutely escape the concept of Western three-course meal, since all the dishes are set on the table, all at once. The rice is usually served with proteins, could be fish, chicken, beef, pork, tofu and tempeh, or mushroom as an option for vegetarians, sautéed vegetables or broth-based soup, and at last coconut, bean, or fruit-based desserts (foodnetwork.com). in 2013, eight ASEAN member countries, except Brunei and

Singapore, made into the top ten list of rice consuming nations per capita (Winchcombe, 2019:38).

Reinventing, Rebranding, and Reconsolidating the ASEAN Way of Appreciation

Moving on to the recent attempts on searching and establishing food heritage as a component of identity of the region, Kong (2019) referred it as an attempt that had been contested through time, occurred in many levels. It was highly contested in between migrant communities that are politically divided by state boundaries. The flows of people and their identity in the past were no longer allowed in the context of the modern world. Several dishes belonged to the *peranakan* cuisine were constantly claimed over neighbouring countries, such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore in the peninsula. Such contestation was also visible over the nature of gastronomic world to influence and be influenced one another, making the fusion of culture inevitable in the far globalized world. We were aware of the consequences of globalization where it is natural for identity fusion to happen in order to establish uniformity of taste and preferences, so this perhaps could be the reason why it is real hard to discover one specific Southeast Asian dish as food heritage.

However, it is also important to establish a food heritage in the framework of regional cooperation. 52 years had passed, and yet ASEAN countries are still struggling to come across each other's identity or to establish an open-minded consideration toward various similarities among them. The establishment of food heritage wouldn't only beneficial for tourism purpose, as Kong stated in her writings, but also to develop gastro-diplomacy as one of modern modes of diplomacy in a contemporary context. Gastro-diplomacy offers not only soft approach of regional disputes and quarrelling nature of several neighbouring countries, but also a part of regional branding, in order to discover such remarkable diversity presented by the thriving region. Kong concluded her writing with a statement that by discovering food heritage, the region could present the richness of historical, geographical, political, economical, social, and of course cultural values to many. The variety of preference and point of view amongst Southeast Asian was deemed to be the reason why the region could be forever strategic for further engagement.

Studying Koh's attempts on establishing the concept of "ASEAN Cuisine", we found it difficult to formulate one single dish or cuisine that could represent the whole region as a shared cultural values, because this dish or cuisine should harbour the key values and representative notion that describes Southeast Asia as a whole entity, not to mention that the dish or cuisine will have to shift its general meaning from the unshared property to shared food culture that could be introduced further as the opulence of the Southeast Asia or the traditional ASEAN gastronomy. Furthermore, such shared food culture could deliver the means of gastronomic diplomacy that punctuate on how our taste buds could spark oblivious memories or the soon-to-be-rusting spirit of "*saudara serumpun*" (Kompas, 29 November 2015). Several component is certain; uniqueness, specialty, particular taste that could generate particular feelings, and mutual regards.

In search of the food heritage as a part of cultural identity that could bind the region, we have to perceive the food heritage as a symbolic entity that represents all Southeast Asia. Referring to Sahlins (1990) concept of analysing food as symbolic code, to give certain values toward an item, we had to understand the whole sociocultural purpose or significance of the item, aside of its economical value, or any other values that were usually attached to it. Southeast Asia had its own way to value the item they were producing and consuming, such as the recognition of the sanctity of rice cultivation, the attachment toward rice as staple food, and the urge to preserve the tradition of rice preparation.

It was the initial way of the Southeast Asian in inventing, branding, and consolidating the value of an item. From this point of view, the item was then

transformed into something more than just a part of chain of production, but carried out as a code, sign, or identity that marks their concern over certain event, function, and situation. Sahlins also added that the production of the item, referred as a thing that could give meanings and signs, is a constant reproduction of culture in the materialized world.

Thus, there's an urgent need to reinvent, rebrand, and reconsolidate the means of being ASEAN, the "Think ASEAN" movement, and the values that could boost ASEAN-ness. Koh (2014:239) presented two types of branding of ASEAN Cultural Heritage; (1) the branding of ASEAN Heritage, a heritage that could be found in all ASEAN member countries (stated in the ASEAN Declaration on Cultural Heritage); and (2) the branding of elements of shared/merged culture that cut across two or more ASEAN member countries. According to the declaration, food belongs to the intangible popular cultural heritage.

Koh, through her writing, proposed ASEAN cuisine to be recognized as Intangible Cultural Heritage under the declaration. She proposed the idea that ASEAN should recognize cuisines shared across the region, even though a particular dish may have originated somewhere outside Southeast Asia and Southeast Asian culture (2014:241). In a bit contrast to Koh's writing, this article proposes rice as the "reinvented" element of shared or merged culture amongst Southeast Asian countries, especially the member countries of ASEAN. Thus, rice could be rebranded and reconsolidated as one of ASEAN shared cultural values.

Such recognition is getting more important as there have been various concerns toward the matter of food security in Southeast Asia. The effect of modernization has promoted more than generalized taste and preference, healthier diet, but also the increasing number of farmers' urbanizations to adopt city living (Winchcombe, 2019:39-41). Thus, other than the urge of establishing an elemental identity that could shape better relation of ASEAN member countries under the spirit of one-ness, we should also consider the emerging issue of food security. As a region that consumes rice as staple food, it is important for ASEAN countries to invest more attention toward the issue, as Winchcombe (2019) stated that rice is not just a source of sustenance, but also an enduring tie that binds Southeast Asians together as both a source of their life and a cradle of their traditions.

Conclusion

As a social creature, human basically needs others; not to distinguish, nor even discriminate, but to embrace the sense of mutual engagement in a globalized, and even disruptive, world mechanism. To establish such mutual engagement, we need relatedness to stay intact, rootedness to stay grounded, identity to share, and orientation to focus on. These, perhaps could be the beginning of shaping mutual understanding that generates a more harmonious way of life; two main ideas of becoming one from many.

To this time, economy and political domain are two major aspects being developed and in ASEAN, not the sociocultural one. Saihoo in Anand (1981) considered the sense of rootedness could inspire people and communities all across the region to stimulate the sense of belonging and communality. Consciousness that binds two persons or groups of different cultures, be it in the same nation or in a regional association of several nations, is that they share common interest that promises mutual benefit (Saihoo in Anand, 1981:117). So, what's the mutual benefit that could be gathered? The answer is simple: culture, along with people-to-people contact tangling the weave. A long, continuous processes had shaped ASEAN countries – from the early post-colonial period, during the colonial subjugation, to the post-colonial and post-independence era – generated a mutual way of life.

Such philosophical meaning is absolutely giving us the real feels of being Southeast Asian, coupled up with past experiences, such as colonialism,

multiculturalism, and even the fearlessness of assembling a multiplatform regional cooperation. Thus, rice as staple food could be one of many intangible material cultures that could promote interstate network and hospitality within the community of Southeast Asia, under ASEAN, especially when rice is positioned as a shared heritage. This idea is somehow futuristic, but not too far away from being retrospective. Because, in contrast to what previous research had gathered, we are trying to elaborate several discussion that combines the values of art and culture as he backbone of the sustainability of regional brotherhood in this article.

Today, Southeast Asia is under open and loose circumstances. Everything could change the way ASEAN move forward. Then, we believe that it is important to make a net across so many scattered memories in the region, in the means of tying up all the loose ends. Rice could be one of the components that could encourage the sense of belongings in the Southeast Asia to soar up through such philosophical meanings mentioned above.

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ROLE OF SONGS IN UNDERSTANDING DIVERSITY TOWARDS AND ENRICHING WE-NESS IN ASEAN

Linda Sunarti¹, Ninny Susanti Tejowasono², Hanafi Hussin³, Azhar Ibrahim Alwie⁴, Noor Fatia Lastika Sari¹, R. Cecep Eka Permana², Abdurakhman¹

¹History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

²Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

³Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
University of Malaya

⁴Department of Malay Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National
University of Singapore

(sunartilinda70@gmail.com; noorfatials@gmail.com)

Abstract

Music is one of many intangible cultural heritages that could be claimed for its ownership. In the context of Southeast Asia, music – as a part of performing arts and cultural channel – has been internalized long enough in the Malay world around the peninsula. Some of the popular songs are even becoming genuine reflections of particularities of Southeast Asia that are satisfyingly great to be studied and elaborated further. Thus, by highlighting popular songs trending in Southeast Asia, this article aims to provoke and ignite the spirit of “We-ness” in familiarizing ASEAN in our heart, mind, and soul. This article analyses specifically on how songs could bring the sense of belongings, or attachment, which could give natural implications toward sociocultural aspects in Southeast Asia. The attachment toward various Malay song could bring different implications that depends on the sense of ownership that arises from multiple Southeast Asian countries who boldly feel and claim over the song that they believe are a part of their culturally materialized identity. Perhaps, it is just the right time to embrace a whole new process– of how to be a part of ASEAN, with mutual understandings that we are one single entity in the region of Southeast Asia. By adopting the sense of being ASEAN, we could proudly claim the song through a different way, such as “Yes, it is Southeast Asian folk song that has philosophical and sentimental meaning for us, Southeast Asians”, which means that this song has represented hospitality and solidarity of our region.

Keywords: *songs, intangible heritage, diversity, enrichment, we-ness, ASEAN-ness.*

Introduction

Music is one of many intangible cultural heritages that could be claimed for its ownership. In the context of Southeast Asia, music – as a part of performing arts and cultural channel – has been internalized long enough in the Malay world around the peninsula. Some of the popular songs are even becoming genuine reflections of particularities of Southeast Asia that are satisfyingly great to be studied and elaborated further.

However, the claim of ownership in the context of neighbouring countries could lead to such emotional-based conflicts that are keep on happening due to the fact that there are still no sufficient effort to encourage people-to-people contact, or the communities of one region. The lack of mutual understanding that triggered the conflict needs to be corrected psychosomatically, because it has been grinding over the concept of becoming one regional community under ASEAN; the goals of our time. Thus, by highlighting the folk and traditional music trend in Southeast Asia, this

article aims to provoke and ignite the spirit of “We-ness” in familiarizing ASEAN in our heart, mind, and soul.

In any discussion about music, we will required to discuss more than just the way it sounds or the lyrics to sing along. We examine every component profoundly, starting from the creator and his/her copyright, creative process, instruments, to how the music is delivered to the eardrums of melody connoisseur everywhere in this ever-changing world. Furthermore, this article analyses specifically on how popular Malay songs in the Southeast Asia could bring the sense of belongings, which in the case of the region, could give natural implications toward sociocultural aspects.

However, unlike many past researches that focused on criticizing or scrutinizing the conflict among Southeast Asian countries, this article wouldn't go far beyond retrospective point of view, to the point where we are recounting past ownership conflicts in the region, especially those happened between Indonesia and Malaysia that generated a full blown and frontal hostility toward each other.

Flashing on Ismail (2009) on his recent writing about Geylang Serai in Geylang District, Singapore that is culturally established as an area where Malay Muslim in Singapore could gather and make dwellings peacefully. It was then immortalized in a popular song in the 1960s, titled “*Di Waktu Petang di Geylang Serai*”/An Afternoon at Geylang Serai”. Geylang Serai is an ethnic quarter that has been the home for Malay Muslim communities in Singapore, years after the disbandment of Malay Federation in 1965. In the process of becoming a modern nation-state, Singapore recognized four main ethnic groups as the components adding to the composition of the society; Chinese, Malay, Indian, and Others (CMIO). Malay ethnic group is a minority, since Chinese Singaporeans are dominating a little more. Malay ethnic group in Singapore said to be migrants from Java, Boyan (Bawean), Aceh, and Bugis; parts of modern day Indonesia.

The name Geylang Serai is said to be derived from the addition of word “serai” that referred to the openings of citronella's plantation in the area of Kallang Basin, while the word “Geylang” itself represents the word in Malay language, meaning “*gelang*” or bracelet. However, some sentimental thoughts are coming to the surface and stating that Geylang means “*kampong*” (village), “hometown visit”, or “a place to call home”. This sentimental thought then takes us straight back to one Malay folk song that basically mentions the word “Geylang” and inviting every Malay people all around the world to come home to Geylang.

The attachment of the traditional Malay song could bring different implications that depends on the sense of ownership that arises from multiple Southeast Asian countries who boldly feel and claim over the song that they believe are a part of their songs. Personally, in Indonesia, we recognize the song as one of many traditional folk songs that we were so used of hearing when we were just kids, a song titled *Gelang, Sipatu Gelang*, whose creator are no longer could be traced even further. Such traditional relation that we found doesn't necessarily urged us to make claim upon or considering selfishly over the song as our own, but instead we would like to make vivid and rational explanation of the context through this article.

Other than that, to bring the issue upon a more contemporary notion, it took us by surprise that several popular songs in Indonesia were also gaining the same and even more popularity in most parts of Southeast Asia, which are the song titled “Madu dan Racun” by Bill and Brod and Minangnese folk song titled “Tak Tun Tuang”. It is highly interesting that both songs are being performed, remixed, and even reproduced in Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, Myanmar, and Vietnam with each respective language.

In generating such explanation, we need to observe the context of its origin. Basically, it goes all the same with multiple cultural components that is “created” or “established” in the different temporal concept, way long before the concept of modern nation-state is presented with all of its jurisdictions, as well as restriction. Through such perspective, we don't have to necessarily claim over the song,

because we are so getting used to listen to it, so that we have the initial right to be the “owner” of the song and accuse our neighbour of stealing something that is not even theirs. Does that make it yours, as well? No. That’s why.

Human is a growing and developing creature. He/she will eventually undergo many processes in life through experience and education he/she got during his/her lifetime. Thus, perhaps, it is just the right time to embrace a whole new process; of how to be a part of ASEAN, with mutual understandings that we are one single entity in the region of Southeast Asia. By adopting the sense of being ASEAN, we could proudly claim the song through a different way, such as “Yes, it is Southeast Asian folk song that has philosophical and sentimental meaning for us, Southeast Asians.”, which means that this song has represented hospitality and solidarity of our region.

At the end, whenever you hear a song or a string of notation being played, with or without lyrics, we could identify that as something that belongs to ASEAN. At this time, with this point of view, we believe that primordial ego is something that is way too primitive, as it could only promote narrow-mindedness and over-the-top exclusiveness. So, we believe we don’t have to hear or read another question, such as “Whose song is this? Mine or yours?”, because we believe that it’s ours.

Problem Statement, Research Questions and Objectives

Music is a universal way of delivering anything that comes straight to the mind of its creator, and music is also the representation of moods, feelings, or energy that surrounds the thoughts of its listener. The music you hear, that flows right to both of your ears are coming from the combination and composition of seven musical notes that construct particular, and even more peculiar, philosophical, and sentimental meanings, especially when it comes to folk and traditional songs that have been passed down through generations. However, at some points, the emotional bond over certain songs should be corrected psychosomatically, because sometimes such musical genres are belonged to a rather universal domain, as we couldn’t be one hundred per cent sure about who’s creating what for whom? Thus, this article aims to present songs as the uniting component of Southeast Asia in the context of ASEAN, for there have been numerous similarities and acknowledgement that are needed to be clarified further.

This article would analyse the development of popular Malay music in Southeast Asia by providing the general information about how Southeast Asians perceive their identity through music from time to time, as well as how music was rejoiced as the matter of entertainment and culture. We took the recent work by Ismail as the case study of this article, which song titled “Geylang Serai” gave sentimental meanings toward Southeast Asian, based on the folk song titled “Geylang Sipaku Geylang”, to eventually acknowledge other examples of such philosophical construction. Then, we introduced music beyond folk and traditional songs, which is a song titled “Madu dan Racun” and “Tak Tuang” that belongs to the contemporary world of pop music culture, within the highly trending digital platform with multinational access.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

In his writings about Geylang Serai District in Singapore, Rahil Ismail (2009) expressed the popularity of a cultural hub that linked all Malay Moslem in Singapore after the disbandment of Malay Federation in 1965. This warm and ethnically firm district was eternalized in two songs; a contemporary one titled “Di Waktu Petang di Geylang Serai” and a traditional one titled “Geylang Sipaku Geylang”. This song marked as an example on how song could play an integrating factor in binding the cultural components of Southeast Asia that has been loosely fitted, for it was constructed over diversity. We would like to take on the sentimental effect of the

songs that is believed to have certain effect on promoting the ASEAN values, or the sense of ASEAN-ness among the people of Southeast Asia. Ismail's work is important, for it gave such simple yet sophisticated framework, for this research to delve deeper on the folk musical genre of Southeast Asia.

Other than that, this research also highlighted the need of conserving and preserving orally transmitted cultural heritage, such as songs and poetry. Not only in the means of preserving the existence of such particular piece of art, but also to make reflection toward its position within the cultural realm of Southeast Asia, especially on how it would shape the identity of Southeast Asian in the future and how they would engage with one another with such identity as the capital of social interaction (Waterson, 2015).

Past disputes are somehow unforgettable, so we chose Chong Jinn-winn's work (2012) regarding the overrated dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia over several objects of shared cultural heritage. This article brought us back to the era where there was supposed to be a clear idea of Indo-Malay Blood Brotherhood, which should be adopted by both neighbouring countries, but unfortunately perceived as nothing more than just irrational competitions between brothers with their own thoughts and stereotypes. Numerous cases, including the dispute over the ownership of folk and traditional songs should be assessed through the concept of Malay World that Chong tried to explain here in his article.

At last, we also took Arsenio Nicolas' work (2019) into account to understand how important traditional music for the contemporary world of Southeast Asia was. In his writings, Nicolas accentuated that music supports cross-cultural and interregional exchanges that transcend both natural and political boundaries (2019:12). Music is also a channel of expression that contains the history and our entire cultural legacy. Many ideas were parenthesized within musical creation, establishing a deep and philosophical meaning for the people of Southeast Asia that we would like to study further through this article.

Discussing about how songs could play the role as a component of identity, this research utilized the Theory of Identity Fusion that gives clear definition about how human perceives personal and social self (Swann, et al., 2012). Swann defines identity fusion as an experience of a visceral feeling of oneness with a group, where the union with the group is so strong among highly fused persons that the boundaries, which ordinarily demarcate the personal and social self, become highly permeable in which the aspects of both the personal and social self can readily flow into the other (2012:441). There are two types of fusion; first is the local fusion where people develop personal relations among closely related community or acquainted relatives in a small group, while second is extended fusion where people engage themselves in a larger group of people that is composed of many individual where they have no personal relationship with.

This theory of identity fusion is parallel with Durkheim's mechanical society, Fiske's notion of communal sharing, and Lewin's group identification, but less similar to Turner's spontaneous communities or Whitehouse's mode of religiosity (Swann, 2012:442) because an individual or party wouldn't simply risk their personal identity or self in order to adopt a social identity that encourage him/her to blend in to the community. In other words, an individual would allow him/herself to become a "subordinate", only if there were more salient and influential others that could present themselves as a more dominating, yet subjugating entity.

Ideally, the nature of identity fusion could urge the sense of belonging and togetherness, or affiliation, toward certain group of people, so that there would be no boundaries between personal and social self. Identity fusion could promote such strong connection that does not adjacently diminish the integrity of either self (Swann, 2012:443). However, in reality, a more dominant person would forcefully projects him/herself to the entire member of the group. From such point of view,

there will be a certain inclination of a group of subordinate people to follow the dominant one, leading to alienation of either self.

In the period of massive globalization during the earliest year of the 21st century, identity fusion or fused identity was the result of various attempts of uniformity, in order to set a convenient and predictable global preference. People went depersonalised (Stets & Burke, 2000:214), and then “forced” to declare allegiance toward either personal or social domain, but fail to comply with both altogether in many levels. The people who had become fused were remained fused, and perhaps this is the consequence of not considering cultural and historical rootedness (Swann, 2012:444). Thus, this article, according to the concept of salience by Stets and Burke, aims to explore “self” in both macro and micro level, where people could eventually experience complacency and higher self-esteem when associated with certain groups or communities (2000:234).

Methodology

This article utilized the theory of history by R.G. Collingwood, which is the process of reflecting and re-enacting past experiences to prepare for the future, or to actualize historical findings in contemporary context. The method used in this paper is the method of historical writings, or *Historiography*, by Kuntowijoyo (2005) that consists of four steps to be achieved, according to the spatial and temporal limitation toward the theme of research.

The steps are heuristic, critics (both internal and external critics), interpretation, and the historiography itself. First, heuristic is the process of obtaining sources related to the topic of this paper, both primary or secondary sources, such as governmental archives, books, journals, and newspaper. This step is very crucial to this research, since historical writing relies heavily on the variety and number of sources available. In this research, we managed to collect data from literature reviews, archival and newspaper studies, as well as preliminary field research. Second, we examine all of the sources by giving critics that review the credibility and the reliability of the sources. Third, all of the credible and reliable sources are analysed and interpreted correspondingly, in order to establish new findings and analysis to be reconstructed objectively in the next step. Finally, we reconstruct a whole new systematic and comprehensive historical writing, based on the sources available and the interpretation given toward them.

Southeast Asian Songs as Cultural Heritages and Its Sentimental Meanings

It wasn't easy for Southeast Asian countries to re-develop their senses of belonging after many cases of clash and dispute over various cultural heritages and history. From the dispute over particular claims of ownership regarding each other's songs, dances, foods, clothes, and many other materialized culture and arts, to a full-blown confrontation over unilateral claims over the sovereignty of its land and sea; both successfully generated quite frontal hostilities in between those countries. Many times around, these countries, including the organisation of the region that should be able to put certain leverage on the disputes, failed to develop a long lasting, yet effective and forceful solution.

Chong Jinn-winn (2012) in his article highlighted the case of 2007's Malaysian tourism campaign using the folk song “Rasa Sayange”, a song claimed by Indonesians to be originated from Maluku, Indonesia. The song was featured in the campaign, and then triggered further observation from Indonesian government. Malaysia fell under the accusation of stealing cultural icon of its neighbour. The relationship then gradually turned sour as Indonesia started to scrutinize every movement Malaysia took for its cultural and tourism campaign. Such suspicious behaviour from Indonesia led to a developing prejudice that Malaysia would

eventually come up with another claims that were believed to be the material culture of Indonesia.

Two years after the clash over the song, various problems arose, such as the appearance of *pendet* dance in an advertisement regarding Malaysian tourism aired in *The Discovery Channel Asia-Pacific*, ownership claim over the art in *batik, wayang kulit, keris, gamelan, rendang, angklung*, and even resenting indictment that Malaysian national anthem, “Negaraku”, was a result of the act of plagiarism toward Indonesian folk song titled “Terang Bulan”. The last one mentioned was the most provocative indictment, since it was clear that “Terang Bulan” was also a piece of French sailors’ ditty who once sailed the Pacific Ocean, composed by Pierre-Jean de Béranger, and reached the region during the age of commerce (Koh, 2014:238). The historical, but out of context, slogan of “Ganyang Malaysia” (Crush Malaysia) was even brought back by pro-Indonesian protesters during a highly emotional anti-Malaysia movement throughout the year.

However, in this part, we would also like to highlight Chong’s thought about the overlapping cultures that materialized and embodied in various works of art and culture, which had caused such confrontation. Other than the case between Indonesia and Malaysia, Chong also analysed similar disputes found between Cambodian and Thailand over the *jeeb* dance gesture, or between Malaysia and Singapore over *laksa, bakuteh*, and Hainanese chicken rice (2012:4-5). The question is, why do such commotions couldn’t stop bothering these Southeast Asian countries? Furthermore, why did nobody put some willingness to initiate corrective action to the misunderstandings? Perpetual and insoluble; two adjectives, intertwining with each other, that could obviously define the situation.

If Croissant and Trin (2009:25-26) perceived the conflict to be a deep-rooted, profound, and resistant to de-escalation strategies one, then we have to examine it as beyond mere contemporary disputes, and start to analyse it based on the roots that has been the binding Southeast Asia: culture and history. To elaborate it further, we have to understand that pre-colonial communities all across Southeast Asia had to deal with the modernization they didn’t get to expect before. As an integral part of the colony, they are re-shaped into a more heterogenic, diverse, and borderless society through the concept of “re-invented community”. These re-invented communities are groups of people in the usual structure of a modern nation-state, but able to cross beyond formal barriers (cross-bordering), and still have their attachment on historical background, characteristic, interest, interaction, networks, and purposes in the framework of tradition and history. This cross-bordering phenomenon is related to the post-colonial separation of Southeast Asian states where declarations of independence disconnected juridical attachment between various cross-bordering communities, but not their traditional linkage. Two domains were established during these crucial phase; political and sociocultural domain, which later grew to a different lane of trajectories.

Thus, we wouldn’t carry the solution that encourage Southeast Asian to simply leave their ethnocentric behaviour and adopt a global point of view to see the world as a bigger picture, because perhaps the lack of mutual understanding and the increasingly gapping regional discrepancies are the irons in the fire. The issue lies beneath the overly globalized Southeast Asia with its clustered development. Thus, would it be too difficult or complicated to rediscover our history in order to gain knowledge for our future legacy? As according to Liow, the basis of such regionally bound conflict is the inability to contain fundamental differences in their respective historical experiences and the forging of their national identity (2005:3).

Moving on to the main subject of this research, song is a part of musical creation that consist of the arrangement of musical notes, produced by musical instruments, lyrics, and the *raison d’etre* of its creation, embedded by the songwriter to be experienced accordingly by public. Suditomo, et al. (in Chong, 2012) had managed to formulate the contested heritage items, such as musical instruments,

patterned fabric and cloth, dance, music and songs, weapons and instruments of war, ancient texts, foods and beverages, and puppetry. Therefore, song couldn't be perceived as a part of entertainment only, but also a cultural heritage that pronounce identity of a certain individual, and even a group of people.

Thus, enlisting claims over certain cultural heritage, in the term of the overlapping cultural world of Southeast Asia, was never been a good idea as it promotes exclusive sentiments. Traditional and folk song is eligible to be registered as Intangible Cultural Heritage of UNESCO, while other genre of songs could be registered as Intellectual Property, but it doesn't make it exclusively belong to one specific party. The items registered as Intangible Cultural Heritage are discoverable and allowed to be rejoiced by the society at large, including to be passed down through generations, as well as cross-communities (Chong, 2012:31). Contemporary items, including contemporary songs that are registered as intellectual property, in the other hand, are also available to be benefited and modified by many. Hence, such registrations only offer the premises that all of those items should be utilized and put to function in a decent way.

Suryadinata (2005) put a flash on the diversity of ASEAN as a unique "selling point" of the region to approach UNESCO to safeguard and promote various Intangible Cultural Heritages belonged to the communities inside of the region that could be enjoy, used, reproduced, and commoditized as shared element of cultures. As the regional cooperation, ASEAN should be a bit bolder in facilitating historical and cultural dialogues to internalize the spirit of regional interconnectivity, based on the ASEAN Way and the initial account of why the organisation was established at the first time. After decades of its establishment, ASEAN is still on its quest in searching for collective regional identity that could bridge member countries and promote kinship pride. At last, we know that it is going to be more of a sprint, than a marathon, for ASEAN to fulfil its 2020's Vision.

The moment of ASEAN Declaration on Cultural Heritage in 2000 could also be recalled from the memory lane to explain that ASEAN do have responsibility in developing, enhancing, and promoting the ASEAN identity through shared material culture and cultural items, as well as the history of ASEAN countries to each member possible, although the 2000's declaration itself still appeared to be very bleak and abstract, whether it would roll as stimulating agent of ASEAN-ness or solely provide the platform for each ASEAN countries to conserve their own cultural heritages.

Aside of the explanations and arguments mentioned above, songs, in a more contemporary domain, belong to the public as collective memory that preserve the *zeitgeist*. Thus, its existence relies heavily on the ability of the community to conserve their memories in both written and unwritten expression. An example is found in an effort to immortalize the memory of a district in Singapore by attributing in to a popular song in the 1960s, titled "*Di Waktu Petang di Geylang Serai/An Afternoon at Geylang Serai*" (Ismail, et al., 2009). Geylang Serai is an ethnic quarter that has been the home for Malay Muslim communities in Singapore, years after the disbandment of Malay Federation in 1965. Other than that, it was also associated with a traditional Malay song titled "*Geylang Sipaku Geylang*". Personally, in Indonesia, we recognize the song as one of many traditional folk songs that we were so used of hearing when we were just kids, a song titled "*Gelang, Sipatu Gelang*", whose creator are no longer could be traced even further.

According to the nature of identity fusion, such similarities found should be able to urge the sense of belonging and togetherness, or affiliation, toward certain group of people, so that there would be no boundaries between personal and social self, brewing strong connection that does not adjacently diminish the integrity of either self (Swann, 2012:443). Saliency, according to Stets and Burke (2000) allows people to eventually experience complacency and higher self-esteem when associated with certain groups or communities. Hence, such relation, or similarity, we found in the case mentioned above doesn't necessarily urged us to make claim upon

or considering selfishly over the song as our own, but allows us to acknowledge it as a shared material culture as an embodiment of the spirit of oneness of Southeast Asia under the regional cooperation named ASEAN.

Perhaps, “Madu dan Racun” Would Sounds Better with You (?)

Indonesian pop music’s popularity soar up during the decade of 1980s, since plenty of influences could freely penetrate the country after the New Order establishment finally lift the ban on popular western music, implemented by Soekarno in 1959-1967. Several songs are produced to fulfil the need of domestic music industry, but melancholy songs evidently ruled every chart, until the Minister of Information, Harmoko, expressed his despise toward such popular love songs by considering these songs as a mood-crippling song (Kompas, 21 August 1989, “Kecengengan Itu Sebaiknya Direm”). Furthermore, he described the phenomenon of rising number of melancholy songs as relentless, useless, and exaggerated lamentation of discouragement that boast on household rifts and whiny things, which wasn’t really relevant to the spirit of the decades that encourage active participation in the surge of development (Matanasi, 2019).

However, in the middle of the soaring popularity of domestic melancholic and western pop and rock songs, we discover a rather cheerful, yet lighter composition that represented youthful love, performed by a group of five named Bill & Brod, titled “Madu dan Racun” (Honey and Poison). However, this song didn’t simply catch our attention at first, since it was no longer popular in Indonesia, even though various artist and musicians conducted numerous attempts on rearranging and reproducing the song. It caught us by surprise that the song was constantly gaining its popularity in all across Southeast Asia, played and broadcasted in various platform and occasions. The song was performed by Vietnamese street musician, using Vietnamese traditional music instruments, around the highly visited tourism spot of Ha Long Bay, Vietnam. The lyrics were translated into Khmer, Burmese, and Vietnamese and performed in a very graceful and observant way that depicts the narrative statement of the song. The song was also played during a line dance performance in Kuantan, Malaysia.

According to The Garland Encyclopaedia of World Music (2017), Indonesia’s mainstream pop got its influence from western pop that promotes simple melodies and rhythms provided by contemporary musical instruments, such as guitars and electric keyboards. Such identification could be found in “Madu dan Racun”, written and composed by Arie Wibowo (the lead vocal of the group) and Jonathan Purba, released and performed by Bill & Brod in 1985, under the label of Ria Cipta Abadi Records, and as the opening song of the whole album that was also titled “Madu dan Racun” (Baihaqi, 2009). The song started with a rather catchy tone, swung us by witty lyrics for almost three and a half minutes, presented by the quintet that consists of Arie Wibowo as lead vocalist/guitarist/bassist/arranger, Nyong Anggoman as pianist/keyboardist/violist, Rully as drummer, and Wawan Konikos and Kenny Damayanti as back singers. The lyrics of the song expressed the feeling of a man’s uncertainty toward a woman, for she had been giving him some kind of mixed signals that made him went beyond clueless this whole time (The Garland Encyclopaedia of World Music, 2017):

Engkau yang cantik	You are so beautiful
Engkau yang manis	You are so sweet
Engkau yang manja	You are very spoiled

Selalu tersipu	Always that bashful
Rawan sikapmu	Your spirit tender
Di balik kemelutmu	Behind your uncertainty

Di remang kabutmu	In the haze of your doubt
Di balik mega-megamu	Through the curtaining clouds of yours
Ku melihat dua tangan	I see your two hands
Di balik punggungmu	Behind your back

Refrain:

Madu di tangan kananmu	You have honey in your right hand
Racun di tangan kirimu	But also have poison in your left hand
Aku tak tahu mana yang	I just couldn't figure, which one
Akan kau berikan padaku	That you will give to me

The song was once popular that various artists and musicians performed it in a wide-ranging and experimental genres and styles. It was musically rich with the deep and meaningful message within the lyrics, even though it could be perceived universally as youthful and ordinary occurrence in most young adults' love life, and still has some boundaries to not submerge into a popular anguish love songs that had been criticised by the minister.

Thus, what made the song gained its popularity in some parts of Southeast Asia? According to Lysloff (in *The Garland Encyclopaedia of World Music*, 2017), popular music in Indonesia is considered as the a kind of music that arises out of industrialized society and enjoys by the urban poor and working class, as well as the middle and wealthy classes. In the continuous period of communication and technological advancement, foreign and domestic music could be widely accessed and afforded by everyone. Furthermore, Indonesians also have tendency to constantly and rapidly shift the trends, making today's popular music no longer popular for the next few weeks or swinging from one genre to another, as there are only several genres and musical pieces stay in the chart for they had established larger influence toward the people, such as Keroncong, Dangdut, and Indo-Pop. These three well-established genres were known for their catchy titles and opening tunes, sometimes with provocative lyrics, but considered relatable to the daily struggle of Indonesian people.

Other than that, the term cultural imperialism, embodied in the shape of western popular music and the growth of media technology, were described by Lysloff as influencing domestic popular culture generally through many channels (Lysloff, 2017), such as internet as the most recent and multifaceted channel of information and technology. Within this notion, through different perspective than Lysloff, we consider this as an opportunity for the region of Southeast Asia to reach out and recognize each other's cultures in a most efficient and convenient way. Not to mention, several digital music platform were developed and the number of the people using it is getting higher, leaving the very conventional cassette, compact disc, and other medias as mere obsolete artefacts of the past. Music streaming is the new trend, as more and more people replace these items for a digital music service with regular subscription program that allows you to unlimitedly access any kinds of music you want to hear called Spotify, Tidal, Apple Music, and many more. This is the new way of transmitting Southeast Asian cultures in music between the Southeast Asian, if we wanted to foresee it in a positive way.

Music in Southeast Asia could be considered further to be recognized under the concept of UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage, managed by ASEAN as leading and bonding agency for its member countries, to eventually build the sense oneness in both macro and micro levels. According to Stets and Burke, the process of identity fusion and depersonalization of an individual allows him/her to make identification over specific identity, as well as give certain contentment that lies beneath the sense of affiliation and togetherness in a community with similar components of identity (2000:234). This shouldn't be seen or treated as a complicated process of releasing or losing the personal self in order to adopt a larger

and wider opportunity within the social self, but should be perceived as the rediscovering of the fusion of cultural and historical identity that has long been forgotten by the member countries of ASEAN. Southeast Asia as a region is bound by the ASEAN as networking association, based on the resemblances of each member country, which could be found naturally amongst the people and their materialized culture and customs. Besides, music has its own exhilarating effect that could give a more sentient feeling, as it was considered to be one of many universal way of communicating meanings, signs, and thoughts; and together, music clearly sounds better with you, according to the hit song in 1998 from a French house band, *Stardust*.

Through such perspective, we don't have deal with primitive and retrospective prejudices over some restless, unilateral claims that were generally rendered by emotional and particular reasons as sentimental forsaken. If human is perceived as a growing and developing creature who undergo such processes in a cyclical form, let's just consider the effort of having mutual understandings that we are one single entity in the region of Southeast Asia and adopting the sense of being ASEAN as a process that is worth to try. Highlighting the topic of the discussion of this article, songs of Southeast Asia could be represented as hospitality and solidarity biding factors of the region. At last, narrow-mindedness and over-the-top exclusiveness are two biggest challenges that should be tackled down by understanding the historical and cultural development of the region. Further example will be elaborated on the next part of this article.

“Tak Tun Tuang”: Could You Relate?

Another surprise was found during the earlier media research for this article. There was a Minangnese woman with a stage name of Upiak Isil. Upiak Isil was born with the name of Silvia Nanda. She's a 1985-born singer from Bukittinggi, West Sumatera, Indonesia. She's a Pop Minang singer, a popular music genre mixed with folk influence. She gained her popularity domestically when she released a song titled “Tak Tun Tuang” in 2017 that went viral due to her coquettish and unique way of performing her song (“‘Crazy People’ song now a ‘mad hit’”, *The Star Online* 2017). The song is actually written in both Bahasa Indonesia and Minangnese, again with catchy tones and funny, yet flirtatious lyrics. She got herself invited to perform in an episode of the 3rd season of an Asian scale dangdut singing competition in 2017, titled D'Academy Asia. The TV show was aired in many TV stations all across Southeast Asia and could be streamed live through vidio.com, an online platform from TV streaming. Upiak, her recent stage name, recorded her song under the label of Elta Record Production from Bukittinggi, but also belonged to Malaysian production and entertainment management of MVM.

She actually has other songs produced and recorded, but “Tak Tun Tuang” is her biggest hit, even up until now. The song was popular among the lower and middle classes of Indonesia, and then spread to Malaysia and Thailand. Unlike the case of “Madu dan Racun”, “Tak Tun Tuang” lyrics were not being translated, but sung casually by a band from Thailand on their road show, as well as chosen as the song to be performed in a marching band in Thailand as well. From a “laughing stock” into a “mad hit”, Upiak Isil rose to stardom as “Tak Tun Tuang” enters domestic and regional music charts. She managed to prove that her song has more meaning than just mere entertainment, dismissing everyone's thoughts that she was only selling craziness in the overly edging and curious world nowadays.

“Tak Tun Tuang” also doesn't have specific meaning in any languages. So far, it was just a made up phrase by Upiak as the songwriter to make the song flows right or to attract the listener, which makes you unconsciously crave to hear or sing the song at the back of your head, beneath your subconscious.

Here's the lyric of the song (Genius.com, 2017):

Aku belum mandi	I haven't showered
Tak tun tuang, tak tun tuang	Tak tun tuang, tak tun tuang
Tapi masih cantik juga	But I still look gorgeous
Tak tun tuang, tak tun tuang	Tak tun tuang, tak tun tuang
Apalagi kalau sudah mandi	If I had showered
Tak tun tuang	Tak tun tuang
Pasti cantik sekali	Must be deadly gorgeous
Kalau orang lain melihatku	If they see me now
Tak tun tuang	Tak tun tuang
Badak aku taba bana	My make up is real thick
Tak tun tuang, tak tun tuang	Tak tun tuang, tak tun tuang
Tapi kalau langsung diidu	But try kiss or smell me
Tak tun tuang	Tak tun tuang
Astaghfirullah baunya	God forbid, what a smell(!)
Kalau cowok ganteng yang lewat	A handsome guy passes
Aku acuah je nyeh	I'll ignore him
Kalau apak gaek yang lewat	An older but cool man passes
Aku aniang je nyeh	I'll dismiss him (too)
Yang penting indak manggaduah urang	What's important is I'm not bothering others
Tak tun tuang	Tak tun tuang
Walau acok galak surang own	Even when I'm laughing on my own
Tak tun tuang, tak tun tuang	Tak tun tuang, tak tun tuang
Walau sangko urang awak dalang	You may think I'm crazy
Tak tun tuang	Tak tun tuang
Tapi hati lsil sanang	I don't care as long as I'm happy

These kinds of pop music, once again, is a product of popular and mainstream music trends in Indonesia that Lysloff (2017) argued as a kind of music enjoyed by lower and middle class as a “celebration” of their daily struggle, for it was very relatable, realistic, and too close to comfort. Moreover, we managed to understand this as a phenomenon called “earworms”, unwanted catchy tunes that plays on repeat in your head, looping relentlessly (Pillay, 2017). These kinds of music – pop, keroncong, dangdut, etc. – have certain components that are “toxic” enough to make you feel somehow fond of it. You would, with no intention, crave to hear or sing the song subconsciously just because you feel like doing it. It grows into a kind of guilty pleasure that you would hate to admit of doing, but can't get away from the tantalizing feeling you get afterwards. It could, perhaps, have caused by the musical tunes, the lyrics, the arrangements, the musical instrument used, the relatedness you feel, or maybe simply because you don't want to hear it that much.

According to Pillay, music psychologist Kelly Jakubowski and her colleagues had found out that the logical explanation to this phenomenon is that these songs provide faster and simpler melodic contour, making them easier to sing (2017), such as “Bad Romance” by Lady Gaga, “Can't Get You Out of My Head” by Kylie Minogue, and “Don't Stop Believin” by Journey, and only happens when you are in a state of nostalgic, being preoccupied, or just simply stressed out. But, we think the sense of relatedness could also play a significant role in why do some songs really could be easily stuck in your head.

Studying the case of Upiak and her “Tak Tun Tuang” and how could it be easily recognized and integrated into the musical taste of Southeast Asia, we identified that several music in the region has ecumenical linkages, or under a very similar

arrangements, including the kind and type of musical instrument used to deliver the lyrics. The similarity among the musical tunes of the region, as explained by Nicolas (2019:12), could be traced back to the ancient times that the musical performance in Southeast Asia may have their influence from Austronesians, Austroasiatics, Tai-Kadai, Hmong-Mien, Mon-Khmer, and Sino-Tibetans settlers. It was rooting deep to the history and culture in the shape of tradition exchange and changes that offered diversification and transformation correspondingly.

Songs that were produced by such similar musical instruments gave cross-cultural and interregional exchanges that transcend the natural and modern-day political boundaries. Especially in the digitalized world today, we could not rigidly put claim ownership over cultural entities that actually belongs to the digital platform. Perhaps, Internet has left the world into a more fluid and dynamic one, with no boundaries and attachments, because in fact we were also gaining influential musical and artistic components from the outside world that were internalized from time to time and shaped our own identity.

Other than that, Nicolas also added the need of preserving both traditional and popular music in Southeast Asia to prevent the loss of tradition that could blunt the root of our heritage (2019:13). In a regional scale, it is time to look forward where cultural components, such as music, have larger meaning than just mere entertainment belongs to an individual or a group of people, because music could give philosophical, spiritual, and symbolic meanings to universally understand the missing link in embracing diversity in Southeast Asia.

Next, moving on to the transmission of the song from one community to another. We had mentioned the background story on how would Upiak and her “Tak Tun Tuang” was introduced to other parts of the world and become the shared cultural components. Under such circumstances, TV shows like the 1980s *Titian Muhibah* could be the example. It was a cultural TV program initiated by Indonesian TVRI and Malaysian RTM as reputable television stations in respective countries. According to its slogan, *Titian Muhibah* offered a platform for the neighbouring countries to discover the real means of being *Serumpun*, *Senada*, *Seirama* (siblings of same stock and race, growing in the same rhythm). The show aired cultural and art performances from both countries, along with brief talk show that promotes modesty and intimacy at bilateral level.

Recently, in Indonesia, one of the TV station, *Indosiar*, broadcasted a weekly music show and Southeast Asian level talent-scouting show to fill in the drawback of dangdut music industry in all across Southeast Asia. It aired for the first time in 2015 and ends in 2017 after three successful consecutive years. The aim of the show was to reintroduce and familiarize dangdut once again as the music that could bring everyone back to the dancehall in a regional scale. The show was able to attract the attention of many as they could creatively engage most Southeast Asian countries to participate. It was actually the expansion of the prior show titled “D’Academy” that was started airing in 2014, which later grew into the most sought after TV show by locals. D’Academy Asia managed to gather best artists in all across Southeast Asia to take part as judges, coaches, and commentators, such as Hetty Koes Endang, Pak Ngah, Sukree Mamagh, Hans Anuar, Eddy Misuari, Adibal Sahrul, Erie Suzan, Mayuni Omar, DJ Daffy, Jose Manuel, Soimah Pancawati, Saipul Jamil, Inul Daratista, Siti Nurhaliza, Rosalina Musa, Fakhru Razi, Iis Dahlia, Caca Handika and many more.

Conclusion

Music is always going to be a universal value that could help individuals to express, as well as feel, close connection or relatedness toward specific components presented in the song as the product of musical creation. In Southeast Asia, we had encountered a dynamic development of cultural and historical ties that amplify the

need of regional music recognition. Several cases of ownership claim had put certain tension toward the relationship of various countries, especially Indonesia and Malaysia who were close in proximity and culturally bound under the network of Malay world.

In the context of regional effort to understand the diversity to reach the state of oneness of ASEAN, this article explained and elaborated the role of songs as the glue of the relationship, both in the traditional and contemporary domain. Songs and any musical components that belonged in it could be perceived as the key of regional attachment through the awareness of inevitable identity fusion in the region. Two songs, "Madu dan Racun" and "Tak Tun Tuang" were taken as examples on how the region is actually related and already been fused.

Thus, all we need to do is to bring the awareness of such fusion back, to eventually reinvent and reintroduce the means of being Southeast Asian, through the rediscovering our culturally shared heritage where we could find numerous uncanny similarities between member countries of ASEAN. Such similarities shouldn't be pointed out or exaggerated by selfish claim and self-absorbed accusation toward one another. Instead, it should be acknowledged as shared material culture that could be the starting point of further regional entanglement, where every Southeast Asian could learn what does it take to be one ASEAN and why does it urgent for the neighbouring countries in the region to express more sense of belonging for the upcoming development of ASEAN.

However, this article is a preliminary or initial research on how cultural and historical identity could be utilized as the background of regional cooperation and attachment among the member countries of ASEAN. We are still lacking of coverage in some components that could explain further on how music, both traditional and contemporary music, could play significant role, including some other case studies that are still waiting to be examined in the future.

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INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN ASEAN: EVIDENCE FROM MYANMAR

¹Fumitaka Furuoka, ²Ma Tin Cho Mar, ³Pui Kiew Ling, ⁴Larisa Nikitina

¹Asia-Europe Institute, University of Malaya, Malaysia

²Faculty of Arts and Social sciences, University of Malaya, Malaysia

³Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya, Malaysia

⁴Faculty of Languages and Linguistics, University of Malaya, Malaysia
(email: fumitaka@um.edu.my)

Abstract

This paper examines main characteristics of unemployment and inflation in ASEAN countries. Among 10 ASEAN nations only two countries, namely, Brunei and Indonesia, have suffered from the high unemployment rate problem. At the same time, four countries, namely, Indonesia, Lao, Myanmar and Vietnam, have experienced the high inflation problem. This paper focuses on the issue of inflation in Myanmar. The inflation rate in Myanmar fluctuated during the period of 1990–2017. This was due to rapid changes taking place in the country as a result of the new and bold economic policies introduced by the government in order to move Myanmar toward becoming a market-oriented state. This paper offers a descriptive analysis of economic condition and changes taking place in Myanmar, with the main focus on the country's monetary policy and some economic challenges it faces. The sources of data were mainly in-depth interviews with former central bankers in Myanmar.

Keywords: *Inflation, unemployment, ASEAN, Myanmar, monetary policy*

Introduction

An important association between inflation and unemployment is known as the Phillips curve. This relationship was first discovered in the contexts of the United Kingdom (Phillips, 1958) and the United States (Samuelson and Solow, 1960). The Phillips curve played a central role in determining the monetary policy until Friedman (1968) introduced a monetarist perspective on this trade-off relationship. Friedman claimed that an expansionary monetary policy would not solve the high unemployment problem. Recently, central bankers noted that the Phillips curve was becoming flatter in the industrial states; this phenomenon could have far-reaching implications for conducting the monetary policy (Roberts, 2006; Kuttner and Robinson, 2010; Saman and Pauna, 2013). If the flatter Phillips curve would exist in the ASEAN countries, it also would have a crucial implication on monetary policy in the region.

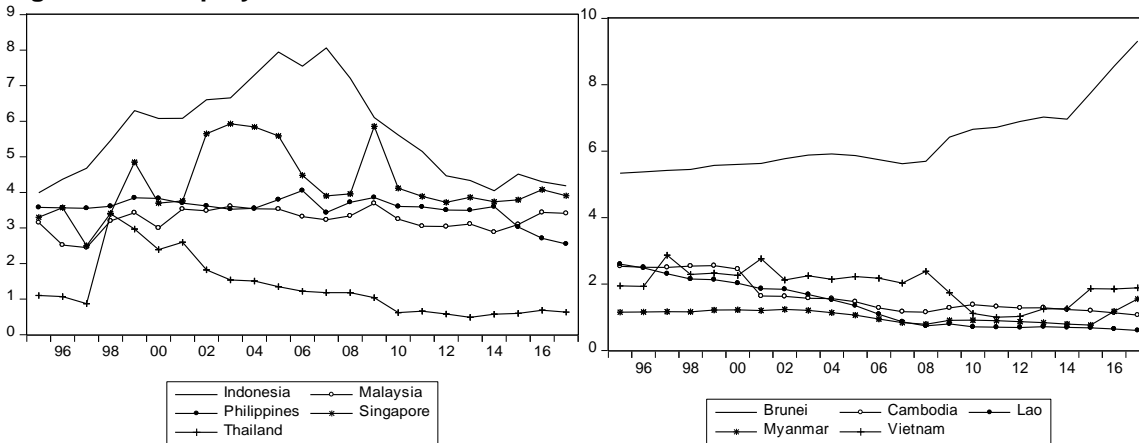
Despite its theoretical and practical importance, there is a lack of empirical analyses of the Phillips curve in the context of the ASEAN countries. Pioneer research on this topic in the context of Malaysia was done by Furuoka and Harvey (2015). According to their findings, there was a statistically significant price stickiness in Malaysia. Against such a background, there are two main objectives in this study. Firstly, an objective of the current research is to examine the relationship between inflation and unemployment in ASEAN countries. The findings from this quantitative analysis are expected to bring useful and interesting insights concerning main contemporary issues related to the monetary policies in the region. Secondly, the current study focuses on the inflation problem in Myanmar. Using a qualitative analysis, current study would examine some main issues of economic situation and monetary policy in Myanmar.

This paper consists of four section. Following this introductory section, second section is examine the relationship between inflation and unemployment in ASEAN. The third section focuses on the high inflation problem in Myanmar. The final section is conclusion.

2. Inflation and unemployment in ASEAN

The conditions and situations of the labour market could be examined by the relationship between unemployment rate and inflation rate. For example, the unemployment rate would indicate a balance between labour supply and demand. If labour supply is largely greater than labour demand, there would be a higher unemployment rate. The unemployment rates in ASEAN countries for the period of 1995–2017 are depicted in Figure 1, and the main indicators of unemployment are reported in Table 1.

Figure 1: Unemployment rates in ASEAN countries



Source: Authors' own analysis

Table 1: Main indicators of unemployment in ASEAN

Countries	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Standard deviation
Brunei	6.3	9.3	5.3	1.0
Indonesia	5.6	8.0	3.9	1.3
Cambodia	1.6	3.5	1.0	0.5
Lao	1.3	2.6	0.6	0.6
Malaysia	3.2	3.6	2.4	0.3
Myanmar	1.0	1.5	0.7	0.1
Philippines	3.3	4.0	2.5	0.3
Singapore	4.2	5.9	2.7	0.9
Thailand	1.3	3.4	0.4	0.8
Vietnam	1.9	2.8	0.9	0.5

Source: Authors' own analysis

As the figure clearly indicates, two ASEAN countries, namely, Brunei and Indonesia, have suffered from the high unemployment problem. The average unemployment rate in Brunei is 6.3 percent. The country's unemployment was around 5 percent from 1995 to 2008. Then the figure increased from 6.8 percent in 2012 to 7.7 percent in 2015, and increased further to 9.3 percent in 2017. Indonesia's unemployment rate grew from 3.9 percent in 1995 to 5.4 percent in 1998, and increased further to 6.0 percent in 2000. The unemployment rate soared to 7.9 percent in 2005. The labour market condition in Indonesia showed some improvement in the 2010s. The unemployment rate decrease from 5.6 percent in 2010 to 4.3 percent in 2013, and diminished further to 4.1 percent in

2017.

Among ASEAN countries, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore have moderate unemployment rates; their average unemployment rates are around 3 percent. Malaysia's unemployment rate increased slightly from 3.1 percent in 1995 to 3.4 percent in 1999, and increased further to 3.6 percent in 2004. The unemployment rate rose again from 3.0 percent in 2012 and to 3.1 percent in 2015, before reaching 3.4 percent in 2017. There was the opposite trend in the movement of the unemployment rate in the Philippines: it decreased from 4.0 percent in 2007 to 3.6 percent in 2010, and diminished further to 2.5 percent in 2017. Similarly, Singapore's unemployment rate decreased from 5.8 percent in 2009, to 4.1 percent in 2010, and shrank to 3.9 percent in 2017. It is interesting to note that the unemployment rates in five countries in the Mainland Southeast Asia were lower than those in other ASEAN nations. The average unemployment rate in these countries was lower than 2 percent. For example, the unemployment rate in Cambodia decreased from 1.5 percent in 2005 to 1.3 percent in 2009, and diminished further to 1.0 percent in 2017. In Lao, the unemployment rate was constantly lower than 1 percent in the 2010s. In the case of Myanmar, the unemployment rate slightly increased from 0.9 percent in 2010 to 1.1 percent in 2016, and increased to 1.5 percent in 2017. Thailand's unemployment rate decreased from 2.6 percent in 2001 to 1.0 percent in 2009, and shrank to 0.6 percent in 2017. In the case of Vietnam, the unemployment rate decreased from 2.7 percent in 2001 to 2.3 percent in 2008, and diminished further to 1.8 percent in 2017.

On the other hand, the labour demand is a derived demand. An increase in the product demand would cause an increase in labour demand. In this sense, the inflation rate would indicate a balance between product demand and supply. If the money supply is constant and product demand is largely greater than the produced supply, there would be a higher inflation rate. The inflation rates in ASEAN countries for the period 1995–2017 are depicted in Figure 2, and the main indicators of inflation are reported Table 2.

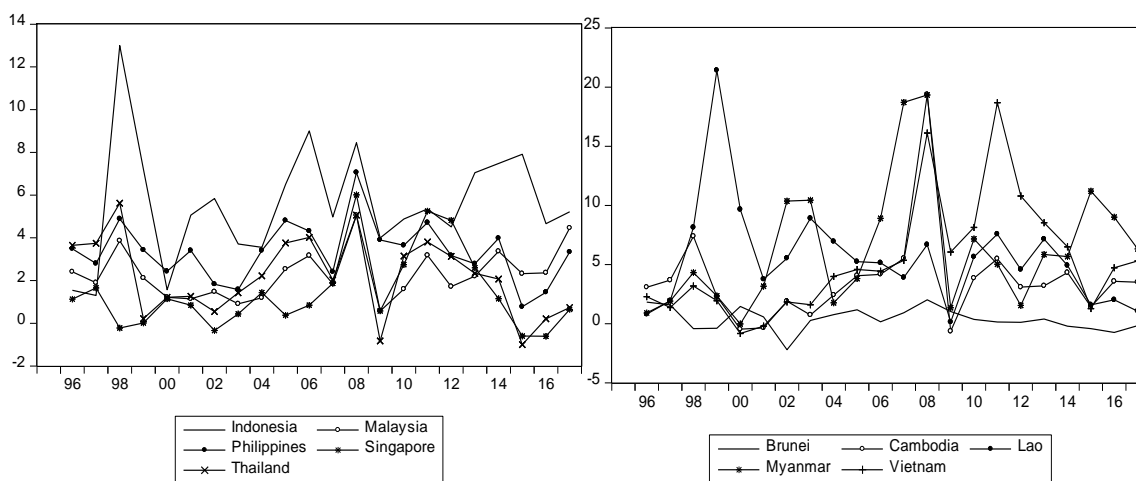


Figure 2: Inflation rates in ASEAN
Source: Authors' own analysis

As the figure clearly shows, four ASEAN countries, namely, Indonesia, Lao, Myanmar and Vietnam, suffered from the high inflation problem. Due to the Asian economic crisis in the end of the 1990s, Indonesia's inflation rate had soared to 19.9 percent in 1998, before decreasing to 5.0 percent in 2001. The country's inflation rate increased again from 3.5 percent in 2004 to 9.0 percent in 2006. In the case of Lao, the inflation rate rapidly increased from 1.9 percent in 2007 to 8.1 percent in 2008, and soared to 21.4 percent in 2009. The country's inflation rate increased from 3.7 percent in 2001 to 5.5 percent in 2002, and reached 8.8 percent in 2003. Myanmar's inflation rate also increased rapidly from 3.8 percent in 2005 to 8.9 percent in 2006, before reaching 18.7 percent in 2008. The inflation rate in the country increased from 1.5 percent in 2012 to 5.6 percent in 2014, and reached 11.2 percent in 2015.

In the case of Vietnam, the inflation rate soared from 4.5 percent in 2005 to 16.1 percent in 2008, and increased further to 18.6 percent in 2011. Among the ASEAN countries, Cambodia and the Philippines had moderate inflation rates and their average inflation rate was around 3 percent. In the case of Cambodia, the inflation rate rocketed from 4.1 percent in 2006 to 19.3 percent in 2008, but decreased to 3.8 percent in 2010. The country's inflation rate in 2010s was around 3 percent. In the case of the Philippines, the inflation rate increased slightly from 2.4 percent in 2004 to 4.3 percent in 2006, but grew further before reaching 7.0 percent in 2008. The central banks in three ASEAN countries, namely, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand, successfully managed and control inflation to bring it to the lower level. These countries' average inflation rates were around 3 percent. Malaysia's inflation increased slightly from 1.9 percent in 2004 to 3.1 percent in 2006, and grew further to 5.0 percent in 2008. Similarly, the inflation rate in Thailand increased slightly from 2.2 percent in 2004 to 4.0 percent in 2006, and reached 5.0 percent in 2008. Singapore's inflation increased from 0.5 percent in 2009 to 2.7 percent in 2010, and increased further to 5.3 percent in 2011. It should be noted that the problem of price level in Brunei was not inflation, but deflation. The country suffered from deflation from 1998 to 1999. In 2002, the price level in Brunei decreased by 2.2 percent. The country suffered a prolonged deflation again in the period from 2014 to 2017.

Table 2: Main indicators of inflation in ASEAN

Countries	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Standard deviation
Brunei	0.3	2.0	-2.2	0.9
Indonesia	5.5	12.9	1.3	2.7
Cambodia	3.7	19.3	-0.6	4.0
Lao	5.5	21.4	0.1	4.4
Malaysia	2.2	5.0	0.5	1.1
Myanmar	6.3	19.3	-0.6	5.3
Philippines	3.1	7.0	0.7	1.3
Singapore	1.4	6.0	-0.6	1.8
Thailand	2.1	5.6	-1.0	1.8
Vietnam	5.2	18.6	-0.8	4.8

Source: Authors' own analysis

Many proponents of neoclassical economics believe in the existence of a natural rate of unemployment in the labour market. The natural rate of unemployment could be defined as an equilibrium level of unemployment rate which would be determined by structural labour market imperfections, such as the random movement of labour supply or demand, the cost of finding a job or the cost of moving from one job to another (Friedman, 1968). The natural rate of unemployment could be assessed by an estimation procedure suggested by Ball and Mankiw (2002). A basic relationship between inflation and unemployment could be expressed as (Ball and Mankiw, 2002):

$$\pi = k - \alpha u \quad (1)$$

where π is the inflation rate, k is the constant, α is the slope parameter and u is the unemployment rate. This fundamental relationship could be modified by incorporating the expectations. The expectations-augmented relationship could be expressed as (Ball and Mankiw, 2002):

$$\pi = \pi^e - \alpha(u - u^*) \quad (2)$$

where π^e is the expected inflation rate and u^* is the natural rate of unemployment. Under the assumption of adoptive expectations, the expected inflation rate would be equal to the inflation rate

in the past. The adoptive expectations-augmented relationship can be expressed as (Ball and Mankiw, 2002):

$$\pi = \pi_{-1} - \alpha(u - u^*) \quad (3)$$

where π_{-1} is the inflation rate in the previous period. This equation could be re-formulated to (Ball and Mankiw, 2002):

$$\pi - \pi_{-1} = \alpha u^* - \alpha u \quad (4)$$

For the purpose of econometric estimation, the supply shock could be incorporated into this equation (Ball and Mankiw, 2002):

$$\Delta\pi = \alpha u^* - \alpha u + v \quad (5)$$

where $\Delta\pi$ is the change in the inflation rate and v is the supply shock which is an error term in this equation. In other words, the natural rate of unemployment could be estimated by regressing the change in the unemployment rate ($\Delta\pi$) on the unemployment rate (u) and an intercept (αu^*). The absolute value of the intercept divided by the slope parameter would be the natural rate of unemployment. Table 3 reports the estimated natural rates of unemployment or equilibrium unemployment rates for the 10 ASEAN countries.

Table 3: Static natural rate of unemployment in ASEAN

Countries	Slope parameter (α)	Intercept (αu^*)	Natural rate of unemployment (u^*)
Brunei	0.03	-0.33	8.87
Indonesia	-0.11	0.86	7.32
Cambodia	-0.99	1.48	1.57
Lao	1.23	-1.50	1.21
Malaysia	-3.31	4.34	3.41
Myanmar	-0.66	2.28	1.10
Philippines	-0.33	1.33	3.51
Singapore	-0.50	2.26	4.26
Thailand	-0.21	0.14	0.68
Vietnam	0.90	-1.66	1.78

Source: Authors' own analysis

It should be noted that the natural rate of unemployment in five countries in the mainland Southeast Asia are less than two percent. This means that these countries would enjoy a lower unemployment rate in an equilibrium labour market where the labour demand is equal to supply. Other ASEAN countries, except for Brunei and Indonesia, would have a moderate level of the equilibrium unemployment rates which are less than 4 percent. It should be noted that the relationship between unemployment and inflation is negative. For example, during an economic downturn, there would be a decrease in the product demand which might cause a lower inflation rate. At the same time, there would be a decrease derived demand for labour which might cause a higher unemployment rate. By contrast, during an economic boom, there would be an increase in the product demand which might cause a higher inflation rate. At the same time, there might be an increase in the derived demand for labour which would cause a lower unemployment rate. This negative association between unemployment rate and inflation rate is known as the Phillips curve (Phillips, 1958).

In the empirical analysis, two main types of the Phillips curve have been identified, namely, the traditional or baseline Phillips curve and the New Keynesian Phillips curve (Staiger *et al.*, 1997; Gali and Gertler, 1999). The baseline Phillips curve could be expressed as (Staiger *et al.*, 1997; Gali and Gertler, 1999):

$$\pi_t = \kappa x_{t-1} + E_{t-1}(\pi_t) \quad (6)$$

where x is the economic slack which is measure by a difference between actual output and natural rate of output or a difference between actual unemployment and natural rate of unemployment, κ is the slope parameter of the Phillips curve, $E_{t-1}(\pi_t)$ is the expected current inflation rate. In the empirical analysis, an expected current inflation rate is considered to be equal to a lagged inflation rate or π_{t-1} . The New Keynesian Phillips curve could be expressed as (Staiger *et al.*, 1997; Gali and Gertler, 1999):

$$\pi_t = \kappa x_t + E_t(\pi_{t+1}) \quad (7)$$

where $E_t(\pi_{t+1})$ is the expected future inflation rate. In the empirical analysis, country-specific inflation expectations are not available. So, researchers often use the realised inflation rate in the next period or π_{t+1} as a proxy for the expectations of future inflation rate (Levy, 2019). The slope parameter in the Phillips curve (CV) and the New Keynesian Phillips curve (NKPC) in 10 ASEAN countries are reported in Table 4.

Table 4: Phillips curve (PC) and New Keynesian Phillips curve (NKPC) in ASEAN countries

Countries	Slope parameter (κ) in PC	Slope parameter (κ) in NKPC
Brunei	-0.301	-0.404
Indonesia	-0.077	0.232
Cambodia	-1.960	-1.592
Lao	2.521	1.103
Malaysia	-0.895	-0.963
Myanmar	-7.172	-10.683
Philippines	-0.568	2.875**
Singapore	0.332	-0.605
Thailand	-0.574	0.163
Vietnam	-2.986	-4.191*

Notes: * indicates the five percent significance level; ** indicates the one percent significance level

Source: Authors' own analysis

As the findings show, the slope coefficients in the PC are negative for all ASEAN countries, except for Singapore, which is in line with the theoretical negative association between the lagged inflation rate and unemployment gap. The findings also indicate that the slope coefficient in the NKPC are positive for only five countries, namely, Indonesia, Lao, the Philippines, Thailand, which is in line with the theoretical positive association between the inflation rate in the next period and unemployment rate.

Figure 3 depicts the time varying slope parameter in the Phillips curve (PC) and New Keynesian Phillips curve (NKPC) for ASEAN-5 countries, namely, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. The time-varying analysis of the PC revealed that there was a flattening of the Phillips curve in the Philippines and Thailand. In the case of the Philippines, the slope parameter of the PC increased from -4.450 in 2013 to -3.847 in 2014, and increased further to -0.832 in 2017. Similarly, in the case of Thailand, the slope parameter of the PC increased from -1.414 in 2013 to -1.001 in 2015, and grew further to -0.201 in 2017. There was no flattening of the Phillips curve in Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. It should be noted that there was no flattening of the New Keynesian Phillips curve in all five ASEAN countries.

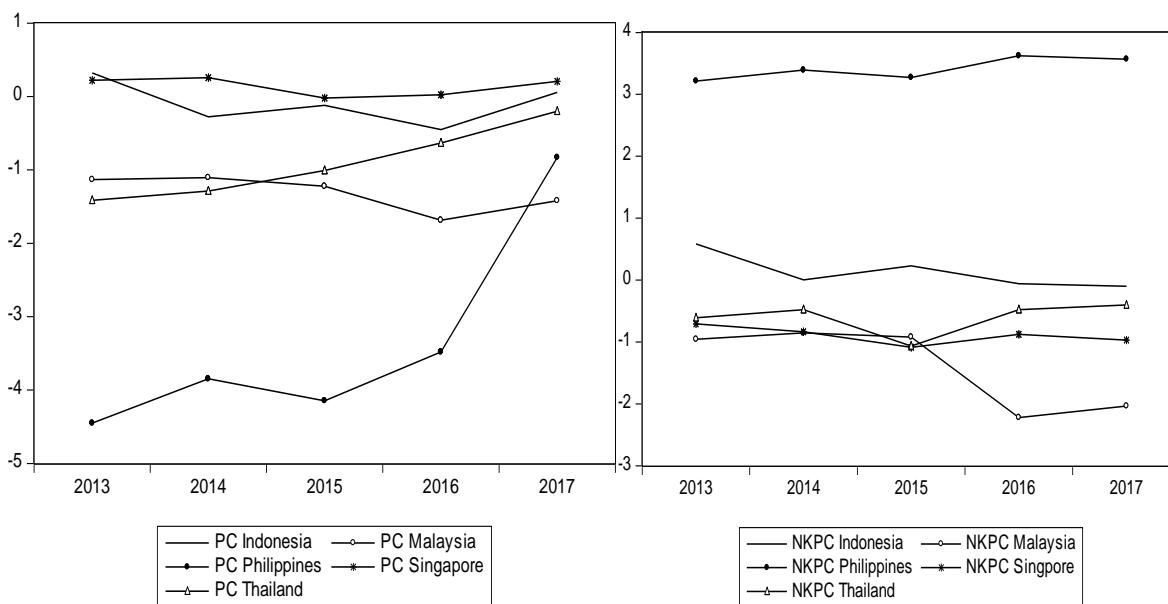


Figure 3: Time varying slope parameter in the Phillips curve (PC) and New Keynesian Phillips curve (NKPC) in ASEAN-5

Source: Authors' own analysis

3. Inflation and Unemployment in Myanmar

In 1989, the Myanmar government began implementing the market-oriented economic reforms and opened its economy to the outside world. This was done in a very fragile economic situation. The government introduced the new and bold economic policies in order to move Myanmar toward becoming a market-oriented state. The main points of the Myanmar's economic reform were as follows:

- 1) Abolish the planned economy system of "Myanmar socialism" and initiate a market-oriented economic system. In March 1989, the Myanmar military government announced the abolition of the 1965 law on the protection of the socialist economic system, this making "the establishment of a market economy system" as the main direction and important goal of its economic policy.
- 2) To implement the market-oriented economic policy and attract foreign investments, the Myanmar government actively promoted foreign trade, especially the border trade with neighboring countries, such as China, Thailand and India. The government introduced a tariff-free trade zone along the border.
- 3) In order to encourage and foster a private ownership-oriented economic development, in 1990, the law on Myanmar's state-owned enterprises extended the markets to ASEAN region. The law stipulated that anyone except for the Ministry of Economic Affairs, which was exclusively run by the government, could operate and own enterprises, this legally guaranteeing private investment in a wide range of economic fields.
- 4) There were also reforms aimed at overhauling the financial system and allowing for the existence of private financial institutions. While the Myanmar Central Bank was designated as the national bank, private and foreign capital was allowed to establish and operate banks.

Due to the reform drive by the government, from 1990 to 1997 the Myanmar's economy expanded at a fast pace. However, in 1997 the Southeast Asian financial crisis arrived and caused the Myanmar economy's stagnation for the following years. Since the 2000s, the economic reforms were resumed but some factors restrict the fast economic development (Myat Thein, 2007). Based on the available data, the Myanmar's economy shows some growth, but it is not stable and occurs in stage (see Figure 4). In the terms of inflation, as Figure 5 shows, between 1998 and 2019 the inflation rate in the country averaged at 13.68percent; it reached a record high 54.02percent in December 2002, and a record low 1.09percent in December 2011. In July 2019, the inflation rate in Myanmar was 10.87percent.

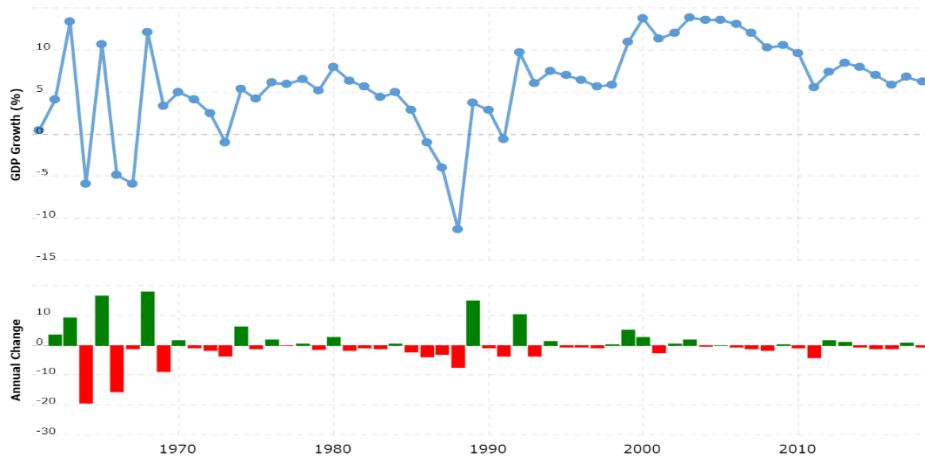


Figure 4: Myanmar's GDP
 Source: TheGlobalEconomy.com, The World Bank

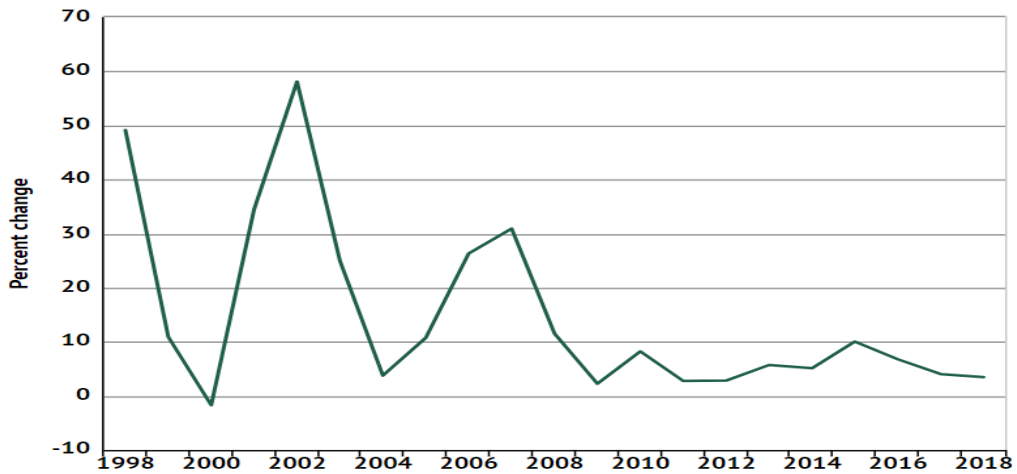


Figure 5: Inflation rate in Myanmar
 Source: TheGlobalEconomy.com, The World Bank

At present, Myanmar still faces with many difficulties and problems in its economic transformation and macroeconomic development, which are mainly manifested in the macroeconomic imbalance and high inflation rate. The government's response to these problems is not entirely adequate and measures it devises have limited effect.

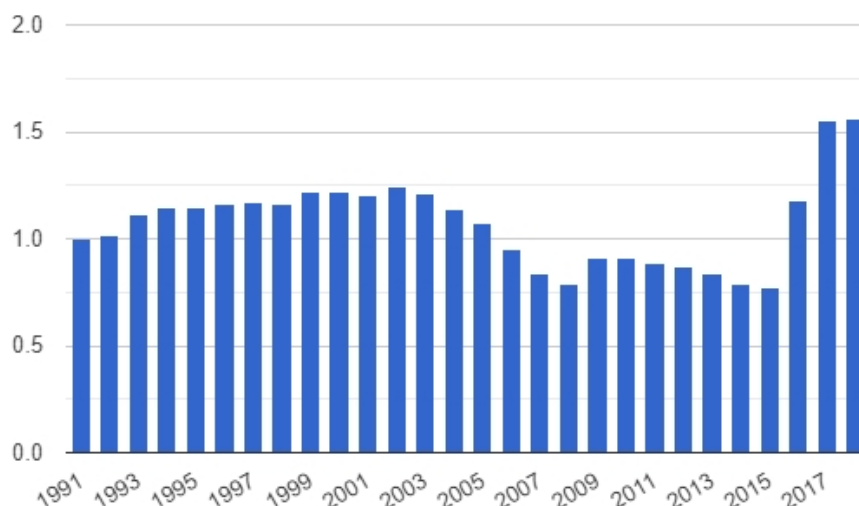


Figure 6: Unemployment Rate in Myanmar
Source: TheGlobalEconomy.com, The World Bank

3.1 Qualitative data analysis

As unemployment, inflation and economic growth in Myanmar, as in other countries, tend to change cyclically over the time this study carried out a qualitative analysis which aimed at a better understanding of the impact of inflation on the country’s economy. The location of the data collection was the Central Bank of Myanmar, Yangon. Four directors from the Myanmar Central Bank were interviewed with the aim to obtain the following insights:

Inflation:

- A rise in prices of non-labor inputs, such as energy prices;
- An increase in interest rates (increasing the cost of borrowing, which is an input price);
- Increase in wages (especially during 2018, the government of Myanmar formally raised the country’s daily minimum wage by 33 percent or to 4800 Kyat (US\$3.29) and simulating the impact of potential changes to pay). Despite the increase, Myanmar has the lowest wages compared to the minimum wages in other countries;
- Implementing a number of development plans by increasing government expenditure;
- Money supply and budget deficit.

Unemployment

- The high inflation has a negative impact on conducting business and other economic activities in Myanmar;
- The tradeoffs concept (due to the political instability from 2012 to 2018);
- Myanmar’s unemployment rate increased to 1.56 percent in December 2018;
- The country’s labour force participation rate dropped to 62.03 percent in December 2018.

Monetary Policy

- The Central Bank of Myanmar (CBM) has not been able to successfully control the high inflation rate;
- For the time being, the CBM is setting the foreign reserve, following the suggestions by the IMF. As a result, the CBM can decrease the money supply in the market.

The analysis then focused on whether the inflation expectations in Myanmar are becoming unanchored. While the role of expectations in driving inflation have weakened over time, the conditions that lead to a soaring inflation have increased. The estimation of the Phillips curve suggest that a low inflation rate in Asia is mostly explained by import prices. On the other hand, the stability of commodity prices could be seen by examining the changes in consumer prices indices (CPI), and it is reported to have increased from 3.7 in 2003 to 32.9 in 2007-2008 with 1997 as the base year. Kubo (2011) reported that the average annual inflation rate and the average annual

growth rate of currency in circulation for the last two decades are close to each other, and are 28.4 percent and 23.4 percent, respectively. Kyaw Min Tun and Khin Tun (2011) also noted that about 80 percent of the commodity basket used for CPI calculation is comprised of the food stuff and, consequently, the inflation is most likely represents the changes in food prices. A study by the Union of Myanmar Federation of Chamber of Commerce and Industries (UMFCCI) focused on the effects of transaction costs on the high food prices in the country. The findings indicate that several key players, from the big exporters to minor village brokers and collectors, may contribute to the distortions in the supply chain which eventually affect the whole economy. In general, the Phillips curve appears to become flattened in Myanmar in the year 2018, when the country experienced a rapid increase in the global value chains (GVC) integration and automation. These achievements were due to the policies aimed at Myanmar market orientation which nudge the labor intensive economy to move toward a capital intensive economy.

4. Conclusion

This paper has empirically examined the inflation and unemployment rates in ASEAN countries. There are three main findings from the current study. Firstly, the level of unemployment rate could be used to group the ten ASEAN nations into three groups, namely, the countries with a high unemployment rate, the countries with a moderate unemployment rate and the countries with a low unemployment rate. The first group comprises two ASEAN countries, namely, Brunei and Indonesia; their unemployment rates are greater than five percent. Among the 10 ASEAN countries, the average unemployment rate was found to be the highest in Brunei. The second group of countries includes Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore; their unemployment rate were around 3 percent. The third group of countries consists of five countries in the Mainland Southeast Asia—Cambodia, Lao, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam; these countries' unemployment rates were below two percent.

Secondly, the level of the inflation rate could be used to group the 10 ASEAN countries into three categories of countries: countries with a high inflation rate, countries with a moderate inflation rate and countries with a low inflation rate. The first group consists of Brunei and three countries in the Mainland Southeast Asia, namely, Lao, Myanmar and Vietnam; their inflation rates were greater than five percent. Among all ASEAN nations, the average inflation rate is the highest in Myanmar. The second group of countries comprises Malaysia, the Philippines and the remaining two countries in the Mainland Southeast Asia—Cambodia and Thailand; their inflation rates were around three percent. The third group incorporates two ASEAN nations, namely, Brunei and Singapore; their inflation rates were less than two percent.

Among the 10 ASEAN nations in this study, Myanmar has a relatively low unemployment rate but very high inflation rate. This unique economic condition might have been caused by a rapid change in the economic and social conditions brought by a rapid economic market-oriented transformational policies. More importantly, the government of the country would need to continue with its reformist economic policies and come up with appropriate monetary policies and measures to be able to deal effectively with the problem of a high inflation.

Acknowledgement

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BUSINESSES THAT PUT PEOPLE AHEAD OF PROFIT: THE HUMAN NATURE MODEL AND ITS SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL IMPACT IN THE PHILIPPINES

Melanie Moraga Leaño

Assistant Professor, Department of Speech Communication and Theatre Arts,
University of the Philippines, Diliman
Doctor of Public Administration (candidate), National College of Public Administration
and Governance, University of the Philippines, Diliman
Social Entrepreneur (Branch Operator), Gandang Kalikasan, Inc. (Human Nature)

ABSTRACT

The main argument of this paper is that Social Business Enterprises should be the general way to do business in the Philippines because of its current evident social, economic, and political impact in the micro level and its promising social, economic, and political impact in the macro level. As one of the leading social business enterprises in the Philippines, Human Nature, provides a model of integrity that provides social services and economic benefits to its employees and other partner communities. This model of integrity inspires and challenges the Philippine government and at the same time, gives hope to the Filipino people. This model of integrity demands others to do more, beyond the traditional way of running the government and running a business.

Keywords: social business enterprise, social business entrepreneurship impact, human nature, model of integrity,

*“Every citizen has a gift – a talent, a skill, an expertise, an idea,
a resource – that he can offer for the common good.
If we weave these gifts together,
we can create world class products and businesses
which create sustainable prosperity for all.
The time to become to become a social entrepreneur is now.”*

Tony Meloto as cited in Graham (2014, p.193)

INTRODUCTION

Traditional businesses are created to make profit: the bigger the profit, the better. However, in the recent years, some individuals across the globe have started breaking free from such traditional ideas of business. Because of some inadequacies in the performance of government(s), the private sector stepped-up.

The Smith Institute published a book titled *Social Enterprise for Public Service: How does the Third Sector Deliver?* in 2009. In the foreword of the book, the three characteristics of world-class public services (as enumerated by the British Prime Minister) were mentioned namely: 1) empowered citizens involved in shaping services; 2) new professionalism in the public service workforce; and 3) strategic leadership from central government to ensure that direct intervention is concentrated on underperforming organizations (Hunter, 2009). In this dream of having world-class public services, Hunter (2009, p.3) argues that social enterprises – as sustainable businesses with a mission for

community benefit rather than just private profit can bring dynamism and innovation to the design and delivery of public services. He further argues that the vision is not to have social enterprises deliver each and every public service but to make them a viable and visible alternative for communities that would benefit from them (p.9). Hunter believes that communities can be transformed by public services that are responsive, innovative and deliver multiple outcomes and social enterprises – businesses driven by a social or environmental mission – have the potential to lead the way in showing how to provide better services for greater public benefit (2009, p.6).

PROBLEM STATEMENT, RESEARCH QUESTIONS, AND OBJECTIVES

The main argument of this paper is that Social Business Enterprises should be the general way to do business because of its current evident social, economic, and political impact in the micro level and its promising social, economic, and political impact in the macro level. The paper will answer the research problem: **“What are the social, political, and economic impact(s) of social business enterprises in the Philippines?”**

The paper will delve into the following research questions and objectives:

- 1.) What are the social, economic, and political factors that stimulate or impede the birth of social enterprises, like Gandang Kalikasan, Inc. (GKI), in the Philippines?

Objective: to describe the social, economic, and political climate in the Philippines that stimulate or impede the birth of social enterprises

- 2.) Why should Filipinos become social entrepreneurs?

Objective: to analyze the social, economic and political benefits of having Filipino social entrepreneurs

- 3.) What basic social services and economic benefits are delivered by GKI as a social enterprise? What are its socio-economic impact(s) in the micro and macro levels?

Objective: to identify the social and economic services delivered by GKI in the micro and macro levels through its unique practices

- 4.) How do social enterprises, like GKI, influence the political culture and aid in the political development in the Philippines?

Objective: to analyze the role of social enterprises, specifically GKI, in the political development in the Philippines

LITERATURE REVIEW & FRAMEWORK

The idea of “Social Entrepreneurship” was created by Ashoka, a not for profit organization in the US founded by Bill Dayton in 1980 (Sebastian, 2010, p.7). However the term “Social Entrepreneur” is attributed to Joseph Banks (1972 in Sebastian, 2010, p.7).

Yunus defines Social Entrepreneurship simply as “any creative and innovative solution applied to social problems” (Sebastian, 2010, p.7). A look into a Social Entrepreneurship’s more complicated definition suggests that it is the “search for approaches that are targeted to move the poor out of poverty beyond welfare-based safety nets,” while ensuring sustainability (Sebastian, 2010, p.7). Hunter (2009, p.34) defines a social enterprise as “a business with primarily social objectives, whose surpluses are principally reinvested for that purpose in business or in the community, rather than being driven by the need to maximize profits for shareholders.” Table 1 below summarizes the differences between private and social enterprises (Dacanay in Sebastian, 2010):

	Private Enterprise	Social Enterprise
Primary Stakeholders and Beneficiaries	Rich Stockholders	Marginalized Sectors
Primary Objectives	Bottom Line: Profit	Double or Triple Bottom Line
Enterprise Philosophy	Accumulative	Distributive

Table 1: Differences Between Private & Social Enterprises

The social business enterprise, being a subset of the social enterprise, can be further understood by looking at Figure 1 below which shall be used as the framework for this study. Social business enterprises have financial independence. It is anchored on the availability to recover 100% or more of the cost of the operation for sustainability. Chell (2007) argues that social enterprises should be self-sustaining and therefore entrepreneurial in their endeavors. Thus, the key for social business enterprises is to balance their financial goals and social objectives (Sebastian, 2010).

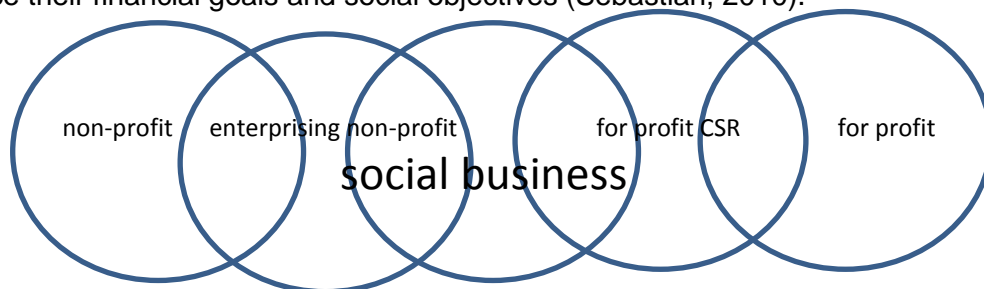


Figure 1: Locating the Social Business

METHODOLOGY

The researcher employed the qualitative research method using the case study approach. Gandang Kalikasan, Inc., a pioneering and successful social business enterprise in the Philippines, was selected as the case for this study. GKI's connection with several other smaller social business enterprises makes it a good case to meet the objectives of this study.

One of the founders of GKI and 10 employees were interviewed for the data collection of this study. The magazines/catalogues and the 10th anniversary report of GKI were also used as supporting data.

RESULTS (Analysis & Findings) & DISCUSSION

A perfect fit to the definitions and descriptions of social business enterprises above is the home-grown company **Gandang Kalikasan, Inc. (GKI)**, manufacturer of the brand name human nature. GKI recently celebrated its 10th anniversary under the helm of its founders, husband and wife duo – Dylan Wilk and Anna Meloto-Wilk together with Camille Meloto. GKI now has its own manufacturing plant and thirty three (33) branches nationwide.

The roots of GKI can be traced to **Gawad Kalinga (GK)**. GK is a global movement that started in the Philippines that aims to end poverty by first restoring the dignity of the poor. It has since then become a trusted platform for nation-building. Gawad Kalinga's *A Manifesto for Change* which are inspired by the words of Tony Meloto (Graham, 2014) shown in Table 2 below has inspired Filipinos and foreigners alike.

01	<p>I am a Filipino and I am now making a stand. A stand for God, my country, my people. A stand against poverty. I will end the #1 poverty of all in our country: poverty of the mind and the heart. I will replace my colonial mentality with a proudly “BAYANIHAN” mentality,</p>
02	<p>God did not make a mistake in creating me Filipino. I am honoring God’s plan for me as a Filipino by loving my country. I am joining the fight to end poverty, not just in words but more so in action. I will not stand idly as millions of my fellow Filipinos go hungry while I pursue my dreams and build riches.</p>
03	<p>I will take on the dream of those who have lost their capacity to dream. I dream of a prosperous, slum-free Philippines. A people who will not merely be consumers, but also producers. I dream of Filipino brands which will be globally recognizable, Filipino brands that do not leave the poor behind. I, will produce such a product.</p>
04	<p>Through entrepreneurship, I will make this dream come true. Not just ordinary entrepreneurship, but inclusive entrepreneurship. Living in a country so rich in natural resources, and being among gifted people, no reason exists why I should fail. I will be my brother’s keeper. I will help the poor become unpoor. I will make the poor a dignified partner in my business.</p>
05	<p>I will end poverty by creating wealth not just for me and my family but also for the poor because the poor is my family. I will use my time to make productive the time of the poor. I will use my talent to help the poor uncover theirs. I will use my treasure to invest in the poor and together we will build a worthy treasure for all.</p>

Table 2: GK’s A Manifesto for Change inspired by the words of Tony Meloto

Wilk (2014), used to be one of United Kingdom’s richest young men. After realizing that being a successful businessman brought out the worst in him, he started traversing the globe as a philanthropist. Then he met Anna Meloto by sheer coincidence in an airport, who convinced him to come to the Philippines to see what GK has been doing. The two started working together as GK volunteers and eventually got married. In their journey in the United States of America to look for GK benefactors, Anna noticed that natural products were widely available and more importantly were affordable. Anna wanted such products to be available in the Philippines. Dylan, who was exhausted with the traditional business life, initially did not want to engage in business again but later on agreed with the plans of Anna but they specifically set the criteria for the business that they will put up which they wanted to be a nontraditional one. Inspired by what they do for GK, Dylan and Anna together with Anna’s sister, Camille started GKI in 2008.

GKI, with its vision: “We will be the gold standard of a globally successful enterprise with a heart that will embolden all businesses to serve society” runs an unusual but sound and successful business that put people ahead of profit. Originally, the goals set by Wilk and Meloto (Wilk, 2014) were the following: 1) to start a not so ordinary business; 2) to make affordable natural products for the Filipinos; and 3) to help poor

farming communities in the Philippines. With the first two, Wilk says they have succeeded fairly but with the 3rd, their progress has been slower than anticipated because of the nature of task. In farming, it takes at least 6 months before they can check results and at least another 6 months to implement improvements and innovations.

The founders of GKI were motivated to start a business because of the following local conditions (Wilk, 2014): 1) poor state of the farming communities in the Philippines; 2) rampant use of chemicals in products widely used by Filipinos; and 3) the degradation of the environment.

There were also accidental goals met along the way (Wilk, 2014): 1) to help the urban poor sector; and 2) to help other budding social enterprises through the *Social Enterprise Incubation Program* of GKI. Because of their close tie-up with GK, GKI has been able to employ more than a hundred GK beneficiaries from the urban poor sector. GKI has also assisted many social entrepreneurs in their attempt to start their own social enterprise. Some of these are: Bayani Brew, Inc. and First Harvest which are involved in the production of a locally brewed iced tea and the production of different types of peanut butter respectively. Both of these smaller social business enterprises work with unemployed mothers.

Given that the third sector is usually profit-oriented, looking into the practices of social enterprises such as human nature, which aims to optimize instead of maximize profit is an interesting task. Below are some unusual practices of GKI (Wilk, 2014; www.humanheartnature.com; and human nature 10th anniversary report and magalogues):

On Hiring Employees and Employee Benefits:

- 1.) GK beneficiaries are given the chance to be employed even without earning college diplomas;
- 2.) Hired employees are regularized after just 3 months instead of 5 to 6 months;
- 3.) Employees receive living wages which are much higher than the minimum wage set by the government;
- 4.) There is a no-firing policy;
- 5.) Employees receive work incentives, medical benefits, wedding and newborn benefits, educational assistance, relocation assistance and continuous training on life skills;
- 6.) Employees are required to do community service once a month while still receiving their respective daily salaries;
- 7.) The head office (and the branches are encouraged as well) has a five-day work week for employees.

On Store Policies:

- 1.) Stores cannot open on Sundays (Sunday is family day.).
- 2.) The concept store prescribed for branches has a Philippine and environmental theme;
- 3.) Free coffee is offered to customers (a coffee area is required); and
- 4.) A kiddie corner is also required.

On Raw Materials and Production:

- 1.) A very strict quality control, over and above industry standards, is implemented in the Research and Development team;

- 2.) Only raw materials which are or can eventually be grown in the Philippines may be used (GK farming communities are prioritized) in product formulation; and
- 3.) No harmful chemicals may be used.

On Taxes:

- 1.) GKI pays its taxes honestly; and
- 2.) GKI did not apply for a 5-year income tax exemption for its new manufacturing plant in Laguna.

The employees of GKI reveal that among the many Administrative policies and values of the company, the following are what they appreciate the most:

- 1.) The Vision & Mission of the Company.
- 2.) The Company's Advocacies;
- 3.) The 'Walang Iwanan' Principle;
- 4.) Bayanihan & Stewardship;
- 5.) Integrity;
- 6.) The High Standards Set;
- 7.) Trust Given to Employees;
- 8.) No Firing Policy; and
- 9.) Being Treated as Family

Such practices are relatively unheard of in traditional businesses. Such Impractical and absurd practices would lead to losses, as defined by traditional businesses.

GKI runs an unusual business but according to Wilk (2014), it is a sound business, that aims, not to maximize, but to optimize profit. Wilk does not deny that running GKI is hard work. However, he also claims that GKI, in the micro level has several accomplishments in terms of social and economic impacts.

Wilk (2014) claims that Social Business Enterprises allow the poor to earn more; and chances are the poor will spend it here in the country, which is generally good for the economy.

GKI has more than 100 employees who are GK beneficiaries, thus having a positive micro social and economic impact in the urban poor sector. All the employees interviewed, most of which are GK beneficiaries, are thankful for the changes brought about by GKI in their lives. They are now able to support their family with their financial needs. Their dreams (like sending their children to reputable schools) have become possible. Most of all, the employees believe that they were given the chance to 'upgrade' themselves by restoring their dignity through the trust given by Wilk and the company. They now believe that their lives are better and can even improve further. Seventy six percent (76%) of GKI employees have reported that they have moved out of poverty (human nature 10th Anniversary Report). Wilk (in Graham, 2014, p.164) says that "by providing our staff with ethical wages, job security and quality health care, we have received their loyalty and efficiency in return."

GKI is supporting and training 21 farming communities nationwide. GKI empowers farming communities by helping and teaching them to process raw materials near the place where they are grown (Graham, 2014).

GKI has also inspired and is supporting various budding social enterprises through its Social Enterprise Incubation Program. Mike Go, GKI's Social Enterprise Development head, says that "the future and safety of his family is intertwined with the confidence and dignity that is restored in the poor; the better future that we should strive for has to be

inclusive” (human nature magalogue for April-May 2014). Such advocacy of inclusivity apparently espouses the Almond and Vera’s 3rd classification of political culture – the participant political culture. Pye (in Hague & Harrop, 2001, p.79) defines political culture as “the sum of the fundamental values, sentiments, and knowledge that give form or substance to political processes.” Kavanagh (in Ball & Guy Peters, 2005, p.65) offers a similar definition “political culture is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and values of society that relate to the political system and to political issues.” Going back to the 3rd classification of Almond and Vera, citizens, in the participant political culture, believe that they can contribute to the system and that they are affected by it (Hague & Harrop, 2001).

One of the socio-economic impacts of GKI is that because of its example and the competition it provides, it is encouraging traditional businesses to do more (Wilk, 2014).

Wilk (2014) says that it is easy for Filipinos to be social entrepreneurs because of our indigenous concept of *bayanihan* and concern for the *kapwa*. Perhaps in the past, it just wasn’t clear how it could be done. GK has showed a way. GKI has and is showing another way. Other social enterprises are showing other ways. GKI and other social enterprises are just beginning in the Philippines. GKI hopes to raise a generation of social entrepreneurs with a new mind set – believing it could be done.

If political development is to be defined as the capacity of political structures to assert their legitimacy overtime, Wilk (2014) believes that social enterprises like GKI aid in political development in various levels. It has helped provide some social services and economic benefits to its employees and by showing a model of integrity, the government is inspired and challenged while the people become hopeful and aware that it could be done in a different way. Because of this model of integrity, more good people get into the government. This model demands others to do more, beyond the traditional way of running the government and running a business.

CONCLUSION

While the micro social, economic and political impacts of GKI can already be seen and felt, its impact on the macro level is yet to be fully realized.

To conclude this paper, the author would like to quote Tony Meloto (in Graham, 2014, p.167) – “Through the success of Human Nature and other successful social enterprises, the rest will begin to take notice: that doing good really can make good business sense.”

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ELABORATION OF PATTERNS OF LIVING ENVIRONMENT AMONG ITINERANT ELDERLY IN MALAYSIA BY USING INTERPRETATIVE PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS (IPA)

POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

¹Aqsa Qandeel, ²Dr. Welyne Jeffrey Jehom

¹Ph.D. Anthropology and Sociology, FASS

²Senior lecturer, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, FASS
(aqsaqandeel@gmail.com)

Abstract

The current study is associated with the description of living environment for destitute elderly with the narration of patterns by structure and by lifestyle in Malaysia. It was a qualitative research with Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) of life stories by the itinerant old aged people who were residing out of home in sheltered or shelter less places. The semi-structured interview was conducted by fourteen homeless elderly people in their current residential space at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia by snowball and purposive sampling. The analysis by IPA demonstrated the data into themes and sub-themes for the elaboration of structural and living patterns in different living settings of itinerant elderly. The living options of itinerant elderly were included total institutions, panopticons, temporary residentials and open environment depend upon the implementation of Destitute Person Act 1977 and freedom of choice of destitute elderly to choose the living style after being homeless. The availability of facilities of life at place depended on the nature of environment. However, majority of them were not able to enjoy some common civil, medical and political rights. The study leaved the room to investigate the destitution among people other than elderly itinerants. It is suggested to manage some privacy for elderly to spend their life independently in total institution and panopticon rather than to urge them to be roofless again.

Keywords: Living pattern, Living environment, Itinerant elderly, Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA)

Introduction

In Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur is the commercial, governmental and receptacle center for economical as well as urban progression since 1880s. beside it, the scale of destitution and state attention had the regular fluctuations with developmental and economical shifts. There were a lot of numbers of old aged destitute person in KL who had accused with various criminal blames at their young age and now surviving as vagrant elderly since 1950 (David, 1950). A survey found that the elderly people of all ages including Chinese were found to be destitute because of tagging as unwanted people, must need to push out. At that time, vagrancy spread like epidemic and difficult to control (Social Welfare Department, 1955). A nation-wide survey disclosed that the vagrants were not the idle as now but the honest employees in tin mining, rubber states or manual labors in their young age. They were surviving without family since very young age because majority of them were born foreigners although they had Malaysian citizenship. But they were not able to access the state assistance because of not reaching the

absolute destitution for attaining “Right to protection and care” specifically for reliant aged person (Welfare Service Ministry, 1975).

It was planned by the Malaysian’s Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development to announce the plans and strategies to criminalize the vagrancy and beggary by the amendment of Federal Vagrancy Law and the Destitute Persons Act in April 2014. It was emphasized to make this action plan implacable and simple in order to restrict the beggary and destitution (Nurbaita, 2014). After two months, it was decided to ban the free distribution of food and almsgiving in order to make Kuala Lumpur a destitute people-free zone. In the same week, the minister Rohani ordered to launch a month-long arc named “Operasi Qaseh” means “Operation Generosity” to clean the city from the visible destitute people by anti-vagrancy crackdown and necessary relocation of arrested street vagrants in rehabilitation centers located outside of KL. It was also announced in press by public officers that such strategies were essential to have zero destitution.

In 2010, the ministry also made some strategies to engage the civil community in the eradication of grassroots of destitution in collaboration with NGOs. In 2011, Prime Minister Najib to allot fund for the pilot sheltering to exterminate homelessness. Public awareness campaigns were pursued by federal agencies to educate people about not to feel the drug adductors and destitute with anti-social behavior (Rusenko, 2018). The preferences of elderly people for living with defer for every individual depend upon the experience of life and availability of family. It was found that in KL, Malaysia, the old aged people mostly prefer to live with children and spouse if having. But they were also comfortable in the community of elderly people because of having same interests and age group. Moreover, some of them didn’t mind living alone the life of destitution or institution (Astina & Ahmad, 2016, November).

Problem statement, research questions and objectives

It was surveyed by Kechara Soup Kitchen about the vagrant people that almost 1500 homeless people are residing in the streets of KL, Malaysia (Kong, 2014). And among them, the destitute elderly over the age of 60 years are 22% according to Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development year 2010. Only 10% of them are non-Malaysian and the rest are local (Tan, 2014). In KL, 70.9% of homeless people are residing without shelter on the other hand, 29.1% are living in the shelter homes as their residence (Ghee & Omar, 2015). It was managed by the Ministry of Malaysia to rehabilitate the destitute persons under the Destitute Person Act 1977, but despite of it, a lot of people were residing outside homelessly because of illness, willing of being free and addiction habit. The living options of such elderly persons included the temporary residences, streets, markets and underpasses. They used to beg or keep sitting silently at different public places to collect some money for their survival. The current study is designed to check the differences of living patterns in and out of institutional livings including the variation of facilities in KL Malaysia. It will also explore that what are the main reasons of their destitution that forced them to leave home and be the part of welfare homes or part of street life.

Research Question

1. What are the living patterns of destitute elderly people in welfare homes?
2. How the old aged people are living in streets and marketplaces?
3. What are the differences of living patterns in the welfare homes and street life?

Objectives

1. To explore the living arrangements for homeless elderly in care homes of KL;
2. To demonstrate the life patterns of elderly people in streets and public places;

3. To check the variation of living facilities in care homes and roofless setting among homeless old aged people;

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

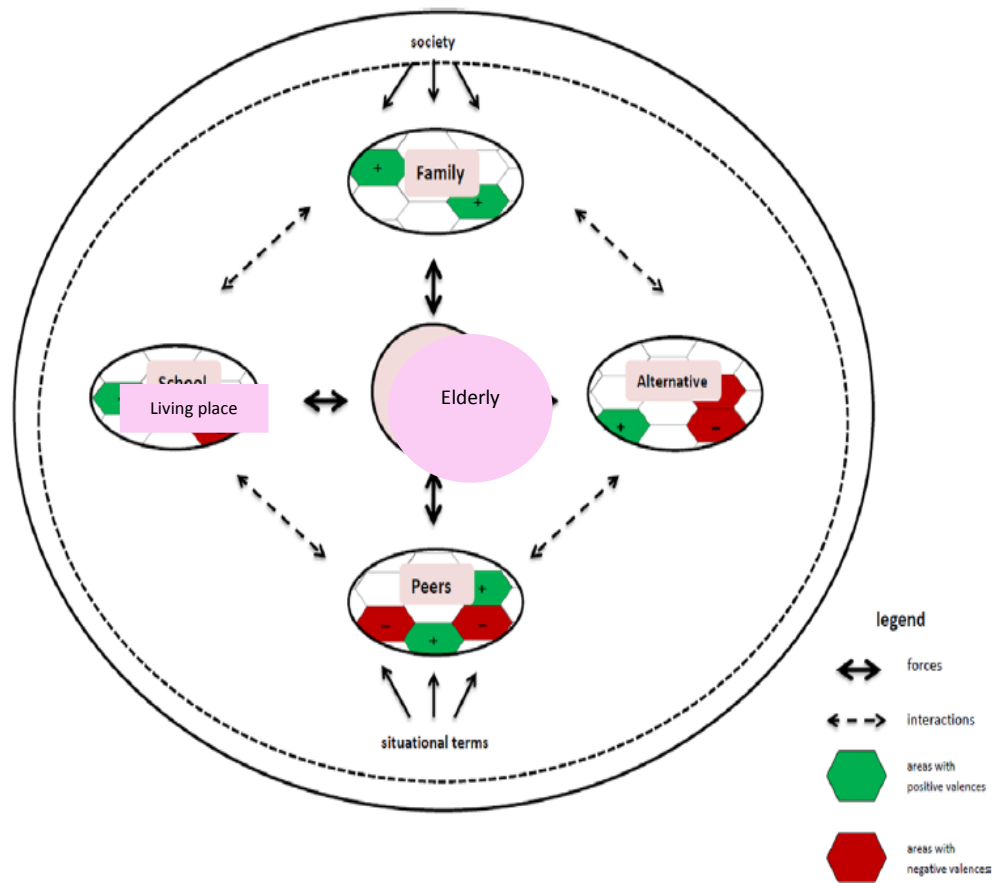
It was found in a study that the federal Ministry of to act upon the Destitution Person Act 1977 by prohibiting the vagrant people from begging along with the harsh behavior of people with them. They destitute people were helpless to beg not for greed but for need (Rusenko & Loh, 2014). These people blamed the society for their homelessness and poor condition. Their only demand from the government and society was to provide food and shelter in respectful manners (Ghee Omar, 2015). Those who were indulge in drug addiction and drinking, committed street crimes to buy their drugs and drinks. Majority of them were affected by mental disorders and psychological diseases (Soh, 2012). Normally, their residential options were under stairs, buildings, abandon stores and hallways. They also preferred to live in open places public places and corridors (Ismail & Turiman, 2016). Their partialities also included the streets where there would be greenery, friendly environment, public amenities, freedom of action and interaction with public while these people were always considered useless, undesirable and forgotten for the rest of society (Rahmana, Shamsuddin & Ghani, 2018). Even the elderly people in care homes were not able to lead a satisfactory life because of the history of illness, nostalgic memories associated with family before homelessness and health issues that caused sleeping disorder in them (Rashid, Ong & Wong, 2012). Services and security providers by their initial structure of residence but in actual the residents were no longer or desirable to live behind the gating community at Penang, Accra and Ghana (Obeng-Odoom, ElHadary & Jang, 2014). They were living hopelessly because of no progression hope for future. In their daily life routine, they were usually indulged in recitation of Holy book Quran, learning religious education, saying prayers to make them satisfied as the consideration of preparation of life hereafter (Ibrahim & Dahlan, 2015). Some of them were satisfied with life by saying "AlhamDuLillah" that was associated with life satisfaction, affection, love, care and health (Makhtar, Dahlan, Masuri, & Danis, 2016).

The major reasons of their destitution were unaffordability of getting enter in gating community (Xavier, 2008) disability, divorce, unprivileged childhood (Makiwane, Tamasane & Schneider, 2010) parental abuse, gambling, search for better life after 50 years of age (Alhabshi & Abdul Manan, 2012) while some of them became vagrant to search better job, to find a better place of living and some of them were aimless and not clear about their plans for future (Yani, Mahfuzah, Zahari, Samah, Haziqah, Azahar & Noor, 2016). The women were destitute for other different reasons; indulgence in criminal activities drug addiction, being bad mother, prostitute, human trafficking and domestic violence (Adib, Hussin & Ahmad, 2016).

Field theory and concept of Person-Environment:

Field theory was developed by Lewin to analyze the individual and societal behavior and its combination with holistic character with dynamic interaction of thinking, experiences and behavior as a dynamic model (Schulze, 2009). This holistic approach was able to explain the behavior (B) as the function (F) of person and environment (E). It means the behavior of person depends on the environmental setting. In other words, person and environment as a collection of interdependent factors (Lewin, 1946). Lewin called these factors collectively as the life space of individual. In psychology, life space is referred as a field that comprised of everything in perceived outer environment (including other people and things) and internal environment (including needs, thoughts, values and feelings) that is called psychological facts (Lewin, 1943). The current behavior of individual is the product of here and now (Burnes & Cooke, 2013). Such social expectations and situational terms are the outer part of recognition of individual and sometimes he or she is not able to aware of it at given time. If individual has more harmony with social, emotional, cognitive and physical environment along with the best fitness with surrounding, there would be more life satisfactions and high quality of life. Furthermore, the old aged people are more sensitive towards some specification of health

condition, it means the factor of age also influenced the behavioral modification in relation to surrounding environment. Because of this reason, the elderly people are less probable to adopt to a new space of residence. They are not eased to accept the change in their residential condition that effects their mismanagement at living place (Ferrare & Apple, 2015)



Source: Person environment analysis (Kaiser & Schulze, 2015)

The elderly people are also not able to work properly due to their limitation of work as activities of daily livings and instrumental activities of daily livings. To enhance their activities of daily life, their surrounding should be simplified and supportive for their healthy survival. They are limited to work because of the less control on the surrounding environment which also include their undesirability to move at a new place of living (Zhang, Wei, Han, Chen, Peng & Du, 2017; Martin, Zimmer & Lee, 2017).

Foucault's Panopticon

Foucault modified the concept of panopticon which was first introduced by Jeremy Bentham in 19th century for prisons, asylums, factories and schools. It is a regulatory system to place the individuals as a specific place in peaceful manners rather than using vicious methods of control. A powerful and sophisticated pressure is inserted by continuous observation on the residents and not allowing them to act independently and communicate with other inmates. This modern system makes it possible for the guard and administrative to observe the residents at each place in the cell from a higher place or tower which is normally unknow by the inmates or residents. If the residents know about the continuous observation on them, they would be conscious about their moves because of constant surveillance

(Horsell, 2001). The destitute people who were living in the care institution are also observed under the same circumstances by the application of Foucault's concept of panopticon as they are living under the continuous observation within boundary. On the other hand, if the homeless people are living or working at the public space, parklands or streets, they are recognized as a resistive act against regular society (Beck & Fraser, 2001; Watson, 2000).

Methodology

For this paper, the data was collected from the homeless elderly of KL, Malaysia by using snowball sampling and purposive sampling. The areas from which data was collected were Masjid Jamek, Pasar Seni, Choket, Titiwangsa and Ampang. Semi-structured interviews were conducted by fourteen destitute elderly living at shelterless settings or institutional settings. Six of them were living in institutions (Pusat Transit Gelandangan, KL) and eight were living at public places. All elderly destitute were over the age of 65 years for the current study and according to Population and Demographic Ageing (2017).

This qualitative data was analyzed by implementation of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) by dividing the data into themes and subthemes. IPA allows to capture the authentic insight on contextual experiences of participants with limited and unique predefined ways. It leads to explore the study "bottom up" approach rather than "top down" in ideographic manners to capture the new meanings as well as creating balance between individual and shared values of group (Adams, Shakespeare-Finch & Armstrong, 2015). It is the depiction of participant viewpoint along with critical cross-questioning by the researcher with two aspects; understanding and interpretation. The process of IPA consists of; initial list of themes, clustering of themes, selection of quotations representing the themes and finally the narration that includes all previous steps. More generally, when IPA is described narratively, it consists of superordinate themes, subordinate themes and keywords or issues described by the participant. These keywords are the actual statements, spoken by the respondents themselves/herselves.

Process → Superordinate themes → subordinate themes → example quotes

Result

Analysis and Findings

By the implementation of IPA, following themes, subthemes and keywords were extracted as a result of analysis for the current study in order to demonstrate the living arrangements at care home, public space or streets and variation among both settings under the constructed themes:

Table 1: Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA)

#	Superordinate theme	Subordinate / cluster themes	Keywords and statements
1	Shelter	Building or living place	Boundary of building, defined territory, living options by care homes, living options
		Bedding	Space of permanent bedding,
		Accessories for sleep	Pillow, mattress, bedsheet, blanket, paper sheet, cardboard as bed sheet, old donated blankets
		Availability of room	Temporary shelter, room on rent once in blue moon, shared room or Single room in care home, permanent one bed at multiple bedding hall
		Facility of bathroom	Shared or separate, availability of bathing place, bathing accessories
2	Security	Prevention from theft	Stolen of personal things, money, food packets, clothes
		Life threat	Threat to kill for not giving money, threat to leave the place, threat to be caught by police, threat by members of family
		Escape from accidents	Road accidents, physical disability, prevention from self-hurting, suicidal attempts
		Physical abuses	Bad touch, sexual assault, beating and harming, slapping and snatching
		Mental abuses	Continuous listing to bad words, anxiety of being alone, stress to be among strangers, insulting by co-residents, misbehave by coordinating staff
3	Finance	Source of livelihood	Donation or charity, help by member of family, surrounding people, monthly or weekly pocket money by care institution, self-financing by previous earning sources.
		Daily earning,	Labor work, begging, family support, pension
		Accessories to buy	Personal good: soap, shampoo toothbrush, comb, oil, shaver
		Previous ownerships	House, shops, agricultural land, business, job and pension
4	Freedom	Freedom of movement	Within institution: free to move at all places any time of day and night, free to move to kitchen and use things, free to move to other tenants' place; out of institution; free to come and go outside without restriction, free to join and leave institution without previous notification
		Restricted schedule	Time to meet relative if any, time to go out and come, follow the patterns of attending any gathering, time to sleep, time to wake up, time to take food, time to take bath, time to change clothes
		Expressional independence	Freedom to speak the disliked things at living place, freedom to speak about fellows, anger expression on staff in case of disliking, loud speaking any time

5	Equality	By gender	Different behavior being male/female
		By race	Discrimination of being Malays, Chinese, Tamil, Hindu
		By age	Being aged, dealing of people and behavior of youngers
		By financial status	Within institution; financial support by family, difference of appearance, lingual difference,
6	Food	Meal per day	Main course, brunch, evening snacks
		Time of eating	Fixed or free, fulfilment of food requirement other than three times
		Quantity of meal	Enough for one time, less than one meal, more than one meal
		Source of food	NGOs, surrounding people, buying food, begging from shops or hotels
		Inclusion of healthy food	Dairy, fruits, clean water, fresh vegetable
		Dining manners	Having cutlery to eat, having own plates all the time, eat in disposable packets, dining chair or table, sitting on ground to eat, eat by hands or spoon
7	Clothing	Number of dresses	Two or more than two, having
		Placement of cloths	Wardrobe at care home, small locker, personal bag, hanging at public place
		Source of getting clothes	Institute, NGOs, Donation by people, buying second hand, buying new clothes
		Washing of cloths	Availability of washing machine, washing by hands, place of washing clothes, use of detergent or soap to wash
8	Medication	History of sickness	Any fatal disease, permanent disease, epidemic disease
		Physical disability	Absence of any internal organ, accidental loss of body part, accidental permanent damage of body part
		Source of medical treatment	Checkup by civil hospital by paying, regular medical checkup by mobile NGO services, treatment under institutional care, exclusion from care home in case of epidemic disease
		Drug abuses	Drinking alcohol, using drugs for peace of mind and relaxation, considering drugs as medication
		Finance for medical checkup	Free checkup, self-finance, on the expense of care home
9	Hygiene	Shower schedule	How many times in a week, place of bathing and showering; public toilets, in malls or markets; under institutional care
		Clothes changing habit	Once in a day, thrice in a week, done by self, instructed by care home,
		Hair trimming and shave	Once or twice in a month, go to barber, service provided by NGO or care home,
		Access to bathing accessories	Use of soap, shampoo, shower tap, personal accessories or shared

Elaboration Of Patterns Of Living Environment Among Itinerant Elderly In Malaysia By Using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Ipa)

		Cleaning of sleeping place	Washing of bedding place and sheets, cleaning of living room at care home, cleaning at public living space
10	Relationships	Co-residents	Healthy conversation with associates, dispute or difference of opinion, tolerance with co-residence, how long sit with co-residents, heartily attachment and feeling of in group
		Superordinate	Obedient behave with staff, staff behavior, harsh communication in case of denying following schedule, rudeness of public by looking down upon, secret sharing with those who are kind and supportive
		Family associations	Meetings with siblings, visit to relative house, arrival of siblings to meet, contact with children and wife if any, offer by member of family to come back and live together, siblings cheat to occupy property
		Peer group	Having friends at current place of living, any friend comes to meet, going to friend's place, secret sharing with new peer group at streets, financial support by old friend

Source: Self-perceived

Objectives

- 1: To explore the living arrangements for homeless elderly in care homes of KL
- 2: To demonstrate the life patterns of elderly people in streets and public places;
- 3: To check the variation of living facilities in care homes and roofless setting among homeless old aged people

Findings: Living arrangements for homeless elderly

Before demonstrating the living arrangements, organized by the care homes for homeless old aged people, it is mandatory to have an insight about the living option as care home for such destitute old age people. It was explored by the current research that the shelter options for the homeless elderly were care homes, working under Non-profit Organizations or Non-governmental Organizations that provides full time care and residential facility to vagrant senior citizens. The second option of living was to join the temporary residential facility under the Ministry of Women and Community Development. The name of the institution selected for the current study was Anjung Singgah. The other living option was established under Kementerian Wilayah Persekutuan (KWP) in association with MRCB. The center called Pusat Transit Gelandangan Kuala Lumpur and it was directive by PM Dato Seri Najib Razak himself when he conducted a survey on homeless people.

On the other hand, the homeless elderly who were living in the condition of vagrancy had the following option of living; temporary residence for a night or week, living at. The major attention to select these options of living and staying was to get food, charity and money by the people to survive in life.

Through Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), the living patterns of elderly people were explored at the both settings of living: shelter and vagrancy. The first three objectives of study are demonstrated with rich description thoroughly as well as concisely to check the variation of living facilities at shelter homes and in vagrant condition. Here is the brief description of these two living settings along with their variations:

1. Shelter

It was found by the research that the building of care homes has boundary and defined territory. The old aged people of care homes spend their lives in institutional boundary. They had a specified shelter home and need not to wander around in search of shelter if once they got enter in the care house boundary after the completion of institutional formalities. They had a secure place to live in as depicted by Foucault concept of panopticon. Some of them also experienced the temporary shelter places including; living at some rental homes for some days when having little amount to afford, temporary living houses in which the vagrant citizens could live for short duration of time. The duration was comprised of two to three months. These temporary living places had also building and defined boundary. On the other hand, the living place of vagrant elderly had no specific boundary, building and territory. They moved around aimlessly and didn't stay at any specified place for long duration of time. Their living options included roadside, footpaths underpasses, outside the malls under shed, outside college buildings at night, near hotels and restaurants, under-construction sits, bus-stops, near mosques or temples and public parks.

The availability of room to reside for homeless elderly was possible for those who were the part of care home. Some of them were living with shared room and some of them had a reserved bed in a big hall where several other elderly people were also living along with them. those who

had the option of temporary shelter were also enjoyed the facility of room while staying at shelter home. While those who experienced living facility once in life after being destitute also had a room with basic facilities of life.

In both places of living, there was a huge of difference of bedding. In shelter homes, there was a proper system of bedding with bed, mattress, pillow, bedsheet and a blanket to cover up. While those destitute elderly who were living the life of vagrancy, had floor bedding by spreading newspaper or cardboard on the ground. They used their carriage bag as pillow and this bag was the only luggage of them to carry with them all the time. It was very rare among them to have an old blanket to use for bedding and such vagrant elderly were considered richer among all destitute around.

Along with bedding, the availability of bathing cannot be ignored. So, the respondents also spoke about the availability of bathroom along with the room facility especially at care home. The structure of building was different for different care homes as told by the residents who experienced living at different shelter homes. Some had an attached bathroom with room while the other had separate bathing facility altogether for all the residents at one place. This place was at aside in order to avoid unhygienic condition because some of residents were not able to use bathroom with conscious condition of cleaning because of weak body and ill mental condition. In bathroom, they were provided with all necessary items periodically that were required for bathing and washing. While as compare to care homes, the bathroom facility was not as much as easily available to homeless elderly living at open places. They had to use the public toilets or the bathrooms available in malls and shopping centers. They didn't have personal bathing accessories like soap and shampoo, but they used the handwash as replacement.

2. Security

The security system was totally different at care homes than the public dwellers. The old aged people of shelter homes told that they have no security threats and fear of stealing things as the building was secured by cameras and security guard and this service was available for twenty-four hours. Their lives were safe without any threat of life and harm. Even if someone among relative came to see them in institution were inquired first and then allowed to meet the old person if he was willing. In case of unwillingness of old age person to meet his/her member of family or friend, that guest was not allowed to see and talk the elderly. While the security threats were found more in those who were helpless to live in public day and night. There were a lot of destitute people along with them who were indulged in drug addiction and drinking alcohol. So, in order to fulfil their need of drug, they used to steal the money and food of the other destitute people in the streets especially at night when they were sleeping. The threat of snatching was also serious over them when they had some food packets or plastic bags with some clothes and living accessories. These old aged people were not able to complaint anyone for their little loose. It was also found that sometimes, the mobile police and security guard at the nearby building didn't let them stay at their place of sleeping and threaten them to catch and incarcerate for their begging habit and vagrancy. It was a challenging situation for them all the time. For this reason, some of elderly people used to change their place of sleeping after some days in order to avoid interaction police. It was observed that the accidental situation was faced more by those elderly people who were residing at public places because of insecure environment and uncertain mental condition. They were victim of road accidents, harmed and beaten by violent vagrants of streets, slapped and snatched in case of protesting against snatching and stealing their goods. The more crucial condition was road accidents that sometimes made them physically disable as well as unemployed because of disability. A lady faced such accident and lamed by one leg, left her job because of accident and had to live homelessly. Some elderly male also tried to suicide, and no

one step forwarded to save them but fortunately they were saved by miracle after getting little first aid. While the problem of suicidal attempt was found less among elderly at care homes as they were enjoying a safe life. Moreover, if someone tried to do so, was saved by the care home administration and provided with psychological therapy.

Another issue that was faced more by the shelterless elderly specifically females, was sexual abuse. One Chinese old lady told that some young drunk men used to touch the breast and buttock of females while walking around them. Even they were raped if their mental condition was not stable because those females were not able to tell anyone what happened to them. She asked to be careful while walking in this area. This condition was not found among the females of care homes, but they were protected by authorities and no stranger could reach them. But it was difficult at both living settings to be avoided by metal abuses. Some of co-residents were the cause of stress and anxiety for the other tenants. Some of them disliked others with 'no solid reason' but just to irritate the inhabitants to urge them to leave the place. Their stress level remained high because of some interrelated reasons; separation from relatives, living alone without family, sentiments of being strange at a new place where no one was loyal to each other but tried to get benefit from others or care home staff. Sometimes, the elderly people disturbed mentally because of mishandling by the staff of shelter home as they used to speak harsh words with them in order to make them follow the routine of institution. This situation was quite similar in roofless elderly people who used to be anxious because of disruptive behavior of abnormal people around them, misbehavior of youngsters at shops who scolded them for begging. They also had the feelings of loneliness all the time by considering the surrounding people strangers. Overall the situation of security at care center was better than the public place. But it was found that the mental disturbance equally affected the roofless and sheltered elderly people.

3. *Finance*

The theme of finance covered all the financial conditions and sources used and attained by homeless old aged people. First thing that was explored, associated with their source of livelihood. According to their living style, their livelihood was different. At care homes, the old aged people were attaining financial benefits under Ministry, Government or NGOs by providing them monthly stipend to meet their personal needs other than provision of residential facility. Some of the old aged people who were educated and employed in their past life, were getting their pension at shelter home. Some elderly persons told that their members of family were sending some amount for their expenses. But majority of them were not getting any financial help by their family and had no pension. They were attaining money by the institute monthly to spend on themselves and to buy the any necessary goods of favorite food. On the other hand, those who were residing without any shelter had liminal sources of earning livelihood. They used to beg daytime and collect some coins or amount to spend. It was rare found among them to do labor work to win the bread because majority of them were idle and lazy to work. Some were weak and sick to work, so the charity by rich people and NGOs and begging was their source of livelihood. The money they earned were spent on buying the necessary goods of life like soap, shampoo, brush and comb. Rarely, some of them liked scents and perfumes and bought the cheaper scents from local markets. Buying the shaver was one of their important need for homeless elderly while the senior citizens under institutional care were not needed to buy shaver because of the available facility of shaving and cutting. But they liked to spend their money on buying their favorite food, cigarettes in case of smoking, newspapers to read to kill the time and vary rarely clothes and shoes if found very reasonable and affordable. Beside their current living patterns and earning sources, it was discovered that most of them were the owners of houses, shops, agricultural land and share in business. But unfortunately, they were cheated and kicked out of homes by their relatives and trust-worthy friends. But almost all of them didn't want to get back their property as they were grown older and material goods were useless for them at this stage of life.

4. *Freedom*

The exploration of living patterns at care homes and public space through light on the significant variation of independence of elderly people at different places of living. While discussing about the freedom of old aged people in the care homes, it was found that there was restriction for them to move freely throughout the care home all the time. The management had designed some scheduled life and routine for elderly people, and no one can move out from the scheduled patterns. They had fixed time of getting up, taking meal, taking shower, changing clothes, sleeping, attending gatherings, moving out and coming back to institution restrictions. All of them were not allowed to enter in kitchen space and make something of their choice although their choice was asked before preparing food. But their willing to get into kitchen and kitchen stuff remained always a dream. They were free to move to place of other residents at daytime but after getting permission of that old person. Without permission, no one could get enter in someone's room and disturb. Their time was restricted to meet the visitors if any and even if they wanted to move out of institution were limited to come back before evening if they were going for a walk and meeting someone. In case of going back to home to meet relatives, they could stay as much as they wanted. In expressional expression, they were not allowed to speak loud, harsh words for other inmates and rude behave with staff was not allowed. In case of such situations, they were given warning to stay calm and peaceful if they wanted to stay in institution. Otherwise, they were asked to leave the care home if they had difficulty of adjustment and behavioral/anger management. If any old aged person wanted to be the part of care home, he had to fill the form for the formal entry in institution along with the fulfil the criteria like; no health issues, no criminal background, no mental disorder etc. Contrarily, homeless elderly people at vagrancy felt themselves free to do anything whatever they wanted. There was no restriction for them to come and go anywhere. Even some of them were physically fit and could get admit at care homes but the only thing that made them stay outside was independence because they couldn't bear the instructions and restriction. They wanted to spend a free life in the late stage. In case of expressional freedom, they were free to express their feelings in any way in front of anyone. Sometimes, in case of acute anger and pain, they used to speak loud alone to remove their sorrow and became relax. Although they were not in favor of hurting someone, yet they spoke whatever they felt; good or bad. It was a kind of therapy for them to be stay calm and peaceful for rest of the time. It was told by male respondents that sometimes, they were entangled in physical dispute by pushing someone to express their anger and nobody stopped them to do so but later on they excused the person for their misbehave and admit that they were not able to manage their anger. Such independence could be enjoyed only outside of care homes because of no limitations and restriction on behavioral expression. And those elderly people considered it a therapy to calm down themselves.

5. *Equality*

The study found that the equality level was better at care homes and sheltered places than the homeless elderly. The males and females were enjoying equal rights and facilitations and there was not much racial discrimination among different races; Malays, Chinese, Tamil, Hindu. But these elderly people were conscious about the racial difference and preferred to company with same race than the others. But in case of interaction with other races, they didn't express disliking but tolerate them. the staff treated them all equally and didn't differentiate on the base of race, color or gender. Some homeless centers were established for all age groups and among them, the elderly people were enjoying more respect and care than other age groups. This thing was elaborated by majority of respondents who had already experienced living at another center

for homeless people. The only big difference among them was associated with financial condition and qualification level. Some of the homeless old aged people were well qualified and did job in their past life. Their way of living and dealing was sophisticated and ideal. They were conscious about their appearance and remained neat all the time. Their talking style was also impressive, and they were multi-lingual individuals. While some of their co-residents were illiterate and ill mannered. They were not conscious about cleaning of themselves and their place of living. Because of feeling low, such old aged persons didn't like the mannered elderly and tried to taunt them and make them to leave the place because the presence of such ideal old aged people continually draws the attention of care homes staff and other visitors. This difference couldn't be equated at any cost because of the long-term association with previous living style. While on the other hand, the equality was found to be less in old aged people living in streets. The males were more dominant, and females felt fear of insecurity among all being alone. But they got more charity help in streets as compare to male beggars. While the racial difference was seemed to be less, and they felt to be deal equally in destitute condition by the people and other old aged persons. Moreover, being old, they were getting respect by the younger destitute people other than those who were drug adductors and drunk because they were not able to recognize the prestige of another person in front of them. additionally, their previous financial status was also meaningless to them and didn't create any difference among all of them as they were living in same situation without any discrimination. The mobile NGOs service also provided them help of equality bases and didn't differentiate.

6. *Food*

By the application of IPA, it was explored that the schedule of taking food was different of homeless old aged people at shelter home and public place. The findings were surprising that there was a systematic distribution of meal to elderly people in care homes, but the vagrant elderly wasted more food than them. they got food parcels by NGOs, NPOs and other sympathetic people who distributed free food among homeless people. They also got food packets at the time of prayer near mosque or temple. Almost all the time, they had some food stuff and drink. It was also observed at their place of living that these elderly people with all other homeless people wasted food and through in rubbish if got much excessive food. Sometime if they had processed meal, they used it for next morning. But the fresh food stuff got spoil in hours and couldn't be able to use. At the time of distribution, these homeless people ran in hurry to get food stuff but later wasted it when having a lot of options to eat. The residents of care homes were getting meals with proper schedule and there was very minimal chance of food wastage. They also got fresh fruits, dairy products and some snacks in between three meals and their health were good. But they didn't have opportunity to access food of their choice but a few times. On the other hand, the vagrant elderly was free to buy any food stuff they liked by the money of beggary. But their life pattern was very random that they didn't have proper place and cutlery to eat. When they got food, they sat on ground and started eating with dirty hands. While at care homes, they were trained to wash hands before and after meal and food was provided at dining hall with neat and clean cutlery. Sometimes they were provided meal in disposable boxes to eat in their rooms in case of any gathering to make them feel easy.

7. *Clothing*

The clothing manners were also found to be different at different place of residence. The care homes were responsible for the provision of clothes monthly or occasionally like Raya or new year. They were also provided with an almirah to keep their clothing stuff and other thins of usage in it. It was very rare among residents of car homes to buy their clothes. They also had the facility of washing clothes with detergent and proper place of laundry. Sometimes, if some of them were

not able to wash their clothes due to sickness and weakness, they were helped by the staff of institution. While contrarily, the homeless elderly at streets were getting their clothes by charity and donation. They never bought new clothes for themselves. For keeping clothes, they had only one bag in which they put their all necessary goods. Mostly they had two pair of clothes; one they wore and other they washed. They had to wash their clothes at public toilets with the handwash or sometime, it was told by them that they just rinsed clothes with water. To dry the clothes, they put it on the clean floor at roadside or sometimes hanged on stands at parking places.

8. Medication

With the growing age, it is an obvious thing to have disease and sickness because of weak immune system. While analyzing the patterns of living at care home, it was found that the admission criteria of shelter homes was strict for not admitting the sick and abnormal old aged persons to keep the other residents safe from disease. The person with epidemic and fetal disease was impossible to be the part of care home although he/she was provided with some amount of medical treatment out of the care institution under governmental expenses. Other than fetal disease and mentally abnormal persons, the elderly people with physical disability were the part of care homes. Some of them were not able to walk and used wheelchair and some of them were using some instruments for better listening and sight. They had regular medical checkup after fifteen days or a month. But in case of emergency, they were admitted to civil hospital under the supervision of staff of care homes. If during stay, they had been identified with epidemic disease, were excluded from institution by keeping in view the safety of other old aged people. That person was asked to contact any relative or friend to take him/her with them or in case of no relatives, they were placed at a separate place with high care and precaution for others to see him/her. It was seen at care homes, that no one was drug addict and drunk. Such abuses were not allowed within care home. But on the other hand, the senior citizens who were living outer place with no specific shelter were facing more challenges regarding medical treatment. Although they were getting medical checkup and medication by NGOs weekly yet some of them had acute diseases and they wanted the treatment. One old man was expressing his anger for governmental institution as it was not working for people like him while he needed medical treatment which was not affordable for him at all. He said that "if government works for us, we wouldn't be on roads". Some of them were injured in accident and their wounds were fresh and open. They told that the wound was old but due to dirt and dust, it was not getting better. An old man had allergic reaction on his hands, and he was continuously scratching his body. This scratching was making his hands bloody, but he was not able to control his itching. He told that he took medicines from the camp established by NGO, but no use. Now he didn't prefer to go to them for medication as he knew that nothing will work for his disease. Almost all vagrant elderly persons were admitting the fact that their illness or disease was not getting better because of environmental pollution and unhygienic condition.

9. Hygiene

By the implementation of Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), a clear margin of living pattern was discovered regarding hygienic condition of care homes and public space for homeless elderly. The results showed that there was a regular cleanup of living place of elderly at care homes along with the changing of bedsheets, washing of blankets and taking spray after some interval. They had been trained and directed to take shower almost daily in morning and change their clothes. In order to keep them clean, there was an organized system of showering and bathing of residents with all the necessary items including soap, shampoo, brush and comb. The facility of shaving and trimming was also provided by establishing a barber shop within care

home. Overall their cleanliness was satisfied, and it also influenced their health to keep them safe from diseases. While considering the hygienic condition of vagrant elderly, they were limited to use the public toilets for showering and bathing. Their clothes were usually dirty and old with bad odor. They were also provided with the facility of trimming and shaving by some organization once in a week. It helped them to look neat for some days. But on regular bases, they were not in habit of washing face and cleaning themselves. At public toilets they used handwash as soap and shampoo for showering and never feel the need to buy soap. One of them said, 'if I could survive without such things then why I need to waste money on it'. They considered such items unnecessary for them. their place of living was cleaned by the sweepers and cleaners as their living place was publicly open. So, there was not much dirt there specially during daytime, but until night, they used dirty space for sleeping and didn't bother to clean it by themselves. It was also the reason of their unhealthy health condition that they were not able to keep them neat and clean in open environment.

10. Relationships

After being destitute, it was found that the associations of elderly were not strong and emotionally attached with someone at any place of living. Their contact with family were almost lost and no one came to see them. In care homes there were very few elderly persons whose family members came to see them and provided them some financial support, but majority of them didn't even know about their family; siblings, wife and children. The condition was not different with vagrant elderly at streets. At both places of living, their relationship was not strong with co-residents and had no friends. They used to talk each other just to kill time with no emotional attachment. Some of old men out of care homes sometimes used to go to their old friends to meet and then came back to their place. They never intended to live with someone once they left home or kicked out of home. It was somehow possible for old aged people at care homes to come to know about their family, some of them knew about the education of their children and living place of wife, working type of siblings and their residence, but they didn't want to go to them at all because they felt themselves burden for their families. So, they preferred to stay alone with the people like them. on the other hand, the destitute elderly at roadsides were not much aware of their family condition. They missed them and guess that what would be the age of their children and they might be living with their spouse. The unmarried elderly recalled the events with their siblings and even knew the residence of them, but they also didn't want to go to them. At care homes, the association of old aged people with staff was not touchy and emotional but they respect each other. Some of the elderly people were not able to control their anger, so they expressed their anger to them and didn't want to talk to anyone around them. they wanted to live alone and quiet. As they were growing old, their mental condition was more unpredictable. Sometimes they enjoyed the company of one peer and at other time, they didn't want to see his/her face. Sometime, during normal conversation, they filled with sadness and left the company to stay alone a side.

Discussion

The study aimed to find the variations in living environment of homeless people at two different settings by checking their living patterns and available facilities, but it was interesting to know that some of the themes and subthemes were similar for old age destitute people at both settings of living despite of crucial difference of living patterns and scheduled life. Although they had different buildings of residence and even no boundary of living place, yet they had same psychological issues and certain similar behaviors even at different environment. The placement of elderly people at care homes was providing them security as also found by Quinn, Dickson-Gomez,

Nowicki, Johnson and Bendixen (2018) and Leib (2017). While the living options for vagrant elderly were public places and streets, parallel to the study of Ismail and Turiman (2016) in which they found the living options for destitute people were open places and corridors. These elderly people preferred to live a free life than to be restricted by institutional care as demonstrated by Obeng-Odoom, ElHadary and Jang (2014) that they escaped from care homes to enjoy the independence of life and no longer willing to stay at care homes. It couldn't be deny that the people at care homes were more facilitative than vagrant elderly because in vagrancy they had to use public assets like toilets, parks and footpath for their living and survival parallel to the finding of Banks (2019) in which he found that homeless people preferred to live at such place where there would be toilet. So, the hygienic condition of street dwellers was worse than those living at care homes and they were entangled in epidemic and fatal disease as also found by Khair (2018) that such destitute people were positive towards HIV and hepatitis B & C. So, they were surviving by begging as found by Sexton (2017) that they used to beg near religious institutions to get more help by the name of God. But the government and NGOs were also helping them by provision of shelter or finance for their survival at both settings of living like the study of Rice and Wojtyńska (2019) that described the services of private municipality and NGOs for unemployed and migrants by supporting them. The old aged people were dealt equally regardless of racial and gender difference opposite to the study of Wachter, Thompson, Bender and Ferguson (2015) in which the male were treated harshly than females and ethnic difference was also considerable to get the rights. The basic facilities of life including food clothing and medication was provided by NGOs to roofless old aged people but not with a systematic way and the old aged people felt this deficiency in life of not being treated well by the state as they were also the part of civil society. It was also found by Paudyal, MacLure, Buchanan, Wilson, MacLeod and Stewart (2017) that in homeless condition, food shelter and clothing was more important than medical facility. But the medical facility was not provided to vagrant elderly properly even by civil hospitals in case of severe illness, parallel to the findings of Hunter, Palepu, Farrell, Gogosis, O'Brien and Hwang (2015) that showed that they faced hurdle at hospitals in prescription of medication by doctors because of unaffordability. So, because of stressful condition and anxiety, they were not willing to build healthy relationships with surrounding people at care homes as well as at public living and it was also demonstrated by Henwood, Stefancic, Petering, Schreiber, Abrams and Padgett (2015) that it was difficult for them to build supportive relationships after being cheated by family and friends. Their association with peer group and family members changed from informal to formal and no association very often parallel to the study of Grenier, Sussman, Barken, Bourgeois-Guérin and Rothwell (2016).

Conclusion

This paper presents the patterns of living environment of old age homes and roofless setting of living specifically among destitute elderly people by using IPA. The qualitative research approach was used to reach the rich data through in-depth interviews from homeless old people. It was concluded by the research that although there was variation of living patterns and living environment at care homes and public places yet the mental condition of destitute elderly match to a great extent because of facing same phase of later life. They prefer independence along with dependency on others for the fulfilment of their need. The study suggests managing some privacy for elderly to spend their life independently in total institution, care homes and panopticon rather than to urge them to be roofless again. It is recommended to extend the study on young destitute and their patterns of living environment.

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LOCAL MARGINALIZATION PARTICIPATION IN BATAM ISLAND AS NEW INDUSTRIAL CITIES IN ASEAN COUNTRIES BORDER REGION

¹Fitrisia Munir, ²Hamzah Jusoh, ³Delmira Syafrini

¹Department of International Relations, Faculty of Science and Political Science, Universitas Islam Riau, Pekanbaru, Indonesia

²Department of Development and Environment Studies, Faculty of Science Social and Humanity, University Kebangsaan Malaysia, Malaysia

³Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Science, Padang, Indonesia³
(Correspondent Email: fitrisiamunir@soc.uir.ac.id)

Abstract

Industrial cities in Indonesia's border region have developed rapidly and are collaborated with other countries to advance urban development to become more global. This is supported by the presence of the globalization era which turned out to have affected urban systems on a national, regional, and global scale. However, Globalization and marginalization can also destroy many traditional regional models so that the new philosophies and development strategies of local cities must be planned under a more macroscopic framework. Many local cities were marginalized while industrial cities developed growth rapidly, this was caused by factors decrease in human resources, inequality in the index socioeconomic such as GDP between the capital city and surrounding cities. In the study of international relations, non-state actors involve collaborating the roles of academics, business people and local governments in suppressing inequalities and reviving industrial cities such as Batam which are starting to weaken. This article aims to evaluate level local society marginalization and analyze their participation in inequality sustainable development on Batam Island as an industrial park in which border region with ASEAN countries. The research method used in this study is a descriptive qualitative research method by describing all phenomena of research problems empirically. This article uses a case study approach and develops the concept of gentrification in Batam island as a port new industrial city. This concept supported the finding that Batam city as one of the fastest-growing industrial cities than others cannot resist the arrival of residents from outside the city to take advantage of working and settling there so that local marginalization growth high in distinguished variety in getting opportunities live and work in the city.

Keywords: Industrial Cities, Local Marginalization, Gentrification, Batam Island, Border Region

Introduction

International cooperation in the border region is the relationship between countries that are close together to achieve prosperity and equality in the various development sector in one region. In the study of international relations, border areas are very important to maintain economic and political integration, especially to advance cities that are lagging behind the current globalization and modernization. The main issues in handling border areas include; the determination of the boundary line between the ocean and land, the security and development of the border region.

On the other hand, the emergence of industrial cities in the border regions of Indonesia aims to improve the development agenda of the socio-economic sector of the local population so that it is equitable and can compete in the international arena (Sassen, 2004). The progress of globalization causes the population to depend on each other to meet needs from all aspects of their lives. Indigenous populations in a new industrial city those bordering developed countries are unable to catch up their developments. There were a few problems at the local level is backwardness which results in poverty, This is due to weak purchasing power needs due to the high prices of goods and services, limited infrastructure and public service facilities (infrastructure), low-quality human resources, and uneven distribution of a population and government policies that do not favour the development of border areas and still lack of personnel, budget, and facilities. Industrial cities that have grown cannot avoid local marginalization of residents who have settled before in an industrial city. The rise of phenomena such as illegal cross-border trade, lack of access and domestic communication and information media as well as not yet optimal cross-sectoral and cross-regional coordination in handling border areas. While on the level Internationally, problems arise that the weak negotiation with another cities or states, it caused of creative capabilities of the government minimize at the national level in dealing with the empowerment of residents in the region the border.

The border region of ASEAN countries has tried to take advantage of the various opportunities that exist to realize fulfilment the economic rights of the ASEAN people. The emergence of various infrastructure and facility gaps that occur as a result of the lack of government attention so that local marginalization is increasingly widespread and can't be avoided from current development progress. Batam City is one of the cities in the Riau Islands (Fig 1) namely adjacent to the State or other industrial cities that have developed and developed, resulting in negative and positive impacts, especially in the face of international market competition. In this paper, our locus is Batam City as a new industrial city was formed since international cooperation between Indonesia Malaysia and Singapore in the 1990s. The expansion of Batam City's progress into an industrial city following its geographical location and potential advantages with the hope to develop the city under the planning consists of top-down and bottom-up processes to the surrounding districts. However, the rapid development of the city of Batam has resulted in dynamic regional changes and is also a process of land use transformation followed by changes in the area of income-earning settlements low to be an area process that is replaced by high-income residents. This phenomenon often occurs by regions adjoining other states to move forward and emerge due to the process of upgrading an area that has successfully attracted the attention of the rich population.

Therefore, this leaves the original population vulnerable to be evicted cause unable to adjust to their residential areas and threaten their existence with new patterns activities for increase in an area into an area that high value.

Figure 1, Riau Islands



The gravity of this phenomenon has worried about the existence of the indigenous population in Batam in their sustainability in the future that only depend on the modest source of life. On the other hand, the participation or the active role of local marginalization by indigenous people is still taken into account, especially instability and maintaining socioeconomic and political life which side by side with developed countries. This can be evaluated because every industrial city has an impact for the development of human resources, and the extent to which they can benefit or not from the cooperation between industrial cities in this border region. Besides increasing the industrial values and implementation that are embedded in the city of Batam, it turns out that the readiness of human resources has not been able to raise the standard of living and local marginal welfare itself.

Some objective reasons for the expansion of population caused by several things first, because there is high investment progress with an indication that companies are standing up quickly so that they need competent workers to be ready to work compared to the unpreparedness of the local population that already exists. Secondly, opportunities for the competition are still very few, because the city of Batam was not productive before so it could be taken over by migrants. Local marginalization was found on islands which receive less attention from the central government so the city or district has the opportunity high to be developed. The industrial cities program that grew in Indonesia included in the border region with other countries includes Aceh, East Kalimantan, Nusa Tenggara East, Papua and so on. The general picture of development in the city is not as fast as the city of Batam, although we can predict that there are still many possibilities for families experiencing socioeconomic inequality in Riau Islands. Therefore, local marginalization close to inequality and cannot be prevented especially against the original inhabitants outside Batam Islands. However, their role still accounted in helping sustainable development, therefore, must be included programmed by the central government.

Problem statement and objectives

The evaluation of cooperation in the Riau Islands border region has increased other regions to form cooperation in different contexts but aimed at equitable development. Other cities have begun to develop their regions so that they can be recognized internationally, through various forms of cooperation and continued participation involving local marginalization supported by efficient infrastructure placement and zoning for the continued growth of an industrial city. However, the shift of indigenous people to migrants in the city of Batam continues to occur and becomes a large and complex phenomenon, therefore due to local or native residents do not feel the impact directly. Based on the background explanation above, the formulation of the problems to be discussed in this article are as follows: "why is the participation of local marginalization in Batam city weakening and what is the impact on increasing new industrial cities in Riau Islands border regions?". The purposes of this research are evaluated participations local marginalization in the border region towards the sustainable development of industrial cities focus on Batam Island. Besides, to find out which sector of participations local marginalization of indigenous people is impossible to eliminate so that it becomes an important part helped of the sustainable development of industrial cities on Batam Island.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Research on local marginalization in industrial cities in European, American and Asian countries has elaborated a lot about the phenomenon of indigenous and immigrant disparities between border regions. According to the Partnership for Governance Reform report (2011) as an independent institution that examines border management policies in Indonesia. The Indonesian border region is still concerning from various aspects because many border regions or cities experience economic backwardness due to the absence of government and private programs

and projects involving indigenous people in the border area (The Partnership for Governance Reform, 2011). One of the most prominent threats from the condition of the Riau Islands in the border area is the existence of outermost islands that have the potential to be lost, due to the mining of sand which almost submerged the islands. Sand mining this will certainly lead to new and major problems, namely the threat of the borderlines and the blurring of the coordinates of the three countries (Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia).

Research Nurhadi Yuwana, Heru Nugroho, Irwan Abdullah (2018) on "Elite Contestation and Marginalization of Local Residents at the Kutai Kartanegara Coal Mining Location" highlighted the issue of coal exploration by entrepreneurs, government and security forces, thereby widening inequality and even impoverishing residents around. Riau Island has data for inequality for few another district that increase every year (Fig 2). Potential actors who get a fortune in the struggle for coal. While most of the residents lacked the opportunity to reap coal fortune, as a result, HR limitations and structural boundaries created by the elite who collaborate with the power of capital (Pemikiran & Volume, 2018)

Research by Gretchen Ferguson (Hernandez) (2015), entitled From Spaces of Marginalization to Places of Participation: Indigenous Articulations of the Social Economy in the Bolivian Highlands. This research has explained and evaluated the shift in local marginalization of the population to participate in socio-economic and cultural aims for the economic development of communities in Bolivia. This proves that participation for local marginalization of indigenous people is still needed to balance the construction of an industrial city for his country (Hernandez, 2015)

Research by Azka Nur Medha, Putu Gde Ariastita (2017) extends the case of marginalization towards the emergence of the concept of gentrification which is a symptom or new movement in the social environment that utilizes technology and information to occupy industrial cities to become global actors who are indeed in the border region. This is because it can guarantee the welfare and other opportunities that it can develop. The phenomenon of gentrification arises due to the process of increasing an area that has succeeded in attracting the attention of the rich, and creating a dynamic region where it will stimulate a rise in property prices whose prices are beyond the reach of the original community, making the community vulnerable to driven out of the residential area. Gentrification is a phenomenon that threatens the existence of a community because of the consequence of upgrading a class into an area of high value, where the community is unable to adapt to the region. This research will encourage an increase in area as a negative connotation when the results of the gentrification process show that there are parties who are displaced (gentrified) and those who are displaced to control an area. Gentrification concept occurs as a form of the process of the influx of people who are more capable to an area that was initially less favourable from various sectors of life, followed by the revitalization of the area and triggering changes in land values and social structures. This migration cycle is usually followed by the construction of upper-middle-class housing, improving access to infrastructure, and improving the physical and environmental quality of rural areas, giving rise to new activities and attractions in the region. This has resulted in the continued impact of the construction of public facilities and social facilities that support the necessities of daily life such as shopping centres, offices, schools, etc conducted by the upper-middle-class population. Thus, there will be more and more changes in the characteristics of rural areas in the sub-urban to become more developed and characterized by urban activities, so that getting rid local communities into local marginalization.

Theoretical Thinking

a. State Perspective (Realism)

The Realist approach in international relations is used to highlight the power relations of the State towards undeveloped cities/regions, especially in border areas. The developing country has a dimension of development, participation and security. The State is positioned to guarantee the socio-economic process by supporting development and on the other hand the State must guarantee cultural and political processes related to citizen participation in the policymaking process (Martinussen, (1997) in Mudjarad Kuncoro (2017; 17) This article uses the perspective of the State because it is the main actor identified with relations between sovereign states, by providing population opportunities to cooperate mutually beneficial (symbolic mutualism) especially in the face of global market competition. The cities that grew up with the nickname as the industrial city by sub-state actors like multinational company and transnational company who are part of State actors by maintaining their asymmetrical existence in which the market dominates the role of the State and its population in the national interest (Nijman, 2016)

b. Development State

Researchers use the theory development state to evaluate and discuss the relationship between the state and development activities in the border region. Assuming placing the country as the main actor in encouraging development with priority on development activities for a unitary state like Indonesia. The theory of state development began developed in the late 1980s to early 1990s. In his writings, Robert Gilpin states that this theory appears to challenge the neoliberal orthodox (neoclassical) theory in explaining the success and acceleration of industrialization in East Asia. The development of industrialization is a neoclassical indicator of the economic success of countries called Newly Industrializing Economies (NIEs). Criticism of the neoclassical view supported by the Washington Consensus assumes that the NIEs are trying to adjust self with the market as a form of economic development strategy because the market is seen as more capable in determining the economic success of a country than state policy (Gilpin, 2012)

The East Asian countries were considered to adopt a neoliberal view to develop their economy. This is done by opening up its economy to the world, reducing the country's role in the economy to allow markets to function properly and to pursue export-oriented growth strategies (Routley, 2014). These methods are considered as the key to the success of East Asian countries in industrializing. However, this assumption was rejected by developmental state thinkers who asserted that what was done by the East Asian countries was different from the neoliberal concept. Instead of letting go of the role of the state, the state is considered to have a crucial role in industrial policy. This condition was further examined by Chalmers Johnson through his study of economic growth in the East Asia region, which began in 1982. Johnson departed from economic studies by taking Japan as his main focus. According to him, the rapid economic growth in this region reflects the existence of a state-centric. That is, it is the country that holds a key role in the success of the development, not the market as conditions in developed countries. The neoclassical development model that should have made the state power over the market very limited. The state cannot be free to regulate market movements, including not being able to be a catalyst and correcting market conditions.

On the other hand, the state-centric concept expressed by Chalmers Johnson places the state as the main actor in controlling the market. The state has discretion over market movements, being a market catalyst, and at the same time able to correct market conditions. So, the state does not necessarily surrender its economy to the market and invisible hand. However, in the study of international relations the city is part of state actors, can enter and gain visibility in international forums or global politics as individuals and as collectivities. The application of the theory of state development and the thought of state-led development or the state as the leader of development also plays a key role in urban development, the implementation of this theory demands good governance. The state is required to be strong enough and can control the region and its resources and has to cooperate with other actors to achieve certain national development targets (Fritz and Menocal, 2006).

c. Marginal

Cities in the border area as sub-states actors, and geographically lacking in natural and human resources, so they must be able to be raised to contribute to global formation. This accommodates the possibility that marginal populations can participate as part of a global network and contribute to various types of political practices and subjectivities. The marginalization faced by them is interrelated such as the marginalization of education which has the most likely impact on work, society and other marginalization. This is the spiral of disadvantage (Geddes 2000; Hunter 2000; Kabeer 2000; Levitas 1999). In the theory of marginalization, the occurrence of local marginalization by indigenous people is not because of their desire but is carried out by developments by other parties and outside those who come and carry out activities that they cannot participate to bring a gap for them (Barry 1998; Atkinson 1998). Various parties involved both by the community and by the government have been marginalized because the action was carried out on their own. Thought of marginal society has a relationship with the economic development of a society where this phenomenon is very powerful in the early industrial era in Europe. In the mid-1970s, the state policy system in Europe was severely criticized (Saith 2001) for failing to overcome the problem of poverty and weakening the country's economic development (Loury 1999; Perlman 1976). Rene Lenoir in his writing analyzed that the existence of social networks in terms of cross-border geography that connects places, especially global cities between border regions such as Singapore and Malaysia provide a conducive environment. Another qualification is that it requires a lot of organization and work to develop adequate technical and software infrastructure to make it happen. Citizens, organizations and individuals have played an important role by creating specific local agencies at various scales and thus building global formations that tend toward horizontal networks. The major global actors, such as the IMF and WTO, are an important part of the network and struggle of global organizations that are built through a network of forty global cities in the world today.

Methodology

Research on the of local marginalization participation in the Border Region of Batam Island as an industrial city was conducted in the Riau Islands region. This is because the Riau Islands has an area that is directly bordered by Singapore and Malaysia. The researcher directly conducted interviews with several parties who were directly related to the research problem. In this study, researchers used informants as objects of information to determine the participation of local marginalization in the Indonesian border region that has an impact on the development of the city of Batam. In conducting research, data analysis can be done simultaneously with the observation process. So during the research process, the data obtained can be directly analyzed. Following the research methods and data collection techniques used in this study, then to analyze the data that has been collected from the field, the analysis technique used is descriptive analysis. Through this technique, all data or facts obtained will be described by developing relevant categories with the aim of research and interpretation of the results of descriptive analysis based on appropriate theories in research on local marginalization in the border region. To make it easier to analyze, it is necessary to explain some of the concepts used in this study so it is necessary to have a conceptual definition. The conceptual indicators that the authors mean in this study are as follows:

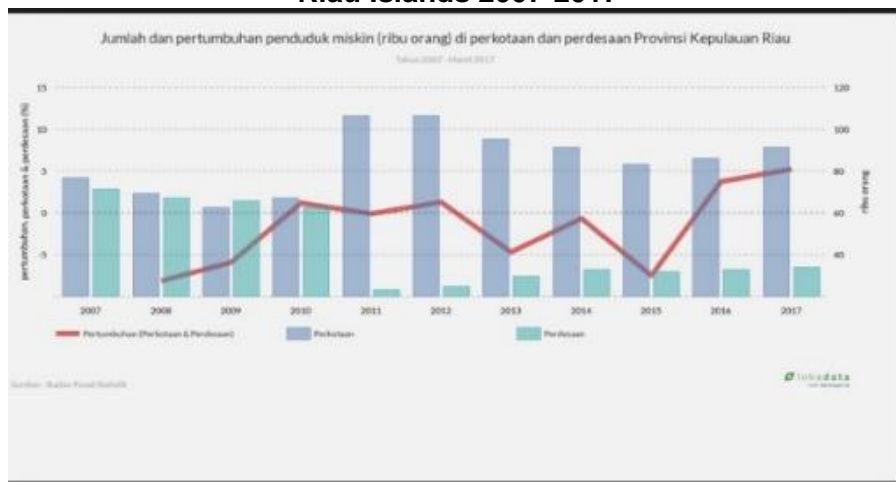
1. Border Area is an area consisting of subunits of States that cooperate inequitable development.
2. Gentrification is a concept that arises as a result of the alienation of indigenous people due to the current globalization and modernization that is developing and can not be avoided for cities industrial cities like Batam City, so they are evicted out to the edge of the city.

Results

Analysis and Findings

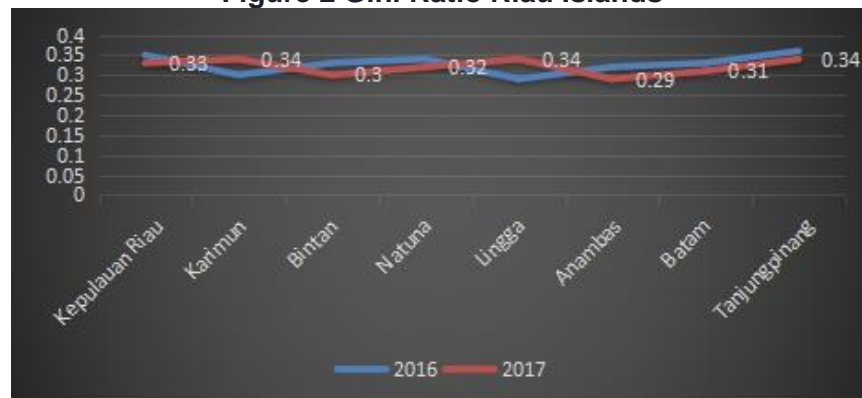
The population in Batam city is increasing every year and on average most migrants from out of town Batam to work and connectivity in looking for income as a result of the development of the city of Batam every year. Poverty is one of the benchmarks for the success of development in a country or region with considerable concern if the population living below the poverty line reaches more than 10% of the population (Tab 1). It explains the condition of the percentage of poverty occurring in Riau Islands, which experienced a significant increase from 2015-2017. This is due to more population distribution in the city of Batam as a wheel of economic movement in the Riau Islands with support as a centre for industry, trade, tourism and transfer of ships. Riau Island has data for inequality for few another district that increase every year (Fig 2). The evaluation of people's welfare in the Riau archipelago must involve the participation of the regional government and indigenous people to establish cooperation based on consideration of the efficiency and effectiveness of public services and mutual benefits. The cooperation can be carried out by the city with other cities, third parties, and/or institutions or regional governments abroad by statutory provisions. This matter has been regulated in Part One Chapter XVII concerning Regional Cooperation and Disputes in Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government.

Table 1 Amount of Growth of Poor Population in Urban and Rural Area in Riau Islands 2007-2017



Source: BPS 2017

Figure 2 Gini Ratio Riau Islands



Source: BPS 2018

Local Marginalization Participation In Batam Island As New Industrial Cities In Asean Countries Border Region

The law also stipulates that regional governments in the administration of government also encourage the participation of local communities. Local governments encourage groups and community organizations to play an active role in the administration of regional government through the support of capacity building for local communities so as not to be increasingly marginalized from migrants. To increase of community participation includes, among others, the management of assets and / or natural resources in the city as well as the implementation of public services that can be done in the form of public consultations, deliberations, partnerships, delivery of aspirations, supervision and / or other involvement in accordance with the provisions of the legislation.

Figure 3 Map Orientations Riau Island with other countries



Other researchers have emphasized the importance of the role of the state, however, it will not be a complete role, particularly in making decisions for international cooperation level at border area (fig 3). In spite of the regular disputes between both state and sub-state governments role ultimately tend to consider actor as a general resource to increase international activities. Sub-state actors can successfully develop specific methods and dimensions as classified into two categories. The direct methods are carried out by seeking legitimacy and international recognition through the adoption of local laws, signing partnership agreements, establishing representative offices overseas, attracting foreign investment, enhancing the international image of the region, working with international organizations, and twin cities. Meanwhile, indirect methods are carried out by affecting central legislation, exploiting national parliaments, utilizing diplomacy and central infrastructure in the regions, and exploiting international organizations. The combination of direct and indirect strategies has offered the best guarantee of success for diplomacy in the areas bordering with developed countries. Sub-state actors in each country have a characteristic to create a moderately unique context in the development of their international strategies (Michał Słowikowski, 2018).

Discussion and Conclusion

We argue that the potential of city networks must go hand-in-hand with more integrative and strategic thinking at both local and international levels. The emergence of the multilevel approach

has weakened the role of the State, about the emergence of supranational institutions such as the European Union (Marks, 1996). Based on this debate, it is concluded that the nation-state is no longer the only agent capable of promoting international activities, meaning that the role of non-central government increases the advantages in foreign policy. This study of local marginalization participation contribute to the foreign policy of any countries focuses on the participation of foreign parties from the sub-state authorities for new industrial cities such in ASEAN countries. Local marginalization participation is very important for sustainability region, and they have the right and vote for living although with high global conditions. The provinces and municipalities actively can invite and host international delegations, organize events, and even establish representative offices abroad involve local marginalization participation. This research providing the dimension of diplomacy scholars with a comprehensive summary of the current issue in local marginal participation in the border area for international relations study. After all, the study adds to contribute a systematic review in the area of empirical cases especially in the border area and many areas in the ASEAN countries border. This review could assist researchers who are seeking knowledge and references further investigations and developed border area issues in an international relations study.

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THE OHOIWUTUNS: THE ROLE OF BUTON PEOPLE AS A DERIVED COMMUNITY IN KEI KECIL ISLAND, SOUTHEAST MALUKU REGENCY

MIGRATION DYNAMICS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

¹Susanto Zuhdi and ²Abd. Rahman Hamid

¹History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

²History Department, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Hasanuddin
(susanto_zuhdi@yahoo.com, abdul_pasca@yahoo.com)

Abstract

This article discusses about the Ohoiwutuns, an established family group in Kei Islands who lives in several villages in Kei Kecil Island. The Ohoiwutuns consists of group of people who were migrated from Buton around the 18th century, and established themselves as a new derived community that add colors to the existing locals. They are considered as a newly founded family group in Kei Islands, since there are certain limitations on how Kei society sees outsiders. This research aims to explain the process of adaptation and the later development of the Ohoiwutun within the context of Kei Island's rigid society, as well as the nature of Buton people whose diaspora had created the network of Nusantara maritime interconnectivity. The main issue of this article will be explained through the analytical framework, with particular regards in studying the background story of the migration at the first time, the social structures of Kei Islands, and sets of skills and capability of Buton people in installing themselves inside. We have elaborate several basic assumptions regarding the pattern and the shape of such newly founded family inside the closely fitted community, especially in the village of Danar and Rumadian. The Ohoiwutuns then became a part of *tuan tan* (landlords) who established new political standings. The Ohoiwutun then marked an important position in the political system of Kei Islands, though it is one of Kei Islands' derivative communities. The last generation of the Buton people in Kei Kecil is the eighth and ninth generation, encouraging us to delve deeper into the oral and written tradition within the society of Kei Islands', to eventually enrich our acknowledgement to the diversity in the eastern part of the archipelago and to frame a concept of the Buton people's diaspora to any part of Nusantara.

Keywords: Butonese migration, Buton people in Kei Islands, diaspora, derivative community, Southeast Maluku.

PENDAHULUAN

Semboyan *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (berbeda-beda namun tetap satu juga) mencerminkan keberagaman masyarakat Indonesia yang terdiri atas berbagai suku bangsa, bahasa, agama, dan adat istiadat. Perlu waktu dan komunikasi lintas budaya secara terus-menerus untuk memahami keberagaman. Berkaitan dengan itu, pengkajian sejarah sangat penting dilakukan untuk menjelaskan latar dan perkembangan masyarakat bentukan di Indonesia antara lain masyarakat Kei di Kabupaten Maluku Tenggara, Provinsi Maluku.

Masyarakat Kei dibentuk oleh berbagai suku bangsa dari luar wilayah yang datang secara bertahap kemudian berdomisili di Kepulauan Kei. Ohoitimur Yohanis

mengidentifikasi asal mereka dari sebelah barat (Jawa, Bali, dan Nusa Tenggara), Maluku Utara (Ternate, Tidore, dan Jailolo), Maluku Tengah (Ambon, Seram, Banda, dan Watebula), serta Tanimbar, Aru, dan Papua. Sebelum kedatangan mereka, telah ada penduduk lokal atau penduduk asli seperti pada umumnya terdapat di berbagai daerah di Kepulauan Maluku. Dari kedua pihak itu dibentuk masyarakat Kei (Yohanis 1983: 12).

Ditinjau dari perkembangan peradaban, sejarah masyarakat Kei dibagi atas dua tahap. Tahap pertama, sebelum hukum adat *Larvul Ngabal*, ditandai dengan kekacauan, siapa yang kuat maka dia yang berkuasa, sehingga kehidupan masyarakat tidak beradab (Adhuri 2013: 65; Idris Ohoiwutun, wawancara 31/07/2019). Pada tahap kedua, sejarah Kei ditandai kedatangan kelompok migran dari Bali, Kasdev dan Jangra, yang membawa hukum adat *Larvul Ngabal* bagi seluruh masyarakat Kei (Rahail 1993: 4-7; Thorburn 2004: 186-189; Rumkel 2013).

Salah satu kelompok migran yang datang dan menjadi satu unsur masyarakat bentukan di Kei Kecil berasal dari Buton, Sulawesi Tenggara. Mereka datang bergelombang dalam abad ke-18 di Kei Besar, kemudian sebagian menyebar ke Kei Keci. Seperti migran lain, kedatangan mereka mendapat tantangan dari penduduk lokal, namun akhirnya dapat diterima sebagai satu bagian dalam masyarakat bentukan di Kepulauan Kei. Kelompok ini mengidentifikasi diri dengan *fam* (bahasa Belanda: *familie naam* atau nama keluarga) khusus yaitu *ohoiwutun* (kampung atau orang dari Buton). Ada juga migran Buton lain yang mengidentifikasi diri dengan *fam* tempatan, seperti *yamlean*, *renyaan*, *renwarin*, dan *ngabalin* (M. Asis Renyaan, wawancara 30/07/2019). Ada dua sebab lahirnya *fam* itu, yakni kawin “masuk” (perkawinan laki-laki Buton golongan ‘bawah’ dengan perempuan setempat golongan ‘atas’) dan pernikahan perempuan Buton dengan laki-laki dari *fam* lokal. Selanjutnya, mereka disebut sebagai *marwutun* atau orang asing.

Kajian mengenai *ohoiwutun* praktis belum mendapat perhatian dari peneliti sejarah dan budaya Kei (Yohanis 1983; Rahail 1993; Asba at all 2012; Adhuri 2013; Rumkel 2013; Geurtjens 2016). Karena itulah, penelitian ini menjelaskan tentang peran *ohoiwutun* sebagai satu unsur masyarakat bentukan di Kei Kecil. Ada tiga pertanyaan yang dijawab: *pertama*, bagaimana proses migrasi orang Buton ke Maluku? *kedua*, bagaimana pola hubungan migran Buton dengan penduduk lokal? *Ketiga*, bagaimana integrasi *ohoiwutun* dalam sistem sosial politik lokal?

Beberapa karya terkait dengan studi ini. Dua karya Geurtjens (1924, 2016) merupakan bahan utama untuk memahami masyarakat Kei. Karya pertama mengenai cerita rakyat, antara lain *fam* yang digunakan orang Kei. Karya kedua tentang kehidupan orang Kei pada zaman dahulu. Karya ini lebih bersifat antropologis dan sosiologis. Penelitian Yohanis (1983), seperti karya yang kedua, berfokus pada perubahan sikap hidup orang Kei. Khusus mengenai hukum adat *Larvul Ngabal* dikaji oleh Rahail (1993) dan Rumkel (2013). Studi lain dari Rahail (1996) mengenai pengelolaan sumber daya darat dan laut di Kepulauan Kei. Terakhir, karya Adhuri (2013) tentang konflik pengelolaan sumber daya laut. Meskipun karya-karya itu praktis tidak menjelaskan *ohoiwutun*, namun memberikan kerangka bagi kajian ini.

Pemikiran konseptual tentang niat bermigrasi (*migration intentions*) dari A.B. Simmons (1986) dan Jeremis T. Keban (1994: 18-25) digunakan untuk menjelaskan faktor-faktor migrasi. Ada tiga faktor yang mempengaruhi: persepsi kegunaan tempat (*place utility*), latar kehidupan individu, dan latar struktural. Dikatakan bahwa individu merupakan makhluk rasional yang mampu memilih yang terbaik dari beberapa alternatif. Individu membandingkan satu tempat dengan tempat lain sesuai harapan. Jika tempat tinggal sekarang kurang menguntungkan, maka yang bersangkutan akan mencari tempat tinggal yang baru. Di sini juga digunakan gagasan “the stranger king” (raja asing) dari Marshall Sahlins (1985: 73-103) untuk menjelaskan hubungan migran Buton dengan penduduk lokal pada awal kedatangan mereka di Kepulauan Kei.

Penelitian ini menggunakan metode sejarah dengan empat tahapan kerja: heuristik, kritik, interpretasi, dan historiografi (Gootschalk 1985: 18). Sumber yang digunakan terutama tradisi lisan yang diperoleh melalui wawancara dengan keturunan ohoiwutun dan migran Buton lain pada akhir Juli 2019. Tantangan sumber ini ialah penetapan waktu dari kisah yang disampaikan oleh informan. Dengan teknik wawancara *life history* (Thomson 2012: 223) berhasil dilacak generasi awal dan terakhir keturunan ohoiwutun di Kei Kecil. Untuk memperoleh konteks sosial dan historis, maka digunakan bahan pustaka yang relevan mengenai masyarakat Kei.

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

1. Keadaan alam dan penduduk

Kepulauan Kei terletak di tengah Laut Banda, antara $132^{\circ} - 133^{\circ}10'$ BT dan $5^{\circ} - 6^{\circ}15'$ LS, terbagi atas dua yakni Kei Besar dan Kei Kecil. Sebelum dikenal dengan nama Kei, kepulauan itu disebut *Evav* (babi), karena banyak babi hutan berkeliaran di sana. Dalam sumber Portugis awal abad ke-16, wilayah tersebut dinamakan *Kayos* (batu). Kata itu berubah menjadi *Kei* (batu keras) pada masa Belanda (Resubun, 1979: 1). Versi lain mengatakan bahwa nama Kei dari kata *Eiwav* (*wav* artinya utara) yang berarti negeri utara, yakni di sebelah utara dari Kepulauan Tanimbar (Guertjens 2016: 1-2).

Pulau Kei Besar dalam bahasa lokal disebut *Nuhu Yut* atau Tanah, sedangkan pulau Kei Kecil dinamakan *Nuhu Roa* atau Tanah Laut (Schreffer 1933). Dari segi formasinya, Kei Besar merupakan satu pulau besar yang terdiri atas gunung dan bukit. Beberapa puncak gunung mencapai ketinggian hampir 900 meter dari permukaan laut. Kondisinya lebih subur dibandingkan dengan Kei Kecil dibentuk dari koral. Hampir seluruh Kei Kecil berupa tanah yang rata dan di sekitarnya terdapat pulau-pulau kecil (Guertjens 2016: 4-6).

Asal usul penduduk Kei, dalam tradisi lisan setempat, dari sebelah barat yakni Bali. Jejaknya di depan kampung Sathean, Kei Kecil. Ada sebuah batu besar yang memanjang di laut. Menurut legenda, itulah kapal nenek moyang orang Kei saat tiba di Kei dari Bali. Salah seorang pemimpinnya bernama Kasdew. Setelah beberapa lama tinggal di Kei, dia kembali ke Bali untuk mengunjungi keluarganya. Pada saat kembali dia membawa sebuah pedang (*suruk*) dan sebuah tombak (*nganga*) (Guertjens 2016: 3-4). Dia tiba di Teluk Sorbay, di bagian barat Kei Kecil. Dia menikah dan mempunyai tiga anak laki-laki dan satu perempuan. Anak bungsunya perempuan, Ditsakmas, menikah dengan tokoh ternama dan ahli pembuat perahu, Arnuhu, dari Danar (pantai timur Kei Kecil). Sebelum bertemu Arnuhu, Ditsakmas mengadakan perjalanan dengan membawa perbekalan antara lain seekor kerbau *siuw*. Kerbau itu disembelih di Elaar-Ngursoin, antara Wain dan Danar, lalu dibagikan kepada 9 perwakilan kampung. Setelah itu dibentuk konfederasi *Ursiuw* (sembilan rumpun). Dari kelompok ini lahir hukum *Larwul* (empat pasal mengenai hukum pidana). Di tempat lain saudara Kasdew, Jangra (versi lain menyebut Tebtut), dari Bali tiba di Ler Ohoilim (Lair Enlim), tepatnya pantai barat tengah Kei Besar. Di sana dia memotong ikan paus (*ler*) dengan tombak dari Bali lalu dibagikan kepada penduduk Lim Itel (Lorlim). Dari kelompok ini lahir hukum *Ngabal* (tiga pasal tentang hukum perdata) yang menyebar ke Kei Kecil. Dua hukum tersebut disatukan menjadi hukum *Larwul Ngabal* yang berlaku bagi seluruh penduduk Kei (Resubun 1979: 1; Rahail 1993: 4-7).

Kedatangan penduduk di Kepulauan Kei melalui dua jalur. Yang pertama dari Selatan. Mengikuti legenda asal usul orang Kei, jalurnya mulai dari Bali ke Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, Timor, Tanimbar, dan berakhir di Kei. Jalur ini paling banyak digunakan oleh para migran dibandingkan jalur kedua dari Utara, yakni Seram melalui pulau-pulau Seram Laut dan berakhir di Kei. Dalam pandangan para migran dari jalur

pertama, letak Kei di bagian utara sehingga disebut *Eiwav* atau negeri utara (Geurtjens 2016: 2)

Perpindahan penduduk terkait aktivitas perdagangan antara Seram Timur dengan Nusa Tenggara dan Bali pada abad ke-17 dan ke-18. Ada dua jalur yang mungkin digunakan. Jalur pertama ke utara sepanjang pesisir utara pulau Seram, pulau Buru, pulau Buton dan terus ke barat daya melintas Laut Jawa melalui pulau Bonerate ke Timur atau Sumbawa dan terakhir ke Bali. Jalur yang kedua ke selatan melalui Kepulauan Kei-Aru, Kepulauan Banda, Kepulauan Tanimbar, dan Wetar sampai ke pulau Timor dan seterusnya ke Bali (Leirissa 1996: 48; Widjojo 2013: 215).

Salah satu kelompok yang datang lewat jalur utara ialah orang Banda. Mereka meninggalkan Banda karena pembantaian pasukan Jan Pieterszoon Coen tahun 1621. Penduduk Banda yang semula 15.000 orang tersisa tidak lebih 3.000 jiwa (Alwi 2006: 119). Sekitar 2.000 berhasil mencapai pantai Seram dan Kei (Alwi, 2005: 77). Mereka yang tiba di Kei Besar tinggal di dua kampung: Wadan (=Banda) Elat dan Wadan El. Pilihan mengungsi ke Kei tak lepas dari pengetahuan mereka tentang Kei. Sebelum migrasi, orang Kei sering berdagang di Banda menjual sagu dan boncis serta perahu kepada orang Banda (Geurtjens 2016: 9). Jadi ada kedekatan antara kedua belah pihak sehingga menjadi pertimbangan bagi orang Banda bermigrasi ke Kei tahun 1621.

Kelompok lain masyarakat Kei adalah Bugis, Makassar, Luan, Selayar, dan Buton. Tiga kelompok pertama masuk dalam petuanan Lair Ohoi Lim. Orang Selayar menempati daerah di pesisir barat Kei Kecil, sedangkan orang Buton di daerah Rumadian dan Danar. Selain itu ada yang datang dari Seram Laut, lewat jalur Utara. Ada juga dari pesisir barat Papua, yang semula merupakan tenaga kerja yang diperdagangkan oleh orang Ternate dan Tidore, kemudian pedagang Arab dan Makassar. Semua kelompok itu sudah terintegrasi dengan masyarakat Kei serta menggunakan bahasa dan hukum adat Kei (Geurtjens 2016: 15-17).

2. Proses migrasi Buton ke Maluku

Orang Buton adalah satu dari suku bahari (Bajo, Bugis, Makassar, Mandar, dan Madura) di Indonesia yang bermigrasi ke luar daerahnya mengikuti jalur pelayaran dan perdagangan maritim. Dengan angin musim Barat (Desember-Maret), pelaut Buton ke kawasan timur Nusantara dengan tujuan utama Kepulauan Maluku. Mereka kembali ke Buton dan terus ke bagian barat Nusantara menggunakan angin musim Timur (April-November) (Hamid 2011: 50-51, 216-219). Waktu terbaik untuk berlayar ke Maluku dan Bali antara bulan Oktober dan Februari (Widjojo 2013: 215-216).

Migrasi orang Buton ke Maluku, menurut Zuhdi (2014: 229-230), memperlihatkan dua pola. Pertama, migrasi ke Maluku utara terutama Ternate (pola Ternate). Dalam pola ini, hubungan antar kesultanan sudah berkembang sejak lama yang melibatkan orang-orang Buton di bagian utara yakni Kulisusu yang memiliki keahlian yang dibutuhkan oleh keraton Ternate. Kedua, migrasi ke Maluku selatan terutama Ambon (pola Ambon). Profesi mereka sebagai pekerja dan nelayan. Mereka tinggal di tanah-tanah milik orang "negeri" (penduduk lokal Maluku). Tidak seperti pola Ternate yang menempati kedudukan tinggi, dalam pola ini mereka ditempatkan pada posisi "rendah" atau kesan pejoratif dengan sebutan "Binongko", nama sebuah pulau di pulau-pulau Tukang Besi.

Berkaitan dengan pola pertama, hubungan Buton dengan Ternate terungkap dalam mitos Bikusagara. Pada zaman bahari, sebelum ada kerajaan di Maluku Utara, seorang tokoh berpengaruh, Bikusagara, bersama pengikutnya berlayar menggunakan perahu *kora-kora*. Saat tiba di sebuah pulau, mereka menemukan empat telur naga di antara karang. Dia membawa telur itu ke rumah. Beberapa hari kemudian menetas dan keluarlah tiga anak laki-laki dan satu perempuan. Ketika tumbuh dewasa, anak laki-laki yang pertama menjadi Raja Bacan, yang kedua menjadi Raja Papua, dan ketiga menjadi

Raja Buton. Sementara anak perempuan menjadi isteri Raja Loloda (Andaya 2015: 46-47; Zuhdi 2018: 79-80). Dalam mitos ini, posisi Buton cukup kuat dalam struktur politik Maluku, karena Bacan dan Loloda merupakan kerajaan tertua di Maluku, sebelum perkembangan Ternate, Tidore, dan Jailolo. Hubungan Buton dengan Ternate terpatrit dalam tradisi lisan, bahwa bangsawan Buton ke Ternate pada hari Jumat untuk melaksanakan shalat subuh di masjid keraton, dan kembali ke Buton pada hari yang sama (Southon, 1995: 13). Seperti diketahui bahwa Ternate adalah penguasa utama di Dunia Maluku.

Menarik soal pola Ambon. Hamid (2016: 20) mencatat bahwa semua orang dari Sulawesi Tenggara di Ambon dan pulau-pulau sekitarnya menyebut dirinya sebagai orang Binongko, kendati mereka tidak berasal dari pulau Binongko dan juga bukan etnis Buton (seperti Muna dan Maronene). Hal itu menunjukkan Binongko merupakan daerah asal pertama migran Buton yang ke Ambon, Maluku selatan. Pada paruh kedua abad ke-17 orang Buton banyak dijumpai di berbagai daerah di Maluku selatan, terutama pulau Ambon dan pulau Seram, yang berprofesi sebagai buruh dan pelaut pedagang. Pada abad ke-19, nelayan Buton membangun pemukiman baru di pesisir Ambon. Pada sensus penduduk tahun 1930 tercatat 10% orang Buton dari total penduduk Ambon sebanyak 107.000 jiwa (Palmer 2009: 58-59).

Salah satu pemukiman Buton di Kepulauan Kei ialah kampung Tamu. Mereka sudah kawin-mawin dengan penduduk lokal. Di pantai barat bagian tengah pulau Kei Kecil terdapat satu kampung Buton bernama Selayar. Nama itu menunjukkan asal mereka dari pulau-pulau kecil di Selayar, terletak di bagian barat pulau Binongko. Bahasa yang digunakan di sana ialah *Ciacia* dan *Kaumbedha* seperti bahasa penduduk Binongko (Hamid 2015: 178-179; Noorduyn 1991: 131-132). Pelaut Buton yang paling terkenal ialah Binongko. Suatu pendapat mengatakan bahwa karakter kemaritiman Buton yang sesungguhnya dari Binongko (Zuhdi 2014: 229). Dengan demikian dapat disimpulkan bahwa orang Buton di Desa Selayar, Kei Kecil, adalah orang Binongko dari pulau-pulau Selayar, lalu disusul migran dari pulau-pulau di Sulawesi Tenggara.

3. Hubungan migran Buton dengan penduduk lokal

Berdasarkan tradisi lisan terdapat beberapa versi mengenai kedatangan leluhur *ohoiwutun* di Kepulauan Kei. Kata *ohoiwutun* terdiri atas dua suku kata: *ohoi* berarti kampung dan *wutun* adalah Buton. Jadi *ohoiwutun* adalah kampung [dari orang] Buton. Pada awalnya mereka tiba di pulau Kei Besar kemudian sebagian pindah ke pulau Kei Kecil. Di pulau yang disebut terakhir, mereka menempati wilayah Rumadian, Debut, Namar, Danar, Ngilingof, dan Oholililir.

Versi pertama dikisahkan oleh Egidius Ohoiwutun (69 tahun), Agapitus Ohoiwutun (69 tahun), dan S.P.E. Ohoiwutun (60 tahun) di Namar pada 31 Juli 2019. Mereka adalah generasi keenam. Dikisahkan bahwa akibat perebutan kekuasaan di Kesultanan Buton, maka La Raja dan La Nong meninggalkan Buton berlayar ke bagian timur Nusantara. Perahunya tiba di pantai Ohoiraut, Kei Besar. Mereka tinggal di sana dan menikah dengan penduduk lokal. Keduanya meninggal di sana. Sebelum meninggal mereka berpesan kepada keluarganya bahwa jika ingin kembali ke negeri asalnya Buton maka berlayar ke arah matahari terbenam (barat) sampai tiba di pulau yang dihuni oleh penduduk *kate* (pendek kecil). Keturunan dua orang itu berlayar dengan sebuah perahu perang. Mereka singgah di Tamdaan, Kei Kecil, mengambil air dan kebutuhan yang lain. Ketika berada di sana, datang bencana alam yang berakibat anggota *ohoiwutun* berpisah. Ada yang kembali ke Kei Besar (Ohoiraut), dan apa pula yang tetap di Tamdaan kemudian ke Danar Lumevar dan pesisir barat pulau Kei Kecil.

Dua keturunan *ohoiwutun*, Wabod dan Tefra, naik pada sebelah kulit bia (*wada*; sejenis kerang besar) ke Rumadian. Ketika mencari kayu di hutan untuk membangun rumah, mereka bertemu tuan tanah, Ohoi Yuf Lobar. Kedua belah pihak mengadakan

kompetisi, berupa menarik pohon bambu dari hutan ke pantai, dengan ketentuan bahwa siapa pun yang tercepat menjadi pemenang dan diangkat sebagai bangsawan sakti. Wabob dan Tefra menarik pohon bambu pada pangkal pohon, sementara Lobar menarik di bagian pucuk pohon sehingga rantingnya tersangkut pada pohon-pohon ketika dibawa ke pantai. Wabob dan Tefra tiba lebih cepat tiba di pantai. Walhasil, Wabob dinikahkan dengan putri Datuk Trnir, Yaruk. Dari perkawinan itu lahir *ub en tit* (tujuh mata rumah) yaitu: faluw ubun, smauw ubun, tawo ubun, dit ubun, tawur atau saraun ubun, tanguur ubun, dan teri ubun, yang dikenal dengan *ohoiwutun rahan relob*. Selanjutnya datang kelompok lain, Watratan, dari Luan Leti bergabung dengan ohoiwutun. Pada satu hari, keluarga ohoiwutun diserang penyakit dan akibatnya mereka meninggalkan Rumdian ke Ohoi Mantilur (Miun Huk) dan Fid Maat. Setelah menikah dengan penduduk setempat, keturunan ohoiwutun menyebar ke Lilboi, Debut, Namaar, Ngilingof, dan Ohoililir (Ohoiwutun, 1962).

Versi yang kedua dari Donatius Ohoiwutun (65 tahun), Nurbertus Ohoiwutun (66 tahun), Yosofina Ohoiwutun (69 tahun), dan Daniel Ohoiwutun (78 tahun) di Danar pada 30 Juli 2019. Mereka adalah generasi keenam. Tiga leluhur mereka dari suku Kalende, yang bermukim di sekitar Gunung Siontapina, yaitu Deteno Katape (sulung), Baluwu (adik), dan Peropa (bungsu) berlayar dari Buton ke Maluku. Mereka berlabuh di pantai Ohoiraut, Kei Besar dan menetap di Tamedan. Mereka mengolah lahan dengan hasil yang baik sehingga menarik perhatian penduduk setempat. Penasaran dengan keberhasilan tersebut, penduduk setempat mengecek perahu para migran. Maka ditemukan sebuah *vengkasilan*, satu jenis tempayang, dalam perahu yang dianggap sebagai pusaka keberuntungan. Benda itu dibuang ke laut di tanjung pulau Kur. Benda itu kelak ditemukan nelayan dari Seram. Karena tidak senang dengan tindakan tersebut, maka mereka meninggalkan Tamedan. Belum jauh lepas dari pantai, tiba-tiba datang angin topan menyebabkan tiang perahu patah. Dia terpaksa lego jangkar di pantai Ohoiraut. Sementara dua saudaranya terus berlayar sampai di pantai Rumdian. Ketika berlayar lagi, tiang perahu Baluwu juga patah akibat topan. Baluwu terpaksa balik haluan ke Rumdian. Pada saat itu, dia bertemu penduduk Rumadian di pantai. Kedua pihak berlomba menarik bambu dari gunung ke pantai. Sebelumnya disepakati bahwa siapa yang menang akan jadi raja di Rumdian. Orang setempat menarik sebatang bambu dari pucuknya, sedangkan Baluwu menarik sebatang pohon bambu yang lain di bagian akarnya. Pohon bambu yang ditarik orang kampung tersangkut pada pohon-pohon sehingga lambat ditarik ke pantai, sementara Baluwu lebih cepat tiba di pantai. Sesuai kesepakatan awal, maka Baluwu diangkat menjadi raja di Rumadian. Dia menikah dengan penduduk setempat. Keturunannya menjadi anggota ohoiwutun di Debut, Namar, dan Ngilingof.

Setelah Baluwu menjadi raja, Deteno Katape berlayar mencari tempat lain yang lebih tinggi di Kei Kecil. Perahunya berlabuh di pantai Danar, Namob Watet. Dari sana tampak puncak gunung Danar Dabran. Penduduk setempat (kelompok *ohoi*ren dan *song uban*) memanggilnya tinggal bersama dan kemudian diangkat menjadi raja (orang kay). Dari perkawinan Katape dengan penduduk setempat lahir keturunan ohoiwutun di Danar. Dalam pemerintahan lokal, ada tiga orang yang menjalankan tugas keamanan dan penjaga wilayah yakni Namsir (ohoi)ren, Baluwe (ohoi)wutun, dan Balbal (ohoi)rat). Deteno Katape diangkat sebagai kepala ohoi.

Asal mula ohoiwutun versi kedua sama dengan cerita rakyat Kei seperti dicatat oleh Peter Henricus Guertjens (1924: 265). Apabila dalam versi kedua generasi awal ohoiwutun datang dan berasimilasi dengan penduduk setempat (watratan), maka pada cerita ini mereka digambarkan dari asal yang sama yakni sebuah siput *tridaena*. Siput itu muncul dari laut, lalu menerobos di bawah tanah sampai di sebuah mata air. Siput membelah diri dan tampilah dua bocah laki-laki. Satunya duduk di atas sebuah batu yang kelak disebut moyang orang watratan (= *op den sten*), dan yang lain duduk di sebelah utara dan menjadi moyang orang ohoiwoetoen (orang kampung utara).

Berdasarkan uraian di atas jelas bahwa keluarga ohoiwutun dan watratan datang dari luar (laut) ke Rumadian. Mereka menikah dengan penduduk setempat dari keluarga Ohoi Yuf Lobar. Karena wabah penyakit, orang ohoiwutun meninggalkan Rumadian ke berbagai daerah yang menjadi cikal-bakal diaspora ohoiwutun di pantai barat Kei Kecil.

Untuk mengetahui posisi ohoiwutun dalam sistem sosial Kei, menarik disimak penjelasan Scheffer (1933: 12-16) dan Geurtjens (2016: 199-203) mengenai kelas sosial masyarakat Kei yang terdiri atas tiga yaitu: *mel* (bangsawan), *ren* (tingkat tengah), dan *iri* (hamba sahaya). Kelas tengah, atau *ren* dalam bahasa lokal berarti “ibu”, berasal dari penduduk “asli”. Mereka tinggal dalam hutan sebagai orang primitif, yang tinggal di dalam gua-gua atau di bawah pohon. Mereka makan buah-buahan dan hewan dalam keadaan mentah, karena belum tahu cara membuat api. Kemudian datang para migran dari luar pulau. Mereka lebih manusiawi dari penduduk setempat. Mereka mengajarkan penduduk lokal mengenai kehidupan sosial seperti cara membuat api dengan memakai bilah-bilah bambu yang kering, mengerjakan pondok dan membuka kebun. Pada kisah ohoiwutun di Rumadian, setelah kompetisi menarik bambu ke pantai dimenangkan oleh migran Buton, penduduk lokal mengakui keunggulan mereka dan diberikan tempat tinggal lalu diangkat menjadi pemimpin mereka, seperti kisah ohoiwutun di Rumadian dan Danar.

Keterampilan membuat api digambarkan dalam kisah kedatangan ohoiwutun di Namar (Belanda: *Ngamar*). Menurut tradisi lisan, bahwa setelah ohoiwutun pindah dari Rumadian ke Namar, keberadaannya diketahui oleh penduduk asli (marga *maturbongs*) dari cahaya api (*nmar*) di pemukiman mereka, antara Namar dan Rumadian. Orang *maturbongs* mendatangi mereka dan menanyakan asal mereka. Setelah diketahui dari Rumadian, orang *maturbongs* mengajak mereka tinggal bersama. Maka terbentuklah kampung Nmar, selanjutnya menjadi Namar (Egidius Ohoiwutun 30 Juli 2019).

Migran dari kalangan bangsawan datang ke Kei bersama dengan pembantu atau pengikutnya, dalam masyarakat bentukan disebut *iri*. Kelompok *iri* juga dari golongan atas yang menjadi budak karena ‘salah kawin’. Baik laki-laki maupun perempuan kelas atas yang menikah dengan kelas bawah menjadi kelas yang disebut terakhir. Sebab lain adanya budak ialah perang, yakni tawanan yang tidak bisa ditebus. Sebab terakhir merupakan pola umum perbudakan di Asia Tenggara pada kurun niaga 1450-1680. Jumlah budak mencerminkan kuasa raja atau kelompok bangsawan (Reid 2014: 150-151). Asal kelas *iri* juga terkait dengan perdagangan budak di Kei yang sebagian besar diambil dari pesisir barat Papua. Perdagangan tersebut terutama ditangani Ternate dan Tidore yang membeli budak di Papua kemudian dijual dengan pengantaran pedagang Arab dan Makassar (Geurtjens 2016: 16-17).

Bangsawan Buton yang datang di Kepulauan Kei juga membawa para pembantu (*batua*). Lapisan bawah diturunkan dari orang tuanya yang budak. Jika ibunya saja yang budak, anaknya tidak masuk budak atau mengikuti kelas bapaknya. Ada juga *papara*, yakni orang yang tunduk di bawah kerajaan dengan paksa, dalam adat disebut *bente* atau orang yang kalah dalam peperangan atau orang luar kerajaan yang dirampas atau dijual kepada kaum bangsawan. Pemisahan garis keturunan sangat keras, apabila dilanggar maka pelakunya dihukum mati (Yunus 1995: 24-26). Setelah berada di Kei, kaum *batua* atau *papara* dimasukkan dalam kelas *iri*. Golongan ini tidak menggunakan fam ohoiwutun. Perempuan ohoiwutun yang menikah dengan kelas lain mengikuti kelas suaminya menjadi *marwutun* atau orang asing (Geurtjens 2016: 347).

4. Integrasi dalam sistem politik lokal

Sekitar abad ke-15 di Kepulauan Kei terbentuk dua konfederasi politik: *Lorlim* (lima rumpun: Fer, Nerong, Uvat, Tutrean, dan Elraan) dipimpin raja Fer dan *Ursiu* (sembilan rumpun: Danar, Ngursoin, Elaar, Mastur, Ohoinol, Wain, Ohoider, Marfuun, dan Yatvav) dipimpin oleh Arnuhu, Raja Danar, dengan gelar Famur Danar. Pembentukan Ursiu

ditandai penyembelihan seekor kerbau, Hungar Nar, di daerah Elaar-Ngursoin. Dagingnya dibagikan kepada setiap anggota. Sementara raja-raja Lorlim membunuh seekor ikan paus (*Ier*) dengan tombak dari Bali (*Ngabal*) lalu dipotong dan dibagikan untuk semua anggotanya (Rahail 1995:7-8; Asba et al 2012: 28-29). Selain dua kelompok itu, ada kelompok netral (*lorlabay*) yang terdiri atas tiga yaitu: Tam (di pulau Tam), Werka (pulau Kei Besar), dan Ohoidertavun (pulau Kei Kecil). Kelompok terakhir ini menjadi sasaran dari dua kelompok pertama.

Setelah peperangan antara Ursiu dan Lorlim di Sernil Famas (Danar), para raja Lorlim sepakat mempengaruhi *lorlabay* agar menjadi anggota kelompoknya. Maka dikirim utusan ke Tual membawa hadiah berupa suruk efak, ngabal, dan kasber (meriam). Usaha itu berhasil dan halaii Tuvle diangkat sebagai raja dengan gelar *Rat Lus*, sekaligus menjadi anggota Lorlim (Yohanis 1983:55-58).

Atas persetujuan Raja Tuvle (Tual) dan raja Yarbadang (Tetoat), panglima perang dari Rumadian, Kerbau Ohoiwutun, diangkat menjadi raja. Namun pengangkatan itu ditolak olehnya, karena sudah puas dengan jabatannya sebagai *tuan tan* (tuan tanah). Jabatan itu diserahkan kepada adiknya, Jang Vatratan. Dalam sistem politik lokal, Raja Rumadian diberi gelar dengan *Rat Manyew*, termasuk anggota Lorlim (Yohanis 1983:58-59).

Menurut tradisi lisan, pendiri Kerajaan Manyew ialah Tewuwod. Ia terkenal sangat sakti sehingga ditakuti oleh penduduk. Setelah mendirikan kerajaan, dia tidak ingin menjadi raja. Jabatan itu diserahkan kepada Jang Vatratan. Namun tokoh yang disebut terakhir tidak bersedia karena takut kepadanya. Setelah Tawuwod memberikan perlindungan keamanan (*waran ifaak*) kepada calon raja dan kerajaannya, Vatratan bersedia menjadi raja. Tewuwod dan kaum ohoiwutun bebas menempati wilayah Rumadian, namun bertanggungjawab sebagai penengah (*rahan relob tefra*). Seiring dengan integrasi ohoiwutun dalam Kerajaan Manyew, maka sikap politik ohoiwutun berubah dari tidak memihak (*lorlabay*) menjadi memihak kepada kelompok Lorlim (Egidius Ohoiwutun, wawancara 30/7/2019).

Perubahan sikap ohoiwutun Rumadian adalah suatu strategi agar tidak menjadi korban perebutan kekuasaan antara Lorlim dan Ursiu yang bersaing dengan cara kekerasan, termasuk kepada pihak yang tidak memihak kepada mereka. Sikap yang sama (memihak) juga ditempuh oleh kelompok ohoiwutun pimpinan Deteno Katape (anak sukung dari tiga bersaudara: Baluwu dan Peropa) yang pindah ke Danar, setelah meninggalkan Rumadian. Perpindahan mereka ke sana punya makna penting, karena Danar diutamakan dalam konfederasi Ursiu. Sementara itu, status politik Rumadian diperkuat oleh Raja Tual sebagai pihak yang terkemuka dalam konfederasi Lorlim.

Hubungan ohoiwutun dengan dua kekuatan politik lokal mencerminkan, apa yang disebut Susanto Zuhdi (2018: 151), pola sekutu dan seteru. Apabila satu pihak telah memilih bersekutu dengan satu pihak, maka pada saat itu juga yang bersangkutan telah menjadi seteru bagi pihak lain. Pilihan dua kelompok ohoiwutun (Rumadian dan Danar) berada di antara Lorlim dan Ursiu sangat selektif dan mempertimbangkan perimbangan kekuatan lokal agar bisa bertahan di Kei. Dalam lingkup sosial dan politik lokal, untuk menjaga keseimbangan antara kedua pihak maka digunakan hukum adat Larvul Ngabal sebagai sumber hukum bagi semua masyarakat.

KESIMPULAN

Migrasi orang Buton ke Maluku terkait dengan tradisi pelayaran dan perdagangan ke kawasan timur Nusantara melalui dua jalur utama: Maluku utara dengan tujuan utama Ternate (pola Ternate) dan Maluku selatan yang berfokus ke Ambon (pola Ambon). Migrasi menuju Kepulauan Kei ditempuh dengan jalur utara (Buton, Buru, Seram, Banda, dan Kei) dan jalur selatan (Buton, Nusa Tenggara, Timor, Tanimbar, Tanimbar Kei, dan Kei). Niat bermigrasi, selain karena faktor tradisi maritim, juga keadaan yang tidak

menguntungkan di tempat asal sehingga mencari tempat lain. Kehadiran mereka dalam masyarakat bentukan ditunjang oleh sistem sosial lokal yang terbuka bagi pendatang yang memiliki keunggulan di antara penduduk setempat, karena penduduk Kei merupakan masyarakat bentukan dari berbagai suku bangsa yang datang dari wilayah lain di Maluku, Papua, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, dan Bali.

Latar sosial migran berpengaruh terhadap pencapaian mereka di Kei. Mereka dari kalangan bangsawan, memiliki keahlian dan pengalaman politik, dapat beradaptasi dengan tempat baru sebagai “raja asing” di Rumadian dan Danar. Dari dua kelompok itu terbentuk *ohoiwutun* yang menyebar di Kei Kecil. Mereka mempertahankan identitas keluarganya, mengikuti pola kekerabatan tempatan, yakni *patrilineal*. Perempuan Buton yang menikah dengan *fam* lain menggunakan nama keluarga suaminya disebut *marwutun* (orang asing).

Proses integrasi *ohoiwutun* dalam sistem politik lokal pada awalnya bersifat netral (*lorlabay*) di antara dua konfederasi *Lorlim* dan *Ursiu*, namun akhirnya dengan selektif memihak kepada konfederasi tersebut. Kelompok *ohoiwutun* Rumadian bersatu dengan *Lorlim* dan *ohoiwutun* Danar dengan *Ursiu*. Pemilahan keanggotaan yang berbeda itu mencerminkan keseimbangan yang dibangun oleh kalangan *ohoiwutun* sehingga dapat bertahan dalam sistem sosial politik masyarakat bentukan di Kei Kecil. Dengan cara itu migran Buton berkontribusi dalam menciptakan harmoni sosial dalam kehidupan masyarakat Kei di Maluku Tenggara.

Acknowledgement

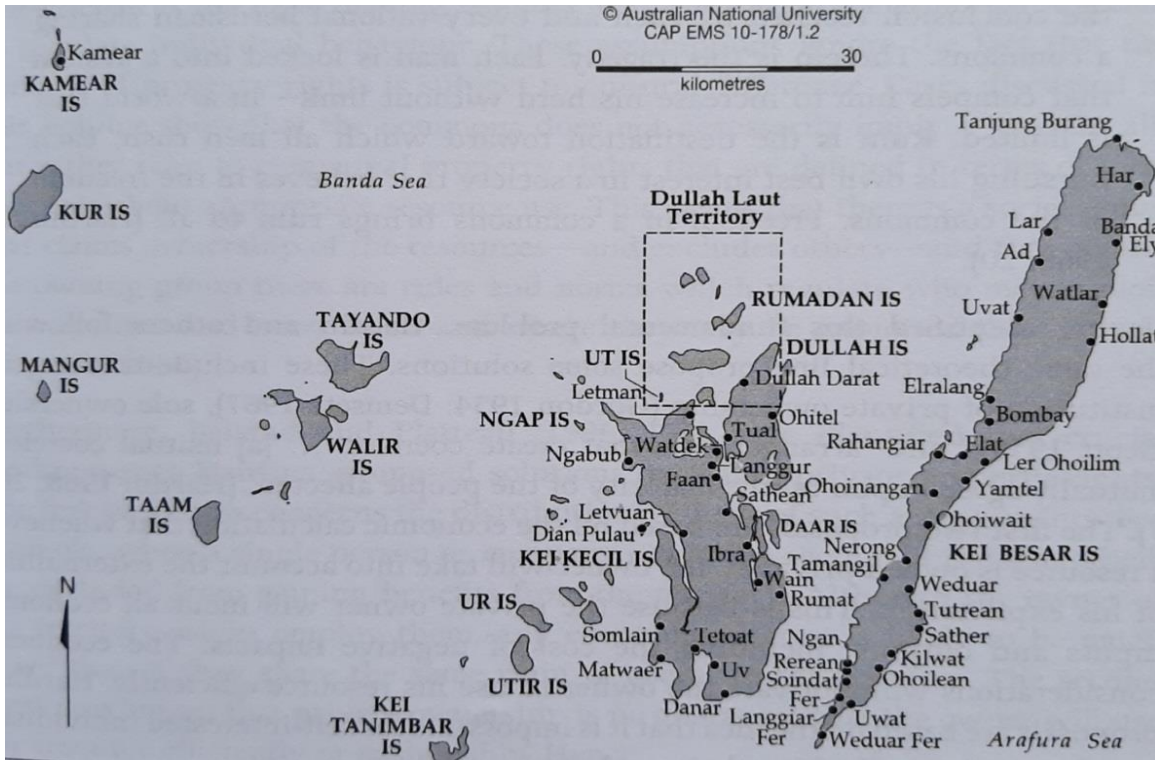
Penelitian ini dibayai oleh Hibah Penelitian Dasar Unggulan Perguruan Tinggi (PDUPT) Kemenristekdikti tahun 2019, “Budaya Bahari dan Integrasi Bangsa: Menggali Nilai-nilai Kecemerlangan Lokal Masyarakat di Kawasan Indonesia Timur untuk Memperkuat Negara Maritim” tahun anggaran 2019 dibawah pimpinan Prof. Dr. Susanto Zuhdi.

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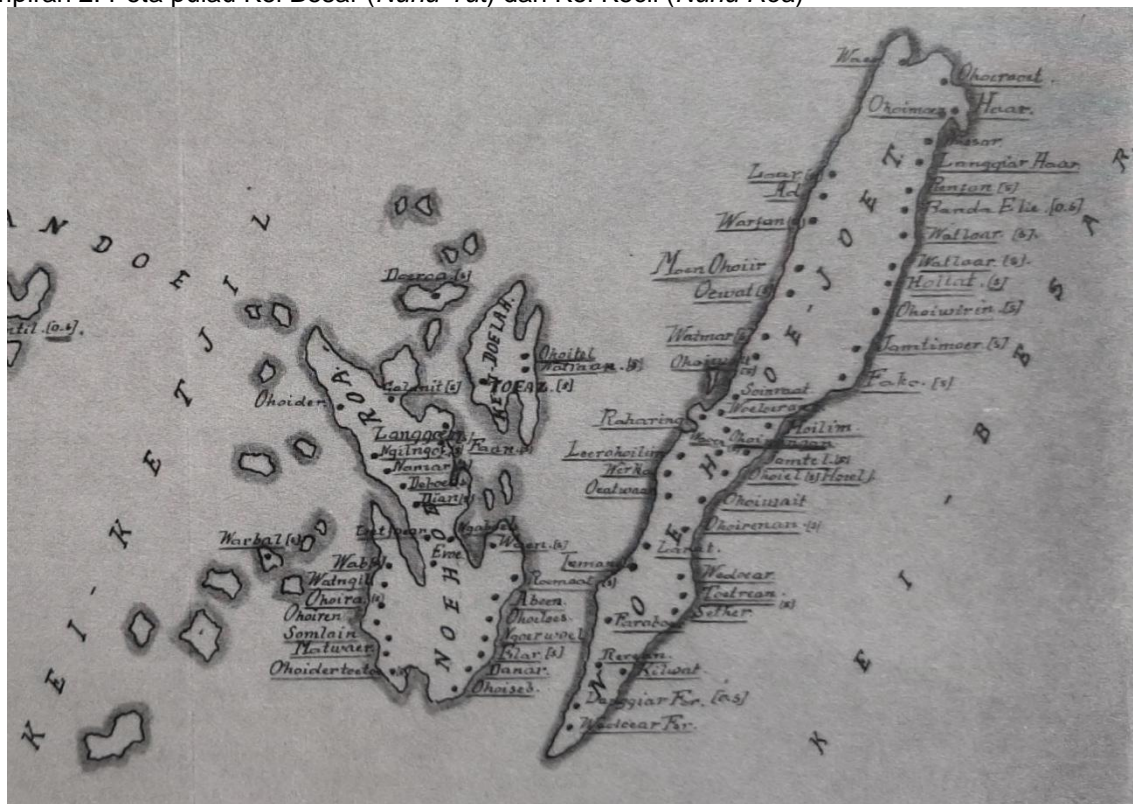
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The Ohoiwutuns: The Role Of Buton People As A Derived Community In Kei Kecil Island, Southeast Maluku Regency



Sumber: Adhuri (2013)

Lampiran 2. Peta pulau Kei Besar (Nuhu Yut) dan Kei Kecil (Nuhu Roa)



Sumber: Schreffer (1933)

POLYGAMY AS A TOOL TO PRESERVE PATRIARCHAL CULTURE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS STUDY

Dhea Tisane Ardhan

Linguistics Master Program, Faculty of Humanities

Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya – Indonesia

E-mail: dhea.tisane.ardhan-2018@fib.unair.ac.id

Abstract

The practice of polygamous marriage has long been a controversy among those who are in line with it and those who are not. The concept of polygamy conducted by several Indonesian Muslims refers to the verse in the Qur'an [4:3] stating that men may marry up to four wives. According to this, the issue of polygamous marriage in Indonesia is often considered a problem in society because it mostly affects women badly. Nevertheless, along with the change of time, nowadays some Muslim communities are trying to change the negative stigma of polygamy practice. This paper aims to explore the ideology related to the power implied behind the documentary video *Polemik Poligami di Indonesia: Berbagi Surga* uploaded by the YouTube channel of Vice Indonesia within the context of gender relations. In order to examine this issue, the theory of feminism proposed by Amina Wadud was applied. Furthermore, there are three dimensions of analysis based on Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that was conducted, which were text, discursive practice, and social practice. The results show that the implied ideology is related with gender hierarchy in a marriage. Several Muslim men, particularly in Indonesia, still see themselves more superior than their wives. By socializing the practice of polygamy, men can be considered to maintain their domination in a marriage. Moreover, in this documentary video, it shows that polygamy practice is implicitly disadvantageous for all women regardless of whether they accept polygamy or not. In conclusion, this video indicates that with the practice of polygamy, women are still positioned in a lower status compared to men in the context of marriage.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, gender hierarchy, ideology, Indonesian muslims; polygamy

Introduction

In the country with a huge Muslim population like Indonesia, the practice of polygamous marriage has long been a controversy among those who are in line with it and those who are not. The concept of polygamy conducted by several Indonesian Muslims mainly refers to the verse in the Qur'an Surah An-Nisa [4:3]:

“And if you fear that you will not deal justly with the orphan girls, then marry those that please you of [other] women, two or three or four. But if you fear that you will not be just, then [marry only] one or those your right hand possesses. That is more suitable that you may not incline [to injustice]”

However, many polygamy activists in Indonesia only focus at the first excerpt “*And if you fear that you will not deal justly with the orphan girls, then marry those that please you of [other] women, two or three or four*” without including the next excerpts of the verse.

According to this, the issue of polygamous marriage in Indonesia is often considered as a problem in society because it mostly affects women badly (Thobejane , 2014). Even though among some male and female Muslims polygamy can be considered as one act of worships, however, eighty-six percent of Indonesian Muslims themselves are against this practice. This resistance also leads to the publication of the Marriage Law of 1974 that proposes the marriage legislation and moreover to limit polygamy (Diponegoro, 2014). Nevertheless, along with the change of time, nowadays there are some Muslim communities that are trying to change negative stigma of polygamy practice. Due to this very debatable phenomenon, Vice Indonesia initiatively produced a documentary video related to polygamous marriage in Indonesia based on diverse perspectives of several parties. This project was published on YouTube dated on 15 September 2018 entitled *Polemik Poligami di Indonesia: Berbagi Surga*.

Several studies about the issue of polygamy in Indonesia have been conducted before. In his study, Rohman (2013) tries to interpret polygamy in Indonesia. He proposes that there are two debates based on the perspective of the fundamentalist and modernist Muslims about polygamy. In Indonesia nowadays, he shows that there are many movements to reject polygamy done by women with higher education. On the other hand, there are also some women with lower education level who allow their husbands to perform polygamy. The results of Rohman’s study shows that polygamy is irrelevant for modern lives since it brings more negative things rather than the positive ones.

Similar to the article written by Rohman, Wajiran (2018) explores how polygamy is addressed in contemporary Indonesian literature after the reformation era. There are several Indonesian authors who openly portray the practice of polygamy in their literature, such as Habiburrahman El Shirazy with his book *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* (The Verse of Love). The results of this study show that what is written in some Indonesian literatures discussing about polygamy actually reflects what happens in the society. Some Indonesian Muslims still follow the traditional values of their religion, in which polygamy is included. Yet, some other Indonesian Muslims oppose this practice so in this study, polygamy is considered not appropriate for a more modern Muslim society that values equality.

Even though there have been several similar researches that analyze the practice of polygamy in Indonesia and how it bring so many controversies among the society, but only a little attention given to the analysis of polygamy practice in the form of documentary video. Therefore, this paper aims to discover the ideology related to the power implied behind this documentary video within the context of gender relationship in order to find out which party is benefited from polygamy practice and which party is not. Thus, the method of Critical Discourse Analysis proposed by Fairclough is used to help analyzing this matter.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Amina Wadud is an Islamic feminist who wrote a book entitled *Qur’an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman’s Perspective*. By writing this book, Wadud aims to discover several aspects of gender equality in Qur’an. She critics that the Qur’an seems to

have stayed neutral in several practices such as social and marital patriarchy, economic hierarchy, and the labor division between male and female in a certain family. Therefore, she suggests that there should be a modification within those practices. When talking about polygamy, Wadud argues that its practice in real life does not ideally reflect the verse in the Qur'an Surah An-Nisa [4:3]. She states that there are three justifications for the practice of polygamy with no direct sanction from the Qur'an. First, it is related with financial responsibility, in which a financially capable man then will be able to take care for more than one wife. Second, polygamy can be performed if the wife cannot give birth a child. And third, polygamy becomes a solution to channel unbridled lust of men or husbands. However, it needs to be noted that the last reason to do polygamy is clearly un-Qur'anic (Wadud, 1999).

Methods

It has been stated previously that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) proposed by Fairclough was used as the method in the making of this research. CDA was chosen as the method since it helped finding out the "common-sense assumptions" which were implicit. "Common-sense assumptions" here could be considered to be similar with "ideologies" that were closely linked to both power and language. To find out the ideologies of a discourse, in this case was the ideology implied inside the documenter video of the practice of polygamy, there were three dimensions of analysis that has to be done, which were text, discursive practice, and social practice (Krekis, 2015).

Result

Analysis and Findings

Before going deep to the analysis process, it is important to, first of all, know about Vice Indonesia as the one who had the idea to bring up the issue of polygamy movement in a form of documentary video, and also to take a little peek of YouTube as the platform where the video was uploaded. Vice Media was firstly established in 1994 in Montreal with its mission to revolutionize the media business and to win the hearts of millennial generation. It was stated by the Co Founder of Vice Media, Shane Smith, that young people are often mistaken as a generation that does not really pay attention to the news, while in reality they actually do care. However, they often have difficulty with how the news is delivered to them. Because of that, Vice Media tried to deliver the news by presenting digital content with "Gonzo-style journalism" means that it includes the reporter as part of the story via a first-person narrative, that seems successfully proposes the majority of young audiences around the world. Vice Media was brought to Indonesia (later was known as Vice Indonesia) in 2016 by Mo Morris, and had an intention to impress Indonesia's youths by presenting fresh culture and powerful documentaries (Djatkiko, 2016). Then, talking about YouTube, it can be considered to have similar audience targets as Vice Media, which are youth and teenager who today are also known as millennial generations. YouTube becomes a favorite among many millennials since it is free and great for them to discover things they like. However, since YouTube is a free video platform, it definitely has several risks such as inappropriate content and cyber bullying occur. To prevent these risks, YouTube has set some rules such as establishing age restrictions, safety mode, parental controls, and so on (Webwise, ____).

Begin with textual analysis, it means that this process involves the analysis of how propositions are structured and how they are sequenced and combined. It embraces the

traditional form of linguistics analysis like analysis of vocabulary, semantics, grammar, sound system, and writing system. Moreover, it also covers textual organization above sentence (Krekis, 2015). Since the discourse here is a documentary video, then it means that its structure that has to be discovered. It can include, for example, the title of the video, the language used in the video, and the way the interviewing process is performed in the video. Then, as Fairclough suggests, the analysis of the second dimensions is what turns discourse analysis to become CDA. It is also known as discursive practice analysis, or the process where the discourse is analyzed and also related to the social conditions (Krekis, 2015).

Taking a look at the title, Vice Indonesia chooses to title this documentary video as *Polemik Poligami di Indonesia: Berbagi Surga*. This title can be considered to show that the practice of polygamous marriage in Indonesia is indeed a controversy. From the diction used in the title, Vice Indonesia wants to address the polygamy practice in Indonesia is both a debated issue that has negative connotation, as the word *polemik* is used, and a way to share heaven that has a positive purpose, as *berbagi surga* is chosen. By using this title as it is also written in this video's description section on YouTube, Vice Indonesia intends to inform the audiences that they want to deliver and uncover one of the most controversial issues in Indonesia to the public. In addition, this title also implies that Vice Indonesia is neither a hundred percent agree nor disagree with the practice of polygamous marriage in Indonesia as they try to give their neutral point of view of this issue.

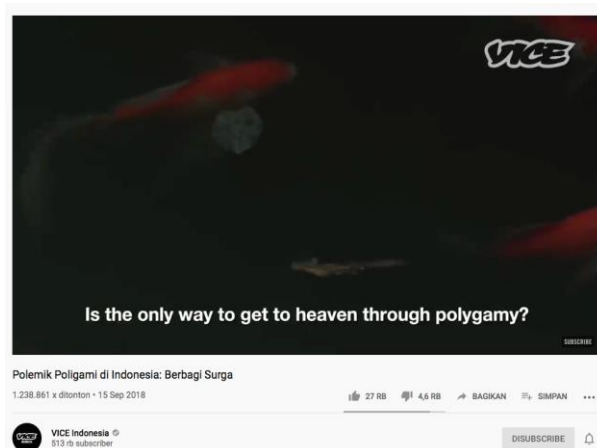


Figure 1. The Title of the Documentary Video (*Polemik Poligami di Indonesia: Berbagi Surga*)

(source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d3_hPhIX_Js&t=1263s)

Furthermore, the language used in the video is uttered in both formal and informal ways. The informal language is mostly uttered by the Vice Indonesia reporter, Arzia Wargadiredja, as she always calls out herself as *Gue* ("I" in informal Indonesian language)

during the video. On the other hand, the formal language is used by the main interviewees like Mr. Rizki Ramdani and his two wives and also other supporting interviewees. Moving to the interview, or information gaining, process, it can be seen that this video shows that the interaction between the reporter and the main interviewees happens naturally. By means, the reporter is free to ask and give her reaction and the interviewees are also free to answer. In addition, Vice Indonesia does not only show their interview with Mr. Ramdani and his two wives that agree with the practice of polygamy in their marriage, but also show contrary point of view about polygamous marriage from a woman who chooses to divorce because she does not want to be involved in polygamy and moreover strengthen this opposing perspectives by interviewing Nina Nurmila, who is an Islamic scholar studying polygamy. In her interview, Nurmila argues that Islam is actually the only religion that commands monogamy.



Figure 2. Arguments from Nina Nurmila, an Islamic Scholar studying polygamy

(source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d3_hPhIX_Js&t=1263s)

The third and last dimension of CDA is the analysis of social practice, or the analysis of the text's "socio-cultural practice". It means that the analysis covers the social cultural goings-on which the communicative event is part of. This stage includes what the discourse says about the society in which it was produced and the society that it was produced for (Krekis, 2015). This third stage can be considered to help a lot in finding the implied ideology.

In this documentary video, even though there are some parties that still do not agree with polygamous marriage, but it also shows that polygamy practice is nowadays being socialized publicly by several Indonesian Muslim communities and thus there must be an ideology implied behind that action. This implied ideology must have a relation between gender hierarchy specifically in a marriage, between man as husband and woman as wife. Muslim men still see them much more superior than their wives based on their literal perception of one verse of the holy Qur'an saying that they can marry up to four wives. By socializing the practice of polygamy, men can be considered to intend to preserve their domination in a marriage. Moreover, in this documentary video, it shows that polygamy

practice is implicitly disadvantageous for all women, either they are in line with polygamy or not. Women in a polygamous marriage are disadvantaged from being their husband's "robot" and have to do whatever he says. Even though perhaps they say they are happy with that decision, they will never really are since they do not really get the chance to freely speak themselves up, in the term of expressing jealousy for example, but to obey their husbands' religion-based commands. On the other hand, women who do not agree with polygamy are also being socially and economically disadvantageous since they independently only have themselves to support their lives, including to bear their children's life also.

Discussion

In order to emphasize how polygamy practice in Indonesia, in this case is based on the documentary video from Vice Indonesia, becomes a tool to maintain patriarchy, therefore this issue is discussed based on the verse of Qur'an Surah An-Nisa [3:4] and the further explanation based on the book written by Amina Wadud entitled *Qur'an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective*.

All this time, only the first sentence of Surah An-Nisa [3:4], "*And if you fear that you will not deal justly with the orphan girls, then marry those that please you of [other] women, two or three or four*", that is interpreted by men or husbands to support their decision of doing polygamy practice. However, in this discussion, they are very rarely to include the next sentences that say "*But if you fear that you will not be just, then [marry only] one or those your right hand possesses. That is more suitable that you may not incline [to injustice]*". These second and third sentences of this verse explicate that it is hard for a man to marry and take care more than one wife since it is difficult for him to be fair to all of his wives. In this documentary video, what is stated by Rizki Ramdani, the polygamy activist in Indonesia, in minutes 4.08-4.12 as the justification to perform polygamy is only the first sentence. However, he does not really concern with the next sentences of this verse, in which can be seen to be a contrary to the previous sentence. Another verse of Qur'an which supports Islam as a religion that clings to the practice of monogamy is Surah An-Nisa [4:129] that says "*And you will never be able to be equal [in feeling] between wives, even if you should strive [to do so]. So do not incline completely [toward one] and leave another hanging. And if you amend [your affairs] and fear Allah – then indeed, Allah is ever Forgiving and Merciful*". Nevertheless, this verse is also never brought up by many polygamy activist since this verse gives a strong rationale that there is no human being that can be truly fair to others. Thus, Islam suggests to perform what is called as monogamy.

Furthermore, Wadud (1999) argues that the verse of An-Nisa [4:3] is actually talking about the treatment of orphans. One of the purposes of polygamy practice is because it can be a means which men can marry female orphans in order to protect them from, for example, economic burden. In this case also, Islam limits the number of female orphans that can be married by one man, which is the maximum of four wives. Yet, many polygamy activists and proponents infrequently talk about it in the context of fair and proper treatment of orphans (Wadud, 1999). This also happens in this documentary video since Ramdani does not even bring up about how polygamy is actually aiming to save female orphans.

Instead of elaborating about how polygamy intends to save female orphans, Ramdani on his interview says that polygamy becomes a solution

Conclusion

To sum up, from the Critical Discourse Analysis done to the video, it is found that even though Vice Indonesia is trying to be as independent as they can in presenting it, however, it can be seen that Vice Indonesia, represented by their reporter, is on the opposing side of polygamy practice as it can be seen toward her reaction during the whole videoing process. It is related with how “gonzo-style journalism” is applied in Vice Indonesia as it rejects objectivity in the depictions of events experienced, but the reporter subjectively becomes the one who interpreted those events. In addition, this video also implicitly presents that with the practice of polygamy, women are still seen in a much lower hierarchy than men in the context of marriage.

In addition, it is true that there is an excerpt in the Qur'an Surah An-Nisa that describes about the practice of polygamy. However, this excerpt is followed by other excerpts that elaborate more about how polygamy should be conducted in the fairest way. As human beings, it will be wise if this verse of Qur'an can be understood on the whole so that there will be no misleading interpretation caused.

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WORK IMMERSION: SHARED EXPERIENCES OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS AND SUPERVISORS OF PARTNER AGENCIES IN THE PHILIPPINES

Charie Ann Cabides-Padullo

Lpt, Mat Social Studies, Instructor, Leyte Normal University
Tacloban City, Philippines
chariecabides4@gmail.com
+639158701654

Abstract

Training is essential to the growth and economic well-being of a nation. This need for training pervades all levels of industry, for a national level where a country's well being is enhanced by training, to each company where productivity is improved, down to the individual whose skills are enhanced and as a result improve their position in the workplace. In other words, training is one of the most prevalent methods for enhancing individual productivity and improving job performance in the work environment (Goldstein and Ford 2002; Gupta and Bostrom 2006). Training effectiveness must cause behavior change (i.e. skill transfer for job performance), thereby resulting in organizational performance (Goldstein and Ford 2002). This study is anchored on the theory of Experiential Education, utilizing oral interviews and focused group discussion to collect data. The results of this study shows that on the job training is strongly affects to more creativity, achieving organizational objectives and improves work quality.

Key Words: Employment Simulation, Work Immersion, Work Immersion Venues, student standpoint, Supervisors, Cooperating Teachers

Introduction

The 21st-century learners have been a challenge to all educators, particularly in this fast-changing world. They tend to be more inquisitive and curious that they crave for something more than what actually transpires inside the four corners of the classroom. They demand something authentic, concrete and actual experiences.

Our educators here in the Philippines then, to be able to blend with the standards the world requires, have adopted K-12 Program which allows additional years of schooling in secondary level. Along, with the change in the curriculum are additional policies that would strengthen the implementation of the said program. One of which is the DO 30.s, 2017 "Work Immersion" which supplements student learning and caters to the development of certain skills the students need to achieve. This also refers to the course of the Senior High School which encompasses practice of actual work where learners acquire knowledge and skills pertinent to their track. (DO 30. s, 2017: Sec 3 Paragraph 5) Though this is the first try among the students, there have been varied responses to the actualization of this plan. As stated in Section 4: Objectives

" Work Immersion will help develop among the learners life and career skills, and will prepare them to make decisions on postsecondary education or employment. It aims to make the learners: 1.) Appreciate the importance and application of the principles and theories learned in school; 2.) Enhance their technical knowledge and skills; 3.) Enrich their skills in communication and human relations: and 4.) Develop good work habits, attitudes, appreciation and respect for work." These objectives equate to the possibilities of

employment after Grade 12 or continuing to college. The skills that the students need to acquire are imperatives of this policy.

Concerning these objectives the Grade-12 students in different strands following the academic track such as Accountancy Business and Management (ABM), Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM), Humanities and Social Sciences (HUMMS), General Academic (GA) and the Technical-Vocational Livelihood track with strands in Information Communication Technology (ICT) Home Economics (HE) and Industrial Arts (IA), and Agri-Fishery Arts were assigned to different partner venues that will address their skills and competencies through employment simulation. However, most of the institutions if not all would follow Model A which is equivalent to 80 hours work (10 days). The Delivery Models, is the duration of length of hours for the work immersion to take place. Most of the students in Grade 12 who have experienced Work Immersion followed Model A which is 80 hours work or 10 days of work. The scheduling will now come from the work immersion teacher upon also the agreement of a partner venue.

The students, having different strands may have or may not figure out yet which workplace venue are they suited or will they be assigned in the course of work immersion schedule. In the DO 30. s, 2017 ANNEX B: SAMPLE WORK IMMERSION VENUES, the establishments or agencies for a particular strand is enumerated. This is where the work immersion teacher will be basing possible agencies to assign the students to. However, there can be other options for the institution to choose from especially of what is readily available or present in their local areas not taking for granted the appropriation of the partner venues to student's strands/specialization. Also, the partner venues should be cognizant to their duties and responsibilities in catering to student's skills and work ethics in the actual field of work. As mentioned in the DO 30. s, 2017 a memorandum of agreement needs to be secured between the institution and the venues which will reflect the duties that the venue has for the students and the institution as well. But some agencies and institutions in the real setting, would look for something that will reciprocate their permission for the students to be part of their workforce in a specified number of hours.

The supervisors in the partner agencies, also have a very significant contribution to the success of the implementation of work immersion. When students are already outside the institution, the responsibility now is being passed on to the supervisors. They need to know the tasks and the activities that will be appropriate for the students and that these will hone the skills desired for their strands. However, there are some supervisors including the employees who will be with the students that feel hesitant to give the students actual tasks for the fear of mistakes and possible mishandling of confidential documents in their agencies. This could be reasonable, but then the partner venue then needs to design tasks that would not take for granted the duration of stay of the students and that the learning that they could get relating to their specialization. The coordination between the coordinating teachers and the supervisors of the partner venues is very important. Their function is to make sure that the students will maximize the length of their stay with the agencies they are assigned to. This would allow a systematic flow for the implementation of the employment simulation.

Consequently, the employment simulation is an errand to allow students to make their options in between landing a job or continue studying in college. In this implementation, it is a question though if their experiences in the workplace with the corresponding length of time suffice their readiness in the actual place of work. It must be noted that the Grade 12 students are already allowed to work after they finished Senior High School and the agencies in the work place are hesitant to hire them as they are not convinced yet of the capability of these students to do tasks associated with their respective job types. This would oppose to the main purpose of education itself and the goal of the Department of Education.

The shared experiences of the coordinating teachers in the institution, the students and the supervisors in the partner venues responses during the course of work are the sources to which the policy implemented in the curriculum justifies. It focuses on how the learners are properly informed about the guidelines (time period, conditions, people involved and stakeholders). The duration prescribed to students corresponding to " Delivery Models"

(DO 30. s., 2017 Sec. 6) though stated that some schools/ regions may design their own delivery model was not actually justified instead complied according to convenience. Also, the displacement of their track to " Agencies/Venue" –the place where the job training takes place (DO 30. s., 2017 Sec. 3 Paragraph 8) affects how the students perceive their entire practice. These are the key factors to look into especially in the implementation of the Work Immersion. The institution, specifically the supervisors of the students need to fully know the content of the Deped Order before they impose it to the students. There are some institutions that conduct orientation to parents and students but before they do that they should firstly understand its structure and composition. There were trainings and seminars spearheaded by the Department of Education that need the participation of the institutions offering Senior High School Program. Proper communication to the schools administrators is a must so that appropriate participants will be sent to these trainings. The supervisors that will be handling the students in their immersion should be properly trained and well-informed.

With full support and collaboration from concerned schools that have key control over the actualization of this memorandum, it will be a big input to attain a common goal which is competence among the learners and self-actualization on real field of work. It is vital that schools are fully aware of the implementation of the DepEd Order no. 30 s., 2017 for it to ensure quality of learning offered to the students. The supervising teachers as well, will be more aware of their roles and can properly plan for the next batch in Senior High School Program. The learners, will be reminded to be mindful of their tasks and improve on their job capability. Venues or agencies will also be informed especially to their duties in allowing students to be trained and be given tasks in line with their specific strands.

These key factors need elaboration as this has been the pioneering students to experience the recent change in the school curriculum. The conduct of work immersion deploys the students into diverse venues identified by the school/institution, with the aim of improving their work skills as well as work ethics, associated with their experience in the actual work place. Proper monitoring and evaluation among learners also needs to be considered by the institution and the partner venues too.

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on the theory of Experiential Education. John Dewey (1859-1952) stated that "the belief of genuine education comes about experience does not mean that all experiences are genuinely or equally educative. A given experience may increase a person's automatic skill in a particular direction and yet to land him in a groove or rut; the effect again is the narrow the field of further experience (Dewey, 1983). He supports the participation of students in actual practice to encourage in-depth learning. The institution, the teacher supervisors then need to make sure that the students entire experience will be worthwhile for again there are skills that they need to develop.

Based on this work by Dewey, along with other notable theorists such as Kurt Lewin, Jean Piaget, Carl Rogers, and William James, Experiential Learning Theory emerged (Kolb & Kolb, 2005 as cited in Armstrong J & Fakumi C 2009). The central tenet is that "learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. Knowledge results from a combination of grasping and transforming experience" (Kolb & Kolb, 2005 as cited in Armstrong J & Fakumi C 2009)

Experiential learning can be conceptualized as a process with several components: students have an experience (Concrete Experience), reflect on observations about that experience (Reflective Observation), analyze responses and formulate new ideas (Abstract Conceptualization), and then actively test these new ideas in new situations (Active Experimentation). This process is a continual cycle, with increasing complexity (Kolb & Kolb, 2005 as cited in Armstrong J & Fakumi C 2009). DO No. 30. Section 4 states that..." By the time the learners reach Senior High School, they would have already acquired almost all competencies and skills that would prepare them for the curriculum exits (higher education, employment, middle skills development, and entrepreneurship)". This means that the

experiences are essential to the development of one self, and that whatever is brought about by these experiences results to student's proficiency.

This study also adopts the Social Constructivism theory which supports a subjectivist view of information, the former emphasizes individuals' biological and cognitive processes, whereas the latter places ideas in the domain of social interchange.

Social constructivism emphasizes that all cognitive functions including learning are dependent on interactions with others (e.g. teachers, peers, and parents). Therefore learning is critically dependent on the qualities of a collaborative process within an educational community, which is situation specific and context bound (Eggen and Kauchak, 1999; McInerney and McInerney, 2002 as cited from Bowden, et.al., 2010). However, learning must also be seen as more than the assimilation of new knowledge by the individual, but also as the process by which learners are integrated into a knowledge community.

According to social constructivism nothing is learnt from scratch; instead it is related to existing knowledge with new information being integrated into and expanding the existing network of understanding. The successful learner is therefore one who embeds new ideas within old and for whom understanding expands to encompass the new experience. Therefore, a social constructivistic learner's view of the world will always be subjective, as each individual will interpret experience via a different pre-existing framework of understanding and will develop their own unique view of the world.

This theory supports the latter theory too, to fully know the institution and the partner venues role to the experiences of the students. Students who undergo changes in the actual experiences with the particular job types, who build knowledge as a result, and who actively interact with other people within a given community—processes that this theory's assertions are at work in varied contexts. This theory holds true to the personal experiences of the students in the actual place of work. They are able to advance, improve and increase their work ethics, their social interactions that results to a positive personal growth. The institutions which are the primary implementers of Work Immersion will also learn to structure a systematic approach as they go along with the experiences they have in the implementation of the immersion. On the perspective of the supervisors in the partner venues, they would also understand the system in the immersion experience as facilitators and what goals they should set for the students to fully experience job simulation and soon be productive members of the workforce.

Statement of the Problem

The K-12 curriculum is a fresh curriculum and everything that is implemented following this, can all be told as experimental. Additionally, the Work Immersion has been a great challenge to institutions, students and the supervisors in the partner venues which then affects the performance of both students and institutions. Training should impact positively on student's performance by generating benefits to both the employees and the organization they work for through the development of skills, knowledge, abilities, competencies and behaviour.

The cooperating teachers in the schools, Grade 12 students and the supervisors in partner venues who hand in hand materialize the experience in Work Immersion were the primary sources for considering the lived experiences from the actual field of work. Through understanding what has transpired in the entire experience will contribute to the holistic development and improvement of Work Immersion itself and not only the students will be enriched and equipped with knowledge about the experience but also the teachers and the supervisors. Additionally, this study aims to present array of responses that will be beneficial for policy formation and social responsibility between and among the stakeholders involved in this study.

This study will seek to answer the following research questions:

- 1.) How were the schools, supervisors from partner agencies, and students informed about the policies of work immersion?
- 2.) How are partner venues and the tasks assigned to the students determined by the school?
- 3.) What are the lived experiences of the teachers, students and supervisors of the Work Immersion?
- 4.) How do schools and partner agencies coordinate with each other to evaluate and assess the students in their entire experience of Work Immersion?

Scope and Delimitation of the Study

This study attempts to conduct the research to identified secondary schools offering Grade 12 Senior High School Program. The respondents will be the Grade 12 students and the partner venues will be identified from among the schools offering the strands. These are only chosen secondary schools, because other schools do not offer Senior High School Program and have only very limited offerings of strands if there is. They will not give substantial information and data so they were not included as identified school participants.

Significance of the Study

This study is meaningful and beneficial to the following:

To the Administrators. It is important that they constantly monitor the performance of the students to see to it that they perform their task effectively. Through this study, they will be able to develop necessary measures to strengthen the Work Immersion Policies to be observed by the students and spearheaded by their teachers.

To the Teachers. This study will encourage the teachers who are handling the Grade 12 classes to teach and develop strategies that will strengthen student capabilities for their specialized strands and efficient monitoring of students actual experiences as well, followed with a thorough evaluation.

To the Students. This study will provide them with best ideas and actions that they need to do to be more competent, improve their performance and acquire high-level of skills in their own field of specialization.

To the Future Researchers. This study will encourage them to conduct more study in assessing the Work Immersion program. Also, more research work would allow policy makers to improve and strengthen policies for the betterment of student learning and competence. Following studies about higher education immersion will also be changed as to the advancement in their respective employment simulation or job training.

To the Policy Makers – This will allow them to add more inputs to certain policies and change or revise the structure if the need arises. The study would also cater to the immediate change and reinforcements to ensure quality learning in the designed curriculum.

Definition of Terms

Delivery Models- it refers to the length of hours/ duration that the students will observe in their work immersion in specified venues.

Employment Simulation- is the experience of the students in the actual field of work, along with the duties and tasks assigned to them according to their specific strand/specialization.

In this study, this term is used to refer to the actual job training of the students.

Memorandum of Agreement- is a legally binding document, which spells out the specific terms and conditions between and among parties entering into a partnership to implement a program, project, or any other similar undertaking. It can be entered into at the

central, regional, division, or school level. The scope and limitations of the Memorandum of Agreement shall not be contrary to laws, public customs, and moral compasses. This too shall be the legal basis of the duties and responsibilities of the partner institution to the students and vice versa.

Partner Institutions – these are public or private institutions or organizations that are able and willing to extend or offer their expertise and resources; and enter into agreement with any of the DepEd or Non-DepEd offices and/or schools. This enables DepEd to strengthen its capability to offer Senior High School, without monetary requirements from both. They give appropriate tasks to students in their corresponding strand/specialization.

Students/Learners- they are the ones who attends school and are enrolled. they are the Grade 12 students who are the subjects for the Work Immersion.

Work Immersion- It refers to the subject in the Senior High School Curriculum, which involves hands-on experience or work simulation in which learners can apply their competencies and acquired knowledge relevant to their track.

In this study this is also used to refer to the actual job training of the students in various partner agencies.

Work Immersion Partner Institution Supervisor- serves as the counterpart of the Work Immersion Teacher and may also be the representation of the partner institution in forging partnership with DepEd schools. The person shall be identified in the MOA.

This study utilizes this term as referring to the point person in the partner institution who coordinates with the coordinating teachers from the start of the immersion until it is finished.

Work Immersion Teacher- is the school personnel who is assigned to supervise the learners at the Work Immersion Venue in coordination with the Work Immersion Partner Institution Supervisor. He/She also arranges the necessary documents (MOA, Evaluation Sheets) needed to evaluate and assess students experiences in the actual field of work.

Work Immersion Venues- are the places where work immersion is conducted. They shall conform with the law and the rules and regulations on safety, appropriateness for learning and availability of facilities and equipment, which are issued by the DepEd (DO No. 40, s. 2015) Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA), Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE), Commission on Higher Education (CHED), and other related government agencies. Examples of work immersion venues include offices, factories, shops, and project sites.

Review Of Related Literature

The literature may be complete with research findings about work immersion, involved institutions and the work immersion venues in varied contexts. There is no study utilizing the identified schools offering Senior High School program observing the work immersion among Grade 12 here in Tacloban City, however there are substantial studies and literature that influence this study.

The following literature and empirical studies served as evidence to prove that indeed the experiences of the teachers in the institutions, the students and the supervisors in the partner venues have something to do with the progress of learning and holistic experience expected for the students to have as they are prepared for the actual job opportunities.

On-the-job training is one of the earliest forms of training in the United States. The method is used when trained professionals are passing their knowledge to the recruit. The OJT method dates back in the days when not everyone was literate, and it was the most convenient way to understand the requirements needed for the new job, on a one-to-one basis. This method is still widely used today. It is widely used because it requires only one person who knows how to do the task and use the tools to complete the task. When humans created artifacts, the need for teaching others how to use those artifacts became necessary.

Teaching others to use a tool to perform a task was one of the first goals of training. "As man invented tools, weapons, clothing, shelter, and language, the need for training became an essential ingredient in the march of civilization" (Steinmetz, 1976, p. 1-3 as cited from Torracco, R 2016 wilso). As the artifacts became more complex, different ways of training were developed to be more effective and efficient. "Instructional practices were developed that served the needs of the times, evolving into accepted instructional paradigms" (Brethower and Smalley, 1992, p. 26). These different practices were developed at different times, and some of them changed through the years, but all of them are used today, depending on the training need and situation.

On-the-job training, sometimes called direct instruction (or *sit-by-me training* in England; King, 1964, p. xvii), is the earliest kind of training. On-the-job training (OJT) is a face-to-face, one-on-one kind of training at the job site, where someone who knows how to do a task shows another how to do it. In antiquity, the kind of work that people did was mainly unskilled or semiskilled work not requiring specialized knowledge. Parents or other members of the group usually knew how to do all the jobs necessary for survival, and could pass their knowledge on to the children through direct instruction.

Training is different from education. Training teaches the learner how to do a specific task, such as running a machine, or making a shirt. Education is instruction in the more general knowledge of the society, such as the history of the society, or knowledge of mathematics. As societies developed, there accumulated more knowledge than people could pick up on their own or learn informally from others. At some point it became necessary to formally educate young people in the amassed knowledge of their society in order to help them function in that society.

Within professional programs, there is a long tradition of including field experiences as a way to build practitioner skills and facilitate the move from theory to practice. Two of the most common forms of workplace learning are cooperative education and the internship. In cooperative education, students alternate periods of paid work with campus study or split their time between the workplace and the campus. While cooperative-education programs have waned, internships are increasing. And this is paying off for students: internships and cooperative education are increasingly important for job placement (National Association of Colleges and Employers 2009).

Service learning—a form of experiential education that combines academic study with service in the community—emerged in the 1970s and has since grown exponentially. The pioneers of service learning believed that the combination of service and learning would improve the quality of both and that it could lead to educational reform and democratic revitalization. Service learning is distinguished from other approaches to experiential education by its commitment to certain values as well as its inclusion of continuous, structured reflection. From the outset, service learning has been oriented to the achievement of academic goals in all fields.

Experiential education has been a commonplace in vocationally or professionally oriented programs for many years. As advances in cognitive science have begun to blur the line between academic and practical learning, awareness of the relevance of experiential education to achieving goals has increased. And a similar awareness has also increased among employers who are increasingly less concerned about particular vocational skills and who are demanding the same skills, abilities, and habits of mind long valued by the liberal arts (Business-Higher Education Forum 2003; Peter D. Hart Research Associates 2006 as cited from). Additionally, since the 1980s, there has been renewed interest in the civic role of colleges and universities and a call for increased civic literacy for students; this has fueled much of the interest in service learning as a way of achieving the goals of liberal education

so central to citizenship. This would also link to the implementation of the internship program of other specializations and courses in varied institutions. It is seen to help improve students holistic learning beyond the four corners of the classroom.

Experiential education has value far beyond building the kind of social skills, work ethic, and practical expertise that are important in professionally oriented programs. In fact, experiential education can also lead to more powerful academic learning and help students achieve intellectual goals commonly associated with liberal education, including a deeper understanding of subject matter than is possible through classroom study alone; the capacity for critical thinking and application of knowledge in complex or ambiguous situations; the ability to engage in lifelong learning, including learning in the workplace.

Experiential education also identifies the practices necessary for achieving these outcomes, particularly the use of structured reflection to help student's link experience with theory and, thereby, deepen their understanding and ability to use what they know.

Classic transfer of learning stresses the match between the learning context and the situation in which learning is applied. In the twenty-first century, even if students were able to apply classroom learning effectively, they would soon find it outdated. Students don't just need to learn "job skills" on the job; the capacity for continuous learning is critical.

Building this capacity for continuous learning is another way to frame the role of experiential learning in transfer. What Schwartz, Bransford, and Sears (2005) call "transferring out"—that is, the direct transfer of new learning to a situation—is often limited by the lack of well-developed expertise of novice learners. They note that particular forms of instruction prepare learners to "transfer in," to use previous learning to interpret the situation and develop a strategy for future learning. If students are engaged in problem solving before being presented with new information, rather than simply learning information through reading and lecture, they are more likely to be able to solve a novel problem. This distinction has importance for how liberal learning built around authentic workplace or community challenges might enhance the capacity for further learning in that subject area. Integrating problem- or project-based challenges into the study deepens understanding of concepts and theories and also prepares students to meet new challenges.

Literature on internships, cooperative education, and school-to-work programs also mentions the integration of field experience with curricular goals—learning through doing—but often there is a mismatch between the stated goals of programs and the actual experiences of students (Moore 1981; Parilla and Hesser 1998 as cited from Eyler, 2009). Internships are often run like independent studies with little faculty oversight or opportunity for structured reflection.

In order to justify the inclusion of work or community service as part of the liberal arts curriculum, attention needs to be paid to ensuring the quality of the intellectual as well as the work experience. Guidelines for creating high-quality experiential education programs and helping students make the most of their experiences are similar and consistent with much of the literature on effective liberal education. They include work or service clearly related to the academic goals of the course or program; well-developed assessments that provide evidence of the achievement of academic objectives; important responsibility for the student; site supervisors who understand the learning goals for the student and partner with the academic supervisor to provide continuous monitoring and feedback; an academic supervisor or instructor who pays close attention to the students' work in the field and partners with the site supervisor to provide continuous monitoring and feedback; attention paid to preparing students for both the practical challenges of their placements and for learning from experience; continuous, well-structured reflection opportunities to help students link experience and learning throughout the course of their placements.

The most critical factor for achieving powerful learning outcomes from experiential-learning programs is the inclusion of opportunities for feedback and reflection. Challenging, continuous, context-appropriate reflection turns work experience into learning experience. It is easy to underestimate how intensive reflection must be in order for it to have an impact; it is not unusual to find faculty members who believe their program provides adequate reflection even though the effects on students fall short.

There are a number of models and tools that provide a foundation for organizing reflection. The reflection cycle developed by David Kolb (1984) has been widely embraced by advocates of experiential education, and others have built on that work (Ash and Clayton 2004). It is a useful choice because it is simple and intuitive, making it easy for students to use as a facilitation tool with their peers and for faculty members to use in written assignments and discussion. The cycle moves from experience to reflection and then back to experience. Students are encouraged to connect the concrete and the abstract and to connect reflection with action, and they are pushed to make sense of their experience in terms of what they are learning in the classroom as well as to draw implications for further application or study.

If experiential education is to be reflective throughout then care must be given to planning, and this process should be embedded in the experience from start to finish. This is why this concept turned into practice is being observed or practically implemented catering to the advancement of the education setting all throughout the world.

On the job training or actual experiences can help students transition more gracefully from school to work, and community-service experiences prepare them to be more engaged citizens. But experiential education can also improve the quality of learning itself and increase the likelihood that students will be able to use throughout their lives the knowledge, critical abilities, and habits of mind acquired in their studies. This does not happen automatically or easily, however. Faculty members who are dubious of awarding credit for volunteering or for work do have a valid point. But such credit is for learning; the challenge for faculty members is to incorporate experiential education into their instruction and to assess the learning outcomes of these experiences. This requires a clear sense of what learning in the community or the workplace can add to the understanding of subject matter, training in skills to recast appropriate courses to integrate these experiences, and logistical support for placement and monitoring of student work that is more closely connected to the curriculum (Irby 2017). The institution need to support faculty involvement in the planning and implementation of actual trainings. Without this attention to both structure and faculty leadership, experiential education will remain at the periphery and its promise will not be realized.

Work Immersion

The most frequently used method in the industry is OJT or on-the-job training. Mostly, this OJT is unstructured, that is, lacking a training plan designed to develop skills. Structured OJT is most often found with employers which have large scale employees. It has commonly been taught as having many advantages; it is low cost, realistic and can motivate people after having mere classroom setting discussions. The weaknesses however in OJT is most commonly in its being unplanned. Also it is seldom possible to maximize training in a duration of time (Wilson et.al 1987 as cited from Huang W.R 2009). It presents the idea of job simulation as commonly having unplanned or unstructured composition that makes it hard to practically conduct the immersion itself.

Contrariwise, the challenge for liberal educators is to design participatory learning and interactions so that the student will learn new ideas –this will now enable transfer of learning Eyler J. (2003). This also informs the schools that involving the students in an actual field, let them appreciate learning more. The institutions who observe the conduct of Work

Immersion in their schools have the primary goal of letting students learn better by actual experiences.

In the Philippines the DO 30, s. 2017 WORK IMMERSION has this Section 1 rationale:

“One of the goals of the K to 12 Basic Education Program is to develop learners the competencies, work ethic, and values relevant to pursuing further education and/or joining the world of work. To achieve the greater congruence between basic education and the nation’s development target, Work Immersion, a required subject, has been incorporated in the curriculum.”

Following this, the training that should be experienced by the students as employees on the assigned partner venues should be for the purpose of acquiring significant work skills that they could use if they decide to land a job (Ndunguru 2015).

Students Experiences (Duration, Challenges and Opportunities)

Fortune (2011) said that on-the-job-training has handled benefits such as academic achievement, language, literacy and cognitive skills. These skills are essential to the formation of competitive workforce in the near future. However, it is encouraged so as not to limit learning in the four corners of the classroom.

According to Richmond et.al (2015), actual training may be useful in other fields. He studied the effects of scheduling which compares a 2-week immersion to the learners in traditional 16-week courses. Its result is favorable to that of the learners who worked a 2-week experience than that of the traditional 16-weeks course. They saw it as indeed more effective than limiting the students capabilities inside the classroom. It then supplements to the idea of the paper wherein the students are the main subjects for the work simulation. Also, Anastasi (2007) perceives both rigors of job training and traditional formats the same. But Anastasi’s measure was focused only on a single measure, therefore, it does not really present a reliable or clear connection to the scheduling. This would also answer to how the institutions would assign the student into venues and the duration of this immersion should be appropriate to their specific strands: such as ABM (Accountancy, Business and Management) STEM (Science and Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) ICT (Information, Communication and Technology) IA (Industrial Arts) and HE (Home Economics). Specifically, Anastasi focuses on the business field which was highlighted as to the growth of their skills through proper immersion scheduling.

On-the-job training for the learners has been an instrument to increase the employability of graduates which is connected to the labor demand. Kuzgon (2011), has another view which focuses benefits towards the learners actual practice that will strengthen their qualification for employment. At the individual level, being employed is not sufficient to solve the problem of employment in the future. Being employable is thought to be more vital for one’s career than to be employed. Thus job security is more important than the employment security for the employee. Employability covers improving the skills and qualifications of the worker, who search for jobs, through training, advanced education, re-education counseling services (MEB, 2008:18).

Employability skills are essential to cater to the labor force. This perspective of Kuzgon supports the aim of the K-12 Program DepEd Order No. 30 s, 2017 for its aim also is to train students with sufficient proficiencies to be prime competitors in the world of work.

Bernardo, Landicho & Laguador (2014), stated in their study that On-the-Job Training requires the students to demonstrate specific skills related to their respective field of specialization that would be essential application to their future work environment. It also provides ideas and real picture of the corporate world including the atmosphere of the work place, attitude of the work force and the organizational culture that the new employees might need to adapt and live in. This supports the aim of the study to appropriately assign students

to a specific time duration based on their strands and as well as institutions that would hone their specific skills.

Stakeholders (Institutions and Supervisors in Partner Venues)

Martinez (2007 as cited from Green, S., Heppard, M., and Martin, J. 2011) concluded that education requires new strategies to cater to the cognitive and communication skills that address the success in competing to the diverse and multicultural setting of this fast-changing world. This article presented how beneficial at the same time challenging it is to handle and link with immersion venues in different learning institutions. This also supports the idea that practice is one factor that creates competitive students in their own specialized fields. Jacobs (2014) suggested that training can be classified from varied perspectives. It can focus on content categorized as managerial, technical and awareness among other types. This entails that it can be supported through varied strategies particularly the actual practice or exposure to the location on where it is delivered. It was also highlighted, that the appropriate location where the immersion will take place should be appropriate to the strands the learners have. The improvement of their skills such as business, industry, technology and many more will also vary depending on where it took place. Also, this would match the duration they will have to fully meet the expected goals in their strands.

The quality of work changes the phases of the market and gives pressure to institutions to offer high standard training Kulkarni, (2013). Training proves to be a parameter for improving the ability of the workforce to reach expected goals. These perspectives from these two authors only suggest imperative parameters in the immersion of the students. There is a relationship between employability and quality training of students. Employability of graduates is closer to the high education. So, high education institutions are under pressure to improve the employability of their graduates across geographical boundaries and cultural borders (Ahmed, 2009:296 cited Kuzgon 2011). This strengthens the argument in this research that immersion should not be plainly for compliance but should be a substantial experience among the students. Cheng and Chen (2015) added, that in the international industry, personnel's professional proficiency and workplace knowledge knowhow are essential and mandatory. The companies count on their professional trained employees to outstand good service quality to win customers. Undoubtedly the need to improve workers' ability is increasing because of the increases of workplace diversity. Not likewise, the professionalism image counts on the employees' performance, especially on the frontline employees. Thus, vocational training is taken into account as one of main training purposes. Hence, on-the-job training (OJT) herein is defined as vocational training for on-the-job employees. The employer definitely would invest the OJT on the employees for their perfect performances. In this study, it is emphasized that immersion should be maximized by the students and accompanied with proper training from the venues they are assigned to. It needs to be clear from the supervisors that the experiences of the students in their job simulation will allow them to become efficient employees in the real field of work.

Consequently, the students should experience on-the-job training or employment simulation and be offered with high-quality standards of work. Allowing the students to harness what they have learned from books in a working environment, would advance their job standards and attitudes needed to achieve the ultimate goal of education to produce competent leaders and professionals in cross-cultural and multidisciplinary undertakings (Laguador, 2013)

The Philippine curriculum's answer to this, is the implementation of the DepEd Order no. 30 s., 2017. Buhain (2017) opened a forum about Senior High School Work Immersion with the partnership for whole education wherein he highlighted that all institutions are encouraged to be actively involved in this. On the other hand, the main purpose of the conduct of work immersion is proper training from the affiliated partner institutions. Laing (2009) defines training as an indicator to enhance superior skills, knowledge, capabilities and outlook of the employees that results in effective performance of the workers. However,

he adds one thing more that it (training) extends the production of the organization. Massod (2010) and Khanfar (2011) argued that training is an active means to enable an individual to make use of his capability and his potential capability. It means that the supervisors as well as the employers themselves are a major contributor to the work skills that will be perceived by the students.

Brenner (2000) notes that employers expressed concern about dependability, a positive attitude, cooperativeness, and other affective skills and traits. Employers continued to find far too many entry-level job applicants deficient in employability skills and asked schools to place more emphasis on developing these employability skills. In this statement, Brenner stressed that the employers are also asking that the students be equipped with necessary employability skills especially that after the Grade 12 level they are also allowed to land a job already. It is then necessary for the institutions to appropriately assign students to venues that would develop their work skills.

This supports the notion that indeed there has to be a substantial experience from the actual job training or work immersion to fully meet student competencies and skills. The institution has the primary responsibility to conduct the program and inform the supervisors that they too should contribute to the holistic development of the students by allowing them to do tasks aligned to their specialization. The studies and literature provide an extensive support to the theory anchored in this study.

Methodology

This chapter gives an outline of research methods that are to be followed in the study. It provides information on the participants, that is, the criteria for the inclusion in the study, who the participants will be, and how they will be sampled. It describes the research design that will be chosen for the purpose of this study and the reasons for this choice. The instrument to be used for data collection will also be described and the procedures that will be followed to carry out this study. The method to analyze the data will also be discussed. Lastly, the ethical issues that will be followed in the process will be discussed too.

Research Design

This research study utilizes the qualitative approach, which is a scientific method that gathers non-numerical data to contribute to the body of knowledge.

Specifically, a phenomenological design will be employed adopting the first type, the hermeneutic process, as defined by the Department of Education.

The design employed a semi-structured interview which allows interviewees to freely discuss their experiences as defined in advance of the interview (Mashego, 2000).

Research Locale

The study will be conducted in Tacloban City, Leyte the capital city and the educational center of Eastern Samar because of the reason that a number of public and private secondary schools are offering the Senior High School Program as well as agencies that could establish partnership with the DepEd in the work immersion of its students.

Respondents of the Study

The respondents of the study are the teachers, students and supervisors of partner agencies who are actively involved in the Work Immersion Program of the Department of Education. They will be chosen from the 8 secondary schools; 3 public and 5 private

schools, all located in Tacloban City offering Senior High Schools with the following tracks or strands; General Academic (GA); Humanities and Social Sciences (HUMMS); Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM); Accounting, Business and Management (ABM); and Technology in Vocational Livelihood (TVL).

As a prerequisite for sampling, a pre-survey will be conducted in the identified secondary schools and partner agencies to request for the actual list of students, teachers and supervisors involved in the work immersion. From the list provided, the samples will be drawn purposively. Purposive sampling is the appropriate technique because the identified participants are presumed to know and are willing and capable of sharing the best information based on their lived experiences, on work immersion, the phenomenon being considered.

For the teachers and the supervisors from partner agencies, all of them will be taken in total enumeration due to their limited number. In the case of the students 5 percent will be randomly drawn from them as their size is greater. In qualitative research the sample size is usually small because the primary goal is not to generalize over a given population but more on theoretical generalization (Wa-Mbleka, p.98).

Research Instrument

This study will make use of interview guides for the three groups of participants; students, teachers and supervisors of the partner agencies. To meet the intention of this research investigation, the interview guides will be constructed in such a way that the questions are completely unstructured. This is to be done to allow the participants their absolute freedom of response to every question in the guides (Gay, 1998).

Since the interview guides are self-constructed, they will go through a validation process. For content validity, some content experts from the Social Science Unit who have established names in the research will be requested to check the completeness and relevance of the instrument to the topic being studied.

To guide the researcher, a pilot study will also be conducted to a few individuals who possess certain criteria set for the study. This is to check how long the interview will take, to see if the questions solicit the answers to the phenomenon under study, and to see if the questions are properly arranged. The results of the pilot testing will serve as basis for the modification or revision of the instruments.

Data Gathering Procedure

In initiating for the proper inquiry and before commencing the actual conduct of this study, permissions will first be sought through letter to be approved by the principal of each identified secondary school and heads of partner agencies. The grant of the permit will allow the researcher to meet the participants and conduct the interview in agreed time schedules. Equal ethical considerations will be given to all identified participants that their participation in the study is voluntary. Assurance will also be given to them that every data collected will be treated in strictest confidentiality and privacy.

Guided by the list and prepared time schedule, the interview will be done to start from the student participants, considering their number. Each interview episode will last for about 30 minutes in order to fully cover the question found in the guide. The second phase of the interview is scheduled for the teachers and supervisor of the partner agencies. The duration of the interview is estimated to be 2 months including some follow ups if necessary.

The interview proceedings will be transcribed verbatim. Transcriptions are essential forms of data filtering (MacClean, Meyer & Estable, 2004 as cited from Weber M., & Hennink M. 2013). The transcript of interviews will be appended in this study.

Data Analysis

The data yielded by the study will be analyzed following the phenomenological research technique advocated by (Moustakas 1994 as cited from According to him the advantage of this technique is that it helps in data collected being reduced and simplified, while at the same time producing results that may then be measured using qualitative approach.

As recommended by Moustakas (1994), the analysis should begin by recording the personal experiences, as revealed in the interviews with the phenomenon to help set boundaries on limiting (but not eliminating) the influence of the experiences as expressed by the interviewees. The concept of epoche will be used to describe this distancing or bracketing of personal experiences. These steps will be followed:

Horizontalizing is highlighting significant statements. This is to read the interview repeatedly to identify significant statements in the data and group these clustering the horizons into themes.

Writing in textural descriptions-what the participants experience; textual qualities-rough and smooth; small and large; quiet and noisy; colorful and bland;-description that present varying intensities and special qualities; time references; and colors with experiential context. Textural descriptions are attached to those themes such that participants lived experiences are visible.

The next stage of analysis goes from what to how through the structural description (a broader examination of the context of the lived experiences).

The final step is the synthesis of meanings into essences. The essence is the condition or quality without which thing would be what it is. This is done by using both sides of description to arrive at a composite or blended portrayal of the phenomenon.

Finding the essence, a descriptive passage of focusing on the common experiences of the participants, a blend of the textural and structural description. The data will be interpreted, analyzed thoroughly employing the method in the study.

Results and Discussions

Based on the varied responses by the conduct of interview, the results were gathered and interpreted so as to comprehensively present the views and experiences of learners during work immersion. Responses were evaluated and were categorized into corresponding themes.

Theme 1: Orientation Steered by the Institution

The students will be experiencing the on-the-job-training for the first time, therefore the institution as well as the venues function is to inform the learners the do's and don'ts in the actual workplace. The schools/institution should conduct orientation seminar/program to properly inform the learners about the entire employment simulation.

1. "A month before taking the actual Immersion, we had a seminar that taught us what to and not to do in the actual field of work. Speakers have taught us work ethics to be applied and everything we needed to learn in order for us to properly act in the agency we are assigned to. –Participant 1
2. "To properly introduce the OJT, the school first organized an orientation seminar which was organized by the teachers and has been participated by all Grade 12." –Participant 2
3. "The institution introduce the OJT to us through orientation. I understand somehow the purposes for it was clearly stated by the teachers..." –Participant 3

With regard to the orientation and information from the institutions, it has provided the learners clear ground to obey which cater to the dos and don'ts in the workplace. Students

mostly find it helpful that the University conducted an orientation to the learners and also to people involved—specifically the parents. As mentioned in Eyer J. (2003) it is indeed a challenge to change or add a policy in the curriculum therefore the institutions need to design an effective strategy to the students' experiences that will contribute to their enhancement of learning.

Theme 2: Appropriate Work Immersion Venues to Different strands

There are different strands that ESSU-Guiuan caters to, they are the following

ABM- Accountancy, Business and Management

STEM- Science and Technology, Engineering and Mathematics

ICT- Information, Communication and Technology

HE- Home Economics

IA- Industrial Arts

The Department of Education have listed specific venues for the varied strands in Grade 12 containing suggestions where the students will be placed for their on-the-job training. DO no. 30, s 2017 clearly presents the appropriate venues in the different strands of Grade 12.

"The Treasurer's office in the municipal Hall is the agency where I was assigned to conduct my immersion. I doubtlessly believe that this place helped me in honing my knowledge as an ABM student. To be honest there was no event conducted to orient or inform us about the operations and responsibilities which we will be engaging for our entire work. I even felt bad about this because I see this as a disadvantage knowing that my other classmates in other agencies were provided with an orientation program. Somehow it was an edge on their part." –ABM12

"The agency I was assigned to conduct the immersion was Prince Hypermart, the biggest retail supermarket in town. To have work immersion there was great and exciting. I believe it was connected to my strand (ABM). Although there can be applied Accountancy we were not allowed to meddle with money matters, considering that their data are confidential. On the first day, we have a mini-seminar lead by the Head of the Security. In the selling area, first, I got disappointed with the things we were assigned to do-folding manila papers, cartolinas and other kinds of stuff. We have assisted the customer with their needs and though if being a saleslady is just all we have to do there? However in the next days and onwards we were able to adjust and learned things more than being a saleslady." –ABM12

"We were assigned inside the campus. We weren't formally oriented on what we will do, we have to run around the campus ground to find our head and ask on what we should do, and it happens almost every day. Though we were assigned to fixing the system units, installing internet connection on the library and campus administration building. Somehow the agency was related to our strand." –ICT 12

"The agency that was assigned to me and the whole class in HE was a hotel in our town. The agency conducted an orientation on the dos & don'ts for the entire immersion. The tasks are dishwashing, cleaning rooms, and comfort rooms, serving, decorating and many more and those tasks were I think related to the strand I took up. There was also a restaurant in the hotel, we were assigned to also to serve the customers with their orders." HE12

"For me to be assigned in an agency is challenging and for me confusing. I choose STEM because I like Math but the agency I was assigned is in a hospital. Our teacher explained to

us that STEM is actually for medically related strand, but I was thinking about Math especially Engineering when the OJT will take place." –STEM12

"We were assigned inside the campus because we have an IT(Industrial Arts) department. Though we have different majors our tasks were mostly the same. I think the strategy of our teacher is ONE RULE, kay an nangyari haam kay magtututdo hiya han process then kami na bahala dumiskarte pero upod nam hia. (I think the strategy used by our teacher is one rule because he would describe the process and leave the rest to us but with his guidance)." –IA 12

The abovementioned responses show that the learners were introduced to different venues, yet some of them have not fully experienced the immersion. Learner's having different strands see that the appropriateness of their venues is an essential factor and it cater to the purpose of the immersion.

Dewey's Experiential Learning suggest that not all experience are genuinely and equally educative especially that this focuses in varied strands therefore the technical aspect of every strand need to be matched with a venue that would justify and enriched their learning. This theme as well as the different responses of the students supports to the idea of this theory.

Theme 3: Obtainable Work immersion hours

In DO no. 30 s., 2017 Section 6 states varied Work Immersion Delivery models

Model A. 80 hours.

Model B. 240 hours.

Model C. 240 hours distributed over several terms

Model D 320 hours distributed over several terms

These are the expected hours of work immersion alongside some options were stated as to how this will be implemented to varied schools and agencies that will be accepting the students for the actual field of work.

The students were asked as to how long they had their work immersion and was is maximized as to its duration. Here are some of the collected responses:

"10 days gud la talaga an ginhatag haamon, asya nga waray man gud masyado namaster nga skill. Bitin and 10 days." (We were only given 10days, the result is we have not really master a skill. Ten days seems to be inefficient) –IA 12

"Well, actually for me that was not enough kay it was not really enough kay it was just only 10 days di pa gud mahahasa it usa nga bata pero kere na may gihap nahibaruan pero paprehas kasi an iskwelahan asya la nga duration."(Well, actually for me it was not enough really for it was just for 10 days. The honing of the skills will not really be experiences, but atleast we have learned something and almost all schools have that duration.) –HE12

"We were expecting a longer time for our work immersion for us to be ready in college or for others to be job ready because we were expected to be knowledgeable enough in our field because we are about to be NCII holders" –ICT12

These responses are very important to note because this is solely an evaluation of the first batch of Grade 12 who underwent immersion. We can see what their experiences are, and how they assess their own experiences in the work immersion, institutions and work immersion venues.

As they immersed in the real field of work, they are expected to be geared up with the basic knowledge of the nature of work that they will be doing so that they will be able to

do what are expected of them, Lajara, et.al (2017). In Richmond (2015) he studied a 2-week immersion to that of the students in traditional 16-week course. In this, it was supported that for even just 2-week student involvement beyond the actual classroom setting resulted to favorable outcomes in student learning. In this theme, most of the participants were actually claiming that they should be given more hours in their work immersion but Richmond mentioned that for even just 2 weeks as long as there is involvement outside or in the actual field of work there will be a good influence on student learning.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The DO no. 30 s., 2017 aims to hone one student in the actual field of work. It is very essential that the institution/school have a proper orientation with regards to the new changes and inputs in the curriculum as for the purpose of advancing learning. Also, there is a need to look into specific details such as the displacement of work immersion venues to the strands of students. The agencies need also to be properly informed as to their responsibilities in helping the student's actual experience holistic. Moreover, the duration of the work immersion needs to lengthen so as to cater strands that need more time with training for the Grade 12 are expected to either continue to college or land a job. The institution and the teacher for work immersion should have full knowledge and training that will intensify actual student experience in the field of work.

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References (APA style)

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BUTON PEOPLE AT THE KEI ISLANDS: SETTLED FOREIGNER IN THE LAND OF LARVUL NGABAL

MIGRATION DYNAMICS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

¹Haliadi Sadi, ² Susanto Zuhdi

¹Social Studies Department, Faculty of Teaching and Education, Universitas Tadulako

²History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

(haliadisadi@yahoo.com, susanto_zuhdi@yahoo.com)

Abstract

This article discusses about the role of Buton people in increasing the economic revenue through better management in fisheries, for it particularly thrives and flourishing around the villages of Namar and Ngilngof, by carrying out specific fisheries management system called *bagan*, at Kei Kecil Island. This research aims to find and understand the process of *bagan* ownership and management carried out by Buton people who are often referred as the “immigrants, but installed-inside”. The relationship between customary law and the development of the local economy is one of many unique topics to be discussed within the context of history. Such issue could be seen in the case of Buton people who migrated to Kei Islands. They are notable for having sets of adaptive skill and characteristic. As an example, in the concept of *kawin masuk*, Buton people got themselves married and assimilated to various local families, such as La Nadja from Wabula who married Agnes Natalia, and vice versa when Amir Takerubun married Wa Asia from Wabula. This article would like to study some key issues, such as how far both customary law predispose or related to one another? What does it take for Buton people to stay afloat in a foreign area through the process of acquiring rights of controlling Kei Islands’ marine economy? Why would Buton people stay for a long period of time in the eastern archipelago, especially Kei Islands? And, what is the typical economical cycle of Buton people at Kei Islands, was it merely balancing between livelihood marine and trading activities in various local economic hubs? We would also like to focus on the maritime interconnectivity that Buton people create all across the eastern archipelago by utilizing the method of history, with the approach of maritime history and the use of oral tradition.

Keywords: marine economy, diaspora, Buton people in Kei Islands, *bagan*, Larvul Ngabal.

Introduction

It was always an interesting activity to analyse the constantly evolving bond between Buton people’s tradition, along with its particular customary laws and norms, and the economic development in Kei Islands in the course of history. The analysis took us back to the narrative of origins of Buton people living at Kei Islands, who assimilated their way of live to the local custom, norms, values, and habit. Customary laws in Kei Islands was also an unusual one; it was a part of a bigger normative law that controlled the life of the living, both in the shape of

appreciating mother nature and configuring social process, as well as establishing management toward the environment that supported the living things in the ecosystem. Therefore, the law was capable of affecting the economic activity of the people through many generations. Examining on how Buton people coped with the customary law applied at Kei Islands, we could see that they were incorporating the innate culture that they brought from their homeland with the local culture of Kei Islands. Their diasporic nature were highly supported, and encouraged too, by the habitual practice of Buton people, especially in holding the values of their origin firmly.

This article then discussed about the role of Buton people in increasing the economic revenue through better management in fisheries. The role of Buton people was quite significant in propelling further takings and returns, for it particularly thrived and flourished around the villages of Namar and Ngilngof, by carrying out specific fisheries management system called *bagan*, at the island of Kei Kecil. This research aimed to find and understand the process of *bagan* ownership and the management carried out by Buton people who were often referred as the “immigrants, but installed-inside”, at some communities in Kei Islands.

Several aspects of Buton people’s life were giving us an explanation on why they would “fight” or “flight”. Such issue could be seen in the case of Buton people who migrated to Kei Islands, then became a part of the community through excellent economic ventures. The reason why Buton people were so good at conducting diaspora all across the archipelago was because they had a set of adaptive skill and characteristic, including when they had to blend in into the communities who lived and made living out of the land of *Larvul Ngabal*.

Buton people at Aru Islands were able to conform themselves to the customary law applied in the “destination” area of their diaspora, arranging and maintaining a new assimilated way of life through at least three generations. They could survive all of the social processes and environmental challenges, by holding on tightly to their own philosophy: “*bolimo karo somanamo lipu, bolimo lipu somanamo adati, dan bolimo adati somanamo agama*”, which means that religion/religiosity is more important than tradition, for tradition is higher than the pride of homeland and self (Zuhdi, 2010; Schoorl, 2003; Rabbani, 2010; Sadi, 2000; Hamid, 2003, Yunus, 1995; Maluhu, 1995). Moreover, they also have “*Syarana*”, that consist of *Syarana Wolio* (customary law within Buton’s *keraton*/palace), *Syarana Kadie* (customary law within the villages around *keraton*), *Syarana Barata* (customary law in four islands outside Buton, such as Kaledupa, Kulisusu, Muna, and Tiworo), and *Syarana Agama* (customary law regarding religion and religiosity) that allowed them to be as adaptable and made peace to everything. Same thing goes the same with the locals at Kei Islands who were very related to their traditional roots. There was “*taflur nit, itsob duad*”, which means that they will always be bound to Allah who gives consolation, all organized inside the *Larvul Ngabal*, Kei Island’s particular customary law. Both customary laws, Buton and Kei Islands, have similar authority in overseeing the harmony between human and its surrounding, especially the sea. There were also a customary division toward indigenous territory in Kei Islands; the *ursiu* and *lorlim* that were mentioned before. *Ursiu* consisted of Kamear-Kur, Mantilur, Magrib, Famur Danar, Ditsakmas, Utan Tel-Timur, Mer Ohoinangan, Meu-Umfit, Utan Tel-Barat, and Maur Ohoiwut, while *Lorlim* consisted of Tiflean Mangur, Ohoilim Nangan, Yabadang, Tabab Yamlim, Sogli, Lo-Ohoitel, Ohoilim Tahit, Fau Ohoifut, and Ohoifaak. Other than those two, there were *Lor Labay* that consisted of Taam, Werka, Ohoidertavun, and the island of Kuur and Manguur.

In the concept of *kawin masuk*, Buton people got themselves married and assimilated to various local families, such as La Nadja from Wabula, Buton who married Agnes Natalia, later converted to Islam and changed her name to Fatima, and vice versa when Amir Takerubun married Wa Asia from Wabula, Buton.

Marine shipping and trade were two major economic activities of Buton people throughout Kei Islands. They utilized *Lambo* ship not only for fishing activity, but also for

interisland crossings and distributing goods in between villages around Kei Besar and Kei Kecil. They were also managed to use *bubu* and *sero* (fish traps made from woven bamboo, also known by the locals by the name *vuv* and *vean*) in their fishing activity, up to 1970s. The major shift happened in 1978, when Buton people got themselves familiar to the *bagan* system, introduced by the Buginese who married Butonese at the village of Selayar, Kei Kecil. Other than that, they also cut the distribution process by removing the practice of intermediary party (middlemen), thus making them having full and sustainable authority over numerous fishing ports and markets.

Buton people were actually known for their diasporic nature that brought them to various part of the eastern part of modern day Indonesia. According to our previous research regarding this matter, most of them were departed from Wakatobi (Wanci, Kaledupa, Tomia, and Binongko), Sampolawa (Wabula, Burangasi, and Lapandewa) and Kulisusu. Particularly, in Kei Islands, they set themselves to arrive at the Village of Namar (*Ohoi Namar*, *ohoi* means village, applied to each usage of the word “*ohoi*” in the whole article) and Selayar (*Ohoi Selayar*), both set as the spatial aspect of this research.

Problem Statement, Research Questions and Objectives

This article studied some key issues about the role of Buton people in establishing their own, particular economic development that continuously brought balance between the tradition and contemporary aspects of life, such as how far customary laws predisposed or related to one another? Thus, this research aimed to give answer to the inquiry formulated within these questions: What did it take for Buton people to stay afloat in a foreign area through the process of acquiring rights of controlling Kei Islands' marine economy? Why would Buton people stay for a long period of time in the eastern archipelago, especially Kei Islands? And, what was the typical economic cycle of Buton people at Kei Islands? Was it merely balancing between marine livelihoods and trading activities in various local economic hubs?

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This research departed from prior works and researches conducted by historians and anthropologists who were studying Buton people's diaspora, culture, and socio-political institution, as well as the sociocultural structure of the people of Kei Islands, especially in Kei Kecil. Such studies were found in the works of Zuhdi (2010), Schooli (2003), Rabbani (2010), Sadi (2000), Hamid (2003), Yunus (1995), Maluhu (1995), and Adhuri (2013).

Methodology

This article is a work of history that exercises Historiography, or the method of historical writings, as the method of research. The method consists of four steps to be followed, which are heuristic, critics, interpretation, and the historiography itself. Along with the method, we also apply the approach of oral history to acquire oral sources as a part of oral tradition as historical sources that has been living within the memories of the public. Because, if we would like to focus on the maritime interconnectivity that Buton people create all across the eastern archipelago, we could utilize the approach of maritime history and make use of primary sources, such as oral tradition through simultaneous interviews, as well as secondary sources that are related to topic of the locals and published scientific works.

Buton People as Fishermen at Kei Islands

Trading and shipping of marine products were two prime movers of Buton people economic activity at several Butonese villages in many areas at Kei Islands. Buton people with their Lambo, a traditional Butonese boat, were essential for interisland crossings, from Kei Kecil to Kei Besar, and vice versa, as an example. The traditional boat was also functioned to transport various commodities produced in the mainland in between Kei Kecil and Kei Besar, as well as to other smaller island around the two main islands. Buton people also held certain local permission to access the traditional economic system of the locals, such as *bubu* and *sero* in various bodies of water around Kei Islands (Interview with Wa Nima, July 31st, 2019). *Bubu* and *sero* are two examples of traditional fishing equipment, made from woven bamboo sheets as fish traps, which helped Butonese fishermen in collecting fishes from the prosperous water around Kei Islands.

Buton people stayed for quite a long time at Kei Islands due to geographical and sociocultural factors. Geographically, Kei Islands was pretty much similar to Buton Island with the entire matching characteristic. Besides, Buton people had “Installed” themselves further inside the Kei Islands community by engaging to the locals through cross-marriages. Such occurrences were identified as *kawin masuk*, as Buton people integrated themselves into the social system of the people of Kei Islands and adopted their *fam* (family name). We found several examples of how Buton people use Kei Islanders’ *fam* as their family name, including some Buton women who bore half-caste children, half Butonese and half Keian. Moreover, there was a family name generated from the profound existence of Buton people in the southern part of Kei Kecil, the Ohoiwutuns, which marked the permanent installation of Buton people among the Keians (Ohoiwutun, 2009).

This southern part of Kei Kecil was the main focus of our study about the economic activity of Buton people at Kei Islands. We visited Selayar Village (*Ohoi Selayar*), an area once recognized as the centre of Butonese economic hustle since the age of colonialism, which led a rather sustainable maritime activity, such as interisland shipping and trading, traditional fishing by utilizing *bubu* (*Vuv*) and *sero* (*Vean*) until late 1970s. Changes started to happen in 1978, when Buton people were introduced to the *bagan* system by a Buginese fisherman who married a Butonese at Ohoi Selayar, Kei Kecil Island. The system was proven to be much powerful in creating stability and independency of Buton people in the area, so that the marine product they were collecting could be transported to the market, unlike the usual practice that was still involving the role of middlemen. The system had successfully cut the line of distribution, especially when Butonese merchants dominated the market itself. Usually, Buton people dominated the stalls and kiosks at the fish market. As we could identify at Kei Kecil, Buton people’s existence at the market were obvious. They sold marine products, household utensils, clothes, and even staff-and-staple known as *sembako* (*Sembilan Bahan Pokok* “The Staple Nine”).

Buton People in the Land of *Larvul Ngabal*

Buton people had a very fundamental philosophy of life in the terms of balancing their traditional and contemporary lifestyles, which is: “*bolimo karo somanamo lipu, bolimo lipu somanamo adati, dan bolimo adati somanamo agama*,” means religion/religiosity is more important than tradition, for tradition is higher than the pride of homeland and self. Thus, they managed to rule their life and living by practicing the customary law called *Syarana* that consisted of *syarana wolio*, *syarana kadie*, *syarana barata*, and *syarana agama*. The *Syarana* were identified as representatives of four traditional regions of Buton, which were *Wolio*, *Kadie*, *Matana Sorumba*, and *Barata*. These regions were located at the Buton Island, as well as the smaller islands around it that were still located among Buton Sea. Such awareness toward such customary law had set certain attitude of Buton people toward any foreign custom

and tradition outside of them, including when they had to integrate themselves to the local community of Kei Islands.

Meanwhile, the Kei Islanders were bound to their own customary law, the *Larvul Ngabal*. The law was applied to similar customary area, which were Ursiw, Lorlim, and Lor Labay. Especially for Lor Labay, the area was divided into two different parts, Werka and Taam (Rahail, 1996:11). However, according to the data gathered from our field research at Sathean Village, the area of Lor Labay was divided into four parts: (1) Werka Village at Kei Besar Island, from Kuur Island reigned by King Nerong who released his right over the land from Vatngeng to Hoat, as well as La Ohoitel who released his from Kavuur to Hoat; (2) Ohoi Dertavun or Dertavun Village, a residency of Te Waha Ru, the cicerone of life and death whom people of Lor Labay often seek for conveying any of their intentions; (3) Tam Island, possessed by a king who rule the entire Lor Labay; and (4) Kuur Island and Mangur Island, whose inhabitants belonged to the area of Lor Labay, since both island (along with the Hill of Muar with the height of 400 meters) had been positioned as the “lighthouses” that marked the entrance of Kei Islands, Southeast Maluku.

The customary law was then complemented by Keians’ philosophy of life, which was “*taflur nit, itsob duad*”, meaning that they will always be bound to Allah who gives consolation to the living, the dying, and the dead. The people of Kei Islands were used to arrange and manage their living through following the codes and conducts of *Larvul Ngabal* (Rauf, 2008). Thus, we elaborated a provisional notion regarding the correlation between Keian and Butonese’s customary law and practice, which pointed that both groups were adopting a rather humane consideration in creating balance between man and nature. Adhuri (2013) in his work regarding the marine tenure at Kei Island wrote that: “As islander communities, the concept of territoriality covers ownership of both land and sea. This linkage is expressed with the pairing of *petuanan* with terms that refer to sea territories such as: sea estate (*laut*); coastal area (*met*); and sea (*roa*) and land territories such as: land estate (*darat*); island (*nuhu*); and land (*nangan*).” The customary law of *Larvul Ngabal* applied various controls over certain territory, similar to the customary law that bound Buton people in their homeland. Generally, Buton people in Kei Islands were classified as settled foreigners, but identified as a part of the community as they were willing to accept several terms attached to them. La Nggaita, for example, was the second generation of his grandfather, La Kudungga, a Butonese who sailed from Buton to Kei Islands, and then respected and accepted the law as his own way of life, so that his family was considered to be a part of Kei Islands’ community, keeping them of from any violations of local customs (Interview with Amir Takerubun, July 31st 2019).

In Ambon, Buton people survived by making living out of collecting pebbles (Interview with La Isa, July 29th, 2019). The development of infrastructural building mostly requires raw materials. One of those raw materials was pebbles, which later mixed together with cement, sand, bricks, and stones. The examples of the Butonese family who provided traditionally cracked pebbles could be found at Air Manis Village. They gathered the rocks from the estuary of the heavy flowing Sakula River. La Isa was one of the rock gatherers at that time. It was his occupation since the very beginning of his settlement at Ambon. He had settled himself down at Ambon since 1958, through joining a sail group from Popalia Village, Binongko, Tukang Besi Islands (later known as Wakatobi), Buton. The reason of his journey to Ambon was because he couldn’t make a proper living by staying in Buton. In Ambon, he stayed with his aunt, Wa Saada, who came from Binongko as well, but had been settling for quite some time in Cengkeh Village, Ambon. La Isa was born in 1940s, married to Wa Ihi from Tomia, Buton. The ability to adjust properly with anything and under any circumstances had allowed Buton people to adapt well. They managed to carry the process of migration out, establish settlements, integrate further to the locals, as well as adopt the way of life and living.

Buton People at *Ohoi Selayar*, Kei Island

Namar Village (*Ohoi Namar*) is a village located in the southern part of Kei Kecil Island, a part of mainland Kei Kecil to be exact. It was a village once named Ohoi Nangan. The inhabitants of the village then moved to Ohoi Lilir, and then disperse into several villages nearby, such as Ohoi Debut and Ohoi Namar. According to Ohoi Namar's Secretary of the Village, Fransiskus Ohoiwutun, the people who were once living in Namar were split into two communities; one group was still living in Namar, while the other was occupying the neighbouring village, Ohoi Ngilngof. Thus, it makes Namar and Ngilngof has some kind of "blood brotherhood". Various families lived in Namar, such as the Ohoiwutuns, the Maturbongs, the Sirvutubuns, the Harbelubuns, the Takerubuns, the Yamleans, the Refos, the Lasools, and the Rea'ans. The Takerubuns were those who later became *Orangkay* (chief of the village) at Selayar Village. At the time Ohoi Selayar was established in 2015, the person who became the first Orangkay was Abdullah Takerubun, and later succeeded by Naho Takerubun. Last time, it was Samsudin Takerubun who held the position. The so-called confederation made by Namar and Ngilngof owned an island in the body of water down to the south of Kei Kecil, which is Eu Island. Eu was a part of clustering islands, along with Wa, Nai, Le A, Nukahai, Tur, Ngaf, Tenguaen, and Teruwa, known as the Island of Ten (*Pulau Sepuluh*).

Another story was coming from Wa Nima who came from Wabula, Buton. Wa Nima was born in 1946 at Selayar Village, Kei Islands. She was the daughter of Udi Masudi from Burangasi, Buton and Arifa from Wabula, Buton. Her grandfather from his father side was Udi Tongo, while her grandfather from her mother side was La Balanja from Wabula who married Wa Unga, daughter of La Ngguna. La Ngguna owned a boat that was later used by his family to hit the shoreline and move to Kei Islands. After settling down in Kei Islands, La Ngguna married a local named Nene Tet. From the marriage, Nene Tet bore a daughter named Wa Unga, whose husband followed La Ngguna to be a sailor. Same thing goes to Udi Masudi, so that all of the son-in-laws in the family are sailors. They carry the nautical activity out for the last three generations, distributing people and goods from an island to another. Meanwhile, Wa Nima was only went to school for a short period of time. Her last academic qualification was elementary school since she had decided to be a peddler, selling cigarettes and sugar. Her husband was also a peddler named Zainuddin from Bone, South Sulawesi who sold sarongs.

Studying the genealogy of Wa Nima's family has brought us to one of the initial arrivals of Buton people at Kei Islands, especially those who were settling themselves at Selayar Village. La Ngguna reached the village by the middle of the 19th century, c. 1850s. Another interesting point from studying the arrival of La Ngguna is that we could see how Buton people were constantly managed to weave the network, uniting the spirit of Indonesia-ness in the eastern part of the archipelago. La Ngguna's marriage with Nene Tet marks the beginning of Buton people's second nature in associating themselves with others from other ethnic groups. Wa Nima herself was also married to a half Buginese half Bone man named Zainuddin. The family was also practicing the bagan system, introduced by Zainuddin who had practiced it in Bone, prior to his settlement with Wa Nima's family. Most inhabitants of Selayar Village then practiced the system.

La Nggaita was another notable person who introduced bagan system to the people Ohoi Selayar. He was the third generation of his family who lived in Kei Islands (Interview with La Nggaita, July 29th, 2019). La Nggaita was born from a Butonese family who had long settled at Kei Islands. He was the son of La Abu from Buton and Amina from Tanimbar. La Abu was the son of La Kudungga from Burangasi, Buton and a Keian woman named Siti. La Kudungga himself was a son of La Raya and Wa Bahudi from Burangasi, Buton, while La Raya was the son of La Ode Sangkoni. La Nggaita could only memorize a small part of the genealogy, but

he remembered that La Kudungga was the first Butonese who reached many islands of Kei Islands with his Lambo from Burangasi, Sapolawa, Buton Island, through Seram. La Kudungga then arrived at the *Pulau Sepuluh* and made living out of fishing (rod, bubu, and sero). After a while, the family shifted from bubu and sero fishing to toil fishing and bagan system.

The family of La Nggaita crafted their own bagan in 1987, before the conflict busted open in Ambon. According to La Nggaita, the bagan system required an enormous amount of money, at least a hundred million Rupiahs, because they needed to build the installation from scratch. A bagan consisted of a supporting body, a spread of net, and a set of electricity to provide lightning. There were also operating costs, such as fuel cost, daily foodstuffs cost, and snacks cost (coffee and sugar). The bagan was operated during one dark cycle, around twenty consecutive days during the period of new moon. The kinds of fish gathered were *momar*, *teri*, *komo*, and *palala*. They managed to collect ten buckets of fish per night; each contained 40-50 kilograms of fish, distributed directly to the *papalele* or *mamalele* (peddlers, male and female) at fish market at Langgur with no middlemen involved in the process. The revenue of the cycle was reduced by the amount of money allocated for the repayment of debt (capital), and then divided by two; a half for the owner of the bagan, while the other half for the workers. As an example, Zainuddin explains the accounts:

“Let’s say we got fifteen millions Rupiahs in one dark cycle. So, we have to put some amounts by, let’s say five millions, to pay our debts. We proposed a loan as the substitution of capital, so the debt was actually the capital of this cycle. Then, we still have ten millions left to split. Five millions for the owner of the bagan, and the other five millions for the workers. We had seven workers in the bagan, so we divided five millions by seven. Each worker would have around Rp. 714,000,-. (Interview with H. Zainuddin, Ari, Wa Yanti, Wa Angguru, Piter Letsoin, La Runga, and La Dula, August 1st, 2019).

Conclusion

The customary law of Syarana Wolio that belongs to the Buton people and the customary law of Larvul Ngabal that belongs to the people of Kei Islands are having the same vision about how tradition should preserve the sanctity of the relationship between human and nature, including on how human could manage the development of the territory he/she inhabited along with his/her community. The Larvul Ngabal as the fundamental traditional arrangement in Kei Islands had clearly stated that "*taflur nit, itsob duad*", which means human will always be bound to Allah to give consolation to the living, the dying, and the dead. While Buton people had their own sayings, according to their own customary law, which was "*bolimo karo somanamo lipu, bolimo lipu somanamo adati, dan bolimo adati somanamo agama*", means religion/religiosity is more important than tradition, for tradition is higher than the pride of homeland and self. Both laws had the same degree of authority in ensuring the harmony between men and their surrounding nature, especially the sea. Such commensurable way of live had also given them the chance to exist, at least for the last three generations.

Buton people who lived in Kei Kecil Island, especially in the Village of Namar and Selayar, were adaptive enough to be assimilated further into the local communities. Such adaptive behaviours were generated through the practice of *kawin masuk*. The basic concept of *kawin masuk* had allowed Buton people to be integrated, or installed, inside the community and become the defining factor of the establishment of unity in the eastern Indonesia.

To support their marine activities, in the context of economic development, Buton people of Selayar Village relied heavily on the traditional fishing system and *bagan* system.

Both systems were carried on even up until the last time we went to the village and had changed the way Buton people lived.

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DRESS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY: THE ROLE OF MUSLIM WOMEN IN INFLUENCING THE WAY OF INDONESIAN WOMEN DRESS DURING 1930-1942 . MODERNITY, GLOBALIZATION AND IDENTITY

Raisyeh Soleh Haghia, Abdurakhman

Department of History / Faculty of Humanities / University of Indonesia
(raisye.soleh@ui.ac.id, abimaman@gmail.com)

Abstract

It is an important fact that Islam is not only regarded as a religion that guides religious worship. More than that, Islam is also able to exert a powerful influence on the aspects of people's lives in the place where Islam is developing. In the case of the development of Islam in Indonesia, Islam has impacted Indonesia's style of dress. This paper will examine the role of Muslim women in the making of national identity through the way of dressing of Indonesian Moslem women. In particular, this paper will discuss Indonesian Moslem women's activities between 1930 and 1942 and the implications of their Islamic thoughts on Indonesian women's dress . The data of this study are collected through newspapers and magazines in the period studied and also some relevant books. Thus, the objective of this study is to examine the significant influences of Moslem / Islamic women's works between 1930 and 1942 on the making of national character and identity. A large body works has been examined the development of Moslem women's thoughts on family problems and its implication towards Moslem women's roles in public sphere. However, previous studies do not engage on how Moslem women's actions and thoughts influence the cultural aspects of Indonesian society, especially national identity . In line with that, this paper attempts to contribute a broader scientific discussion and historical study of the role of religion for the making of the nation's identity.

Keyword s: **Indonesia's Islam / Moslem Women, Style of Dress, National Identity**

Introduction

The arrival of Islam in Indonesia brings social transformation which significantly. Changes not only occur in terms of religiosity but also have an impact on culture, the rules of living up to the style of dress which ultimately shape the identity of a Muslim and identity as a nation. Clothing is one of the main issues that draw attention to the community, especially for people who always pay attention to their appearance. The discussion of clothing was a trending topic in women's magazines in the 1930s. This article was written with a cultural theory approach. In cultural theory, there are two conceptions of culture, namely culture as an adaptive system and culture as an ideational system. Based on cultural theory, Roger M. Keasing distinguishes three distinctive ways of approaching culture as an idea or ideational system, including culture as a positive system, culture as a structural system and culture as a symbolic structure (Keasing, 1981). In this article, I argue that a veil is a cultural product because the idea of a veil is obtained from a system that is taught or obtained through a process of learning or through learning.

Problem statements, research questions and objectives

The debate over what should be called national clothing emerged after the influx of "a la Western" clothing models brought by women who received Western education and the rise of advertisements in magazines related to Western women's clothing models. One model of clothing

from the West that was rife at the time was a mini skirt and a tank top model (Suara Aisjijah. 1938). This caused a lot of contradiction, especially from the Islamic group. The modification of the mini skirt and tank top was adopted into a thin kebaya model so that the arms of the woman wearing it were visible and the fabric commonly used by Indonesian women was modified to have a slit up to the calf so that if the woman walked then the calf was revealed.

Along with the changing style of dress, Western influences have entered into the lifestyles of young Indonesians. In the Community Guidelines magazine in the Sacred Corner rubric, it discusses the culture of "dances," which are being favored by young people at that time. The dance customs or culture practiced by men and women are Western cultures that were never known in Indonesia. In responding to this cultural shift many views from various magazines and different views were seen from one magazine to another magazine. Like Pandji Islam magazine No. 7, 1938, raised this problem by displaying caricature drawings that illustrated the phenomenon of dance. In the caricature also described responses from the community who are not happy with the culture.

Caricature Dance phenomenon



Source: Pandji Islam (1938)

Pelezier doenia!

How miserable is manoeia that has been disfigured napsoe and tempted pelezier doenia. It was assumed that his life had run out so that this girl was alone, because of that, she prayed so hard by not remembering the last day. Look at dancers and dancers, and the moedanja is always blazing hot with the devil's moezik devil in his hearing, at the point of the tycoon of the tycoon and the fire that burns the mind.

Look at the right hand side, there are 3 classes of people who always play with God. Islamic poetry using blackheads. Kaoemagama who has a big sacrifice and a leader who is aware of the fate of the nation behind the day. All three of them frightened the heads of menoago dagoe oentoek to convert manoeia to the mainland. In saflah, forgive, O manoeia! (*Pandji Islam* 1938: 147)

Whereas the Community Guidelines present this phenomenon in different languages. As a special feature of the Community Guidelines in discussing an issue that is always conveyed in argumentative and value-dense language, the phenomenon of dances is raised as such, moreover, it becomes material discussed in the Sacred Corner which is a special rubric to criticize the phenomenon that is currently happening. The following excerpt from the Sacred Corner in the Community Guidelines regarding dances

The problem with these dances, which Syma Nare has "saved" in the number of people passing by, is that it is said to be more elaborate, because the people who boil the class of

musicians are also involved. sjoer lakoekan itoe game, poen class of aging people, djoega do not maoe pity in the back. In soerat2 news from djawa, syma Nare batja satoe news regarding this matter as risky:

"Kabarnja in Solo, people were in an uproar, because of the disease dansi2 masoek poela to Soerakarta Hadiningrat, a cultural hero of Djawa. The Dansi boekan were learned by the Moeda people, but by the very masses of the Toea. Don't just moeda, just the girl. Dansi2 itoe dioesahakan by kaoem academici. Poeteri members are not concerned with the academics. "

... .. who want to make a ruse, that the dances are masoek kunst, sport, and God knows, what else is the wisdom, Syma Nare wants to 'catch up with greed: is there no other way oentoek' devote themselves to the art of itoe? Is there no other sport that can drain sweat apart from dancing?

Boost the correct answer: Indeed, there are still more arts or sports besides itoe, but artsy and sporting with playing the dance, there is more efficient, aka "once memboeka poera, doea-three oetang learned". In the arts and sports, djoegaaround lapeh. And we are now living in an era: a bit of work, many oentoeng! (*Pedoman Masyarakat*. 1940: 160)

From the above phenomenon, the basis of the discussion is related to what issues are suitable as the national dress that shows the national identity of Indonesian women? What is meant by modern is to imitate all that is done by the West and leave the nation's cultural roots? And is the veil (head covering) a symbol of backwardness and nationalism?

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Previous research related to women in Indonesia was studied by Ann Toler (1977), he examined the economic independence of rural Javanese women under the Dutch cultivation system (Culture Stelsel, 1830-1870). Research on Javanese women was also carried out by Susan Blackburn (2002), in her research Blackburn revealed the role of Muslim women in the political sphere, and then she continued her research on the history of Indonesian women in Political Islam (2008). In the following period research on identity-related to women and Islam was carried out by Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi, a researcher from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), writing an article in 2012 entitled "Javanese Women and Islam: Identity Formation since The Twentieth Century. Dewi analyzes the dynamics of Javanese women in their incision with Islam so that it is manifested in the formation of identity. The argument conveyed by Dewi stated that the confusion of Islam with Javanese women was an important element in shaping women's identity. Dewi's article seeks to bridge the gap between the empirical situation of Javanese women and Islam. The conclusions of Dewi tried to bridge the gap by giving a portrait of the role of Islam in the formation of Javanese Muslim women's identity, focusing on the subject from the beginning of the twentieth century to the beginning of the twenty-first.

From the results of previous writings, it can be concluded that women and Islam are interesting social phenomena to be studied. In this article, the author tries to write the same theme but from different angles. The author tries to see this phenomenon from the clothing and formation of an Indonesian women's national identity.

To explain the problem above, the authors used t through Home Visits identity proposed by Sheldon Styker (1980), Styker focusing on the interplay between the individual and social structures that ad a surrounding with a larger scope (community) (Andrian, 2009). In this theory, the individual and society are seen as two sides that are interlocked like the unity of a side in a coin. More clearly this theory suggests that a person is formed by interaction, but social structure shapes interaction. In looking at the relationship between individuals and structure, it seems that Styker agrees with the structural perspective, especially role theory. But there are also things criticized by Styker for the theory of role according to which the theory of role is not sensitive to individual creativity.

Stryker's theory mixes the concepts of role (role theory) and self-concept (from symbolic interaction theory). In every role that we display to interact with others, we have a definition of ourselves that is different from others, this is what Styker calls "Identity". If in our lives we have various roles, then we have various identities. In essence, theories of symbolic interaction and identity place individuals as active parties in choosing and producing behavior and building social expectations.

Becker (1963) said that identity requires an effort to identify or label others as "outsiders". Stone (1962) said that identity includes efforts to express and place individuals by using nonverbal cues such as clothing and appearance. The author argues that clothing as a national identity is influenced by the background and level of knowledge about customs, religion and outside influences. In this case, what is meant by outside influence is the influence of indigenous women who have completed school in the West.

Methodology

This article uses a literature study of magazines published between the 1930s and 1942 with a qualitative analysis approach that uses phenomenological methods, qualitative analysis is intended not only to describe the phenomenon of what happens in society but more than that. Research does not stop only on how a phenomenon can occur in society but intends to explore more deeply why a phenomenon can occur. Schutz (in Ritzer, 2004: 60) argues that the everyday social world is always an intersubjective and meaningful experience. In other words, it can be interpreted that the phenomena presented by individuals are a reflection of transcendental experience and understanding of meaning or *verstehen*. Phenomenology in its work will always seek understanding of the actor's understanding of the phenomena that arise in his consciousness, as well as the phenomena experienced by the informant and considered as an entity in the world.

This research on national identity and clothing uses primary data obtained from contemporary magazines, so that patterns and calm images of phenomena that occur in the Indonesian nation can be taken, especially those relating to the meaning of self-identity and are implemented in clothing models. Secondary data used in the form of previous articles that take the same theme and reference books related to the theme of this article.

After the data is collected (Heuristics), the writer analyzes the data (Criticism and verification). This step aims to select and choose which data will be used in writing this article. Then after that, the interpretation is done so that the data obtained has meaning. After that, the writer does the historiography stage.

Results

Analysis and Findings

In practice, Islam is not only regarded as a religion that regulates merely worship rituals but Islam is a perfect religion and regulates all aspects of life both social, economic and political. Clearly illustrated in the following quote

The Igama Islam boekan sadly order the ways of manoesia to devote (worship) to Toehan which is strictly related to the beauty of sadja, instead he also orders manoesia in this country so that life is safe, peaceful and peaceful in association.

People can not live with no economics (have a hidoepan-tjara seeking fortune). Djoega people can not live with not berogaoel, coo-yo, talking together, talking to help, help, etc. social. And if a person wants to want security, prosperity and co-existence above this boemic, he must preach, and rage, politicians, ways of controlling the country and those who are related to it.

As a result ... We live above doenia must be bound by three cases of itoe, people will not be able to leave three cases of itoe, maoe ta maoe People must preach, operate and operate economical methods (the method of seeking sustenance), social methods (social methods) and methods of exploiting the country (politicized) if the person still retains "Manoesia Hidoep". (*Pedoman Masjarakat*. 1935: 337-338)

Among them is an Islamic magazine that thoroughly examines the root causes of clothing for women, especially Muslim women, discussed in the Islamic Pandji featuring several articles from various authors in several editions. The main problem of the birth of the conversation about the clothes was triggered by the rise of how to use the cloth that was slung so that the calf of the user can be exposed when walking and being favored by the thin kebaya model, made with a very fitting size of the body (tight) so that the visible curve of the wearer's body and front model the open cap . (*Pandji Islam*. 1938: 202-203)

Incorrect Model of Wearing a Veil



Source: *Suara Aisjijah* (1938)

Changes in the style and manner of dress of women in Indonesia are influenced by the onslaught of Western clothing fashions which were then adopted by the Indonesian people through "agents of change", namely women attending schools in Europe. Educated women invited Indonesian women who were "uneducated" to leave their old clothing models and replace them with modern models. The following quote from *Pandji Islam* related to the problem

Some of our brothers say Baharoeddin Mab poel that the very important among our poets, is the danger of the intellectueite poetry or the highly respected moraaliteitje, but from their experience of Islam. the badjoenja is so thin that it loosens, so that it clearly shows its coils — the ooze, half an open air, very many poela are reclaimed by poeteri-poeteri us in daily movements ... reclamation of itoe will be able to be scattered from the poets that are still in our daily movements. groping in dressing politely in Islam. using a toetoe of the head, indeed beloem is again valued by our educated politicians and their risers, a piece of cloth that is obliged to the religion of Islam. (*Pandji Islam* . 1938: 225-226)

From the above quotation, it is also explained that there is no appreciation from educated women for the use of veils in Muslim women in Indonesia, whereas basically women in Indonesia are accustomed to wearing headgear. The use of veils in Indonesia has become a custom that is commonly used by women in Indonesia especially women who come from Borneo (Kalimantan), all of Sumatra, Banten, Betawi, East Java and Periang (Community Guidelines . 1938: 805-806). Scorn and criticism of veil users are always leveled by them. To the invitation to leave the veil. The loudest invitation was voiced by Mariah Ulfah through her speech at the Indonesian Women's Congress held in Bandung in 1938 with the title of her speech namely "The Position of Indonesian Women in Marriage Law". In his speech, Mariah Ulfah equated the meaning of hijab and purdah in Egypt and India with the veil used in Indonesia and expressed his views on polygamy (Soeara Aisjijah No. 9 September 1938: 345-349 and No. 11 November 1938: 427-441). As for the reasons he delivered because hijab and purdah are cultures, therefore the Indonesian people are not obliged to follow them. (*Pedoman Masyarakat*. 1938: 806)

In addressing the problem above, the Community Guidelines try to describe the problem from various perspectives, namely religion and culture. The article was published in issue No. 41, October 12, 1938, with the title "Koedoeng" boekan inhibit kemadjoean ". The Community Guidelines attempt to explain in detail whether the veil is a religious or cultural order and whether it is hampering progress for women. In his presentation explained that the veil (veil) was originally a

custom that is applied by the nobility and kings in the cities. The following excerpt from the statement

Toetoe Moeka (koedoeng) in Cairo, Turkey, Iran, and India is guilty of seloeroeh, only the eyes are visible. The custom is to protect the seloeroeh, this model, only the visible eyes, are not even disordered by Islamic principles, but the origin is from the Harem Radja² and in the cities. Being in the Arabpoen land like djoega. This custom is only found in the city, while didoesoen-doesoen is not in Badwij. More explicitly, this custom is used among aristocrats and journalists, while in the society of oemics or depictions, there is no origin at all.

.....

.....

If you insist on defending your independence, then it must be sure that a place that is not self-centered is more mad than the one that is not self-centered. If this is thought to inhibit kemadjoean, then we have explained above that: coed or not coed in the same way in our country, there is no relationship with kemoendoeran and kemadjoean.

Therefore, please insist that a part of the poeteri is now willing to protect those who are co-voluntary to date their co-operation is the work of the congregation ...

(*Pedoman Masjarakat* : 1938: 805-806)

Furthermore, an explanation of the *Guidelines on Society's* view of the veil from a religious point of view is revealed in several articles. First discussed in the article entitled "Eradicate hidjab and koedoeng", the following excerpt statement

In Indonesia, it is true that the Hidjab can be said to be non-existent, but there is very little in the family of families, for those of us who are under the people do not have the right to boil hands. For us, soea ito poen doesn't exist, only our problem now is about koedoeng, which people try to avoid, say, say that the koedoeng command deceived women, insulted women, insulted with time. Been old-fashioned etc.

All that remains is only the article of koedoeng that is relevant to our homeland in Indonesia, the bounce of Hareem, or Purdah which is in India. Because there, koedoeng, as we are here, is a smaller group than the Purdah, Hidjab and Hareem rules.

The religious system used in our country is the principal position, there is no strong custom, but it is very difficult to be tested on all Muslim women.

Wear a toetoe of the head, said the religion, wrap the moe keleher scarf and chest. And religion does not always prevent the original clothing from living at home. That is why it is still different from each other in the shades of clothes in every region in Indonesia, which are fostered by Islam, even though they are both djoega dappled. Bentoek clothes are up to, as long as atoeran and, that limit should not be left

And the Islamic religion does not prevent the adoption of menoeroet clothing in the old customary tradition in the country's soeatoe, it does not prohibit the change of clothing. Men may tie, may nominate, may pray, may sacrifice, may strike, and may wear a hat. But let the genitalia which has been suppressed by religion, be between the hero and the loetet. Poela may be exceeded, because Islam does not preclude the advancement of fashion and clothing bentoek.

Such a woman poela, may be blinded in Arabic, may play as bad as Hindoestan, may behave in a Minangkabau way, as long as he watches the head of the Karolanden people, and may poela wear a Europa-style skirt, there is no obstacle, as long as it is guarded by watching at the center of the Karolanden people, and may poela wear a Europa-style skirt. itoe religion (*Pedoman Masjarakat* . 1938: 846-848)

The two articles written by R. Soelaeman Soerjoamidjojo with the title "The Importance of Symbols in Life and the issue of" Koedoeng "" . The following explanation is in the excerpt below:

Koedoeng is one of the fences of his honor of the Chinese police, the syimbool that is used everyday, and it reminds us of the Muslim community's self-respect as an Islamic poeteri, of their high position, of the soviets of modernity, and of the strength of the Boedi. This symbol should be a stuwkracht soepaja kaoem Moeslimat more active in promoting religious order. This symbol should denigrate his faith in his religion. (*Pedoman Masjarakat* . 1938: 865-867)

The onslaught of Western modes stormed Indonesia like it could not be avoided by the Indonesian people. They assume that the West means going forward and every progress must be followed. But in reality, these modes are not in harmony with the soul of the Indonesian people who

have a personality as Eastern people. In 1930, European women were all over the underwear model badcostuum as their everyday clothes (Soeara Aisjijah . 1939: 185-196). This is not suitable if it is accepted outright by the Indonesian people. From this arises a lot of debate about the appropriate clothing to be worn by women in Indonesia.

To provide and instill understanding, the Community Guidelines revisit the Hijab in edition No. 42 on October 19, 1938, with an article titled "Origin-Oesoelnja custom Hidjab". The Community Guidance explains that the Hijab, Purdah, and Veils in Indonesia have become customary. However, the Community Guidelines emphasize that in a country the emergence of adat can be influenced by several factors including the factor of religious orders and community culture that existed long before the existence of religion. For more details, see the quote below

As we have said that the chief toeto jg. There is in Indonesia, so do "openkap", all of which have become traditional, according to Purdah or Hidjab jg. There are in India and Egypt all its customary. But oerang haroes taoe, that timboelnja soeatoe adat dl.soeah the country, there are joega caused by religious orders, there are poela caused by old poesaka before the religion entered itoe. (Soeara Aisjijah . 1939: 185-196)

In the national awakening movement, especially progress for women, there are two different views about the meaning and action of this progress. The first movement is a movement that invites to remove the veil and the second movement is a movement to invite wearing a veil for women who are Muslims. The first movement intensified by educated women who received education in Europe. Some educated women in Indonesia thought that the veil was outdated. Kerdung is a garment that must be left behind if you want to follow the flow of progress offered by the West. They consider women who still wear headscarves as fanatics, old-fashioned and unwilling to accept change. (*Pedoman Masyarakat*. 1938: 846)

While the second movement was echoed by women members of Aisjijah with a movement called the "Aisjijah Movement". This movement is a movement that invites Muslim women to wear veils. The Aisjijah Movement was motivated by the opinion that the veil is an Indonesian cultural custom that has been traditionally imposed and it is a religious rule that must be implemented by adherents. Aisjijah's criticism of veil opponents consisting of a portion of Western-educated classmates said that even if the Western-educated woman had not been willing to wear a veil, but whose name the religious rules accepted it first, it was not necessary to say that the veil orders persecuted women, insulted women, not according to the times and accused the veiled woman of being too fanatic and not nationalistic. (Guidelines *Ma sjarakat*. 1938: 846-848) . The Indonesian people are already accustomed to wearing head coverings like the women of Borneo (Kalimantan), all of Sumatra, Banten, Betawi, East Java and Preanger (West Java), while the customs that do not wear a veil include Central Java (*Pedoman Masyarakat* . 1938: 805 -806)

The Aisjijah movement brought an interesting phenomenon in the journey of the veil in Indonesia. "Veil Aisiyah" was once a fashion that was trendy in the community at that time so that the way to wear the veil of Aisjijah members was imitated by the general public. In Tjaja Timoer quoted by Soeara Aisjijah explained as follows:

In the Construction of Baron Maturaypeck explained that koedoeng Aisjijah was very attractive to men because it looked sweet, and he also said that everything was stuck on it as long as it did not overtake its meeting to attract men more than the "open".

.....

Our Boeat, berkerodoeng the head of itoe because it was ordered by Islam, because the head including the genitalia that must be rejected.

With berkerodoeng will be more attractive to men, or can not attract it, that's boosting our oeroesan and maksoed. As is the case now, in the Kalimantan region, where because of Aisjijah's koedoeng attracted the hearts of men, so many kaoem iboe who also boiled Aisjijah poen together used koedoeng, just like Aisjijah's coo (*Soeara Aisjijah*. 1941: 187-189).

Advertisement for Veil Model Veil Aisjijah



Source: Suara Aisjijah (1941)

But in addition to the rise of society imitating Aisjijah's hooded style, veiled activity has also experienced difficult times. Veiled women must report themselves to the authorities so that their identities are recorded. This veil registration was motivated by the arrest of the leader of the Islamic movement and the arrest of the leader of Nahdatul Ulama and Ansor Youth in Ciamis, West Java. After this incident the village chiefs were instructed to note who the women were wearing the headscarf and what their purpose was to wear the headscarf. The news was published in the *Kengpo* daily quoted by *Soeara Aisjijah* from *Tjahaja Timoer* as follows:

"Going along with the occurrence of the case of the arrest of the Ansor and Nachdatoel Oelama arrests in Tjiamis, now the polities in the city have worked very hard, especially to keep the people alive so that there are no desirable events."

"Therefore itoe is now commanded to all Loerah² from all boeat villages to note who is the woman who also uses the head and what is needed to use the koedoeng" (*Soeara Aisjijah*. 1941: 521-522.)

Discussion

In the era of 1930, there was a wave of arrivals of Indonesian women who had studied in the West. They returned to Indonesia with new ideas. But there are things as if they want to leave all the cultural roots of the Indonesian people, especially the problem of head covering (veil). There was a heated debate between educated women in the Western style and Indonesian women who held Adat and Religion as the basis of their lives. A massive invitation to leave the veil culture was conveyed by Maria Ulfa in her speech at the Indonesian Women's Congress held in Bandung. Maria Ulfa said that bringing Hijab and Purdah in Egypt and India was the same as a veil in Indonesia. (*Pedoman Masjarakat* . 1938: 805-806). Yet if we look at the background that occurs we will get different answers between the application of headgear in Egypt, India and Indonesia. Maria Ulfa interpreted that the veil is a symbol of backwardness and not nationalist. Though there is no relationship between the veil with the backwardness of thought and nationalism.

No self-defense boekan poela addresses that women are Nationalist toelen, because of those who are co-social, there are nationalist groups who are more loyal to the nation and their homeland (*Pedoman Masjarakat* , 1938: 847)

Islam provides clear rules regarding the terms of clothing. In this case, especially the veil according to religious rules is a head covering that covers the head, neck, and chest. The rules of dress in Islam do not necessarily instruct women to leave the local traditional dress. Therefore the diversity of models and styles of clothing that exist in Indonesia do not just disappear, using a head covering (veil) does not make Indonesians an Egyptian or an Arab. Indonesians are still Indonesians. Islam does not order us to leave traditional clothes. Just as men may tie, they may wear a hat, may make

a sacrifice and may wear a beast. The most important of all is how clothes can cover genitals. From that, all Islam does not impede the progress of fashion and form of clothing.

Combine the veil while still wearing batik cloth and kebaya



Source: Suara Aisjijah (1938)

Conclusion

In this article, I argue that the formation of identity and clothing models for women in Indonesia is influenced by several factors. First, cultural factors are the basis of the formation of women's identity which is embodied in clothing models. Second, religious factors, especially Islam, govern all aspects of life, as well as clothing. In this case, Islam is not only considered as a matter that takes care of ritual matters but far from that Islam acts as a rule that deals with all aspects of life, one of which is a clothing model. Clothing according to Islam must meet the requirements in sharia, but the model and type of clothing are not set in detail. This is freedom for everyone to create clothing models according to customs, geographical location, and cultural development. Third, the influence factor of modernization from the West. This happened because of the influx of indigenous women who went to school in the West and brought Western culture to Indonesia. Clothing as a cultural product has a symbolic and symbolic meaning. Said to be cognitive because clothing (veiled) is a result of the process taught or obtained through the learning process (cognitive). Meanwhile, if interpreted that clothing is a symbolic system because in that symbol there is a relationship between the marker and the signifier. The assumption of culture as a symbolic system can also be interpreted that culture consists of symbols that are owned and agreed upon by members of a community, this returns to one's perception in interpreting or interpreting the meaning of these symbols.

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WOMEN IN THE FRONTIER: AHSUN INAYATI AND NORTH HALMAHERA PROVINCE'S REGIONAL AUTONOMY, ARRANGEMENT, AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

¹Noor Fatia Lastika Sari,²Susanto Zuhdi,³ Saraswati Dewi

^{1,2}History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

³Philosophy Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

(noorfatials@gmail.com, susanto_zuhdi@yahoo.com, sarasdewi@yahoo.com)

Abstract

This article discusses the role of women in the frontier area in the eastern part of Indonesia; West Galela, North Halmahera, as a *Camat*, or a head of a district, named Ahsun Inayati. She is one of many inspiring women in politics who is able to deal with hard times, from the claim of land rights to the dispute over the illegal mining that has been contributing to the deteriorating condition of public infrastructures, such as environmental pollution and trans-district road damage that is beneficial for ground transportation across West Galela District. According to the Law No. 2 of 1999 concerning Regional Administration, Indonesian government had introduced the concept of New Autonomous Area at the provincial and district level, as a mode of power distribution between the central and local government. However, it was seen as a mere geographical division without even considering the existence of natural resources, as well as the lingering tradition and customary practices. For example, one of the gold mine in the district is indicated as *Tanah Rukun*, a piece of land believed to be owned by *Kolano* of Loloda. Through this article, we would like to elaborate the strategy Inayati had to cope with the upcoming threats that may come, as well as on how she deals with social conflicts among communities. In the menacing frontier, a woman stands tall as the "tip of the spear" of a movement to withstand the challenge. Thus, through the method of history and the approach of elaborating political and cultural spaces, this article would put certain emphasize on how womanhood deals with ecological irrationality and remoteness, how could woman be the agent of change who generates her own success story, and what does it take to deal with the issues in the frontier that has never been convenient.

Keywords: *women in politics, regional autonomy, West Galela, North Halmahera, political space.*

Introduction

In the span of time during the year of 1999-2000, Indonesian government has introduced Law No. 2 concerning Regional Administration, since the concept of regional autonomy in context with the policy of the establishing regional administration were becoming a phenomenon in developing a New Autonomous Area (*Daerah Otonomi Baru/DOB*) at the provincial and district level. Maluku Utara Province was established in 1999, but once a part of Maluku Province. However the distribution of power and political rights between the two provinces didn't rely on credible criteria; it was a mere geographical division that split the area evenly with a single straight demarcation line. Issues then came to the surface, as the division didn't really consider on the existence of natural resources and the lingering tradition and customary practices that are still pretty much influential.

In this research, we would like to take the case of social commotion in 2014 at Roko, a village under the administration of West Galela District. Roko has particular point of interest, which is new and promising gold mines, that attracts

immigrants from various area and ethnicity to establish settlements and join along with the “exploration”. Initially, the people of Roko consists of 80% Tobaru people (ethnic group) of Loloda, while the rest are those who came from Galela, Tobelo, Loloda, as well as Manado, Buton, and Sangir. Mentioning Loloda above, we would also like to highlight the area as a part of historical and cultural unity that once had been a prominent political entity, along with some other powerful kingdoms in the area of northern Maluku. However, this article would like to delve more into the strong and robust role of a woman in the frontier; *Camat*, head of a district, in North Halmahera District, named Ahsun Inayati.

Thus, how would Inayati construct her strategy in carrying on the mission of sustainable regional development? Female instinct embodies in a more personal and collaborative approaches in dealing with various issues surfacing from beneath social strains under her administrative power, such as the act of violence and individual or communal conflicts. What’s even more interesting about her is that she managed to make a critical, yet witty, statement through her reasoning that: “men with their “sticks” are always doomed to have nothing more than just a game of sword fight”, which then become a relentless fight of masculinity (interviewed in July 3rd, 2019). It goes accordingly with the concept of “*Lingga-Yoni*” in the romanticized philosophical thinking of ancient Nusantara that explains why God created us in pairs.

Some of the prominent issues that Inayati had to deal with since 2016 are the claim of agricultural land rights, land acquisition for infrastructural purpose (airport), the never-ending frictions between various ethnic groups, and the dispute over the illegal mining that has been contributing to the deteriorating condition of public infrastructures, such as environmental pollution and trans-district road damage that is beneficial for ground transportation across West Galela District. Recently, there has been a clear indication that the gold mine is actually belonged to *Tanah Rukun*, a piece of land believed to be owned by *Kolano*, the traditional leader of the people of Loloda who has the same political authority as the sultans of Maluku.

Through this article, we would like to elaborate the strategy Inayati had to cope with the upcoming threats that may come due to the fact that environmental damage is around the corner, as well as on how she deals with social conflicts among communities. In the menacing frontier, a woman stands tall as the “tip of the spear” of a movement to withstand the challenge posed by gold mining that could possibly give extended implications to economical, social, cultural, as well as environmental aspects.

However, when it comes to the discussion regarding geographical measurements, we need to address the boundaries to create a more determined spatial aspect. The implication of applying the idea of regional autonomy could only be put to reality through the conceptual thinking about how government should hold on to solid milestones. Practically, the establishment of a New Autonomous Area had fractured the unity of historical and cultural space in various communities in any society (Ratnawati, 2010:122; see also Ratnawati, 2009). Such establishment was conducted, based on the availability of administrative region, economical values, and population, but disregarding the need of stringing historical and cultural aspect altogether. Both occupy two different domains; one domain manages space and people, while the other one manages the more elemental matter of history and culture within the context of spatiality.

Thus, through the method of history and the approach of elaborating political and cultural spaces, this article would put certain emphasize on how womanhood deals with ecological irrationality and remoteness (Plumwood, 2002), how could woman be the agent of change who could generate her own success story, and what does it take to deal with the menacing issues in the frontier that has never been any lesser than this? This could be the tipping point where we could observe of what it’s like to be Indonesian (the concept of Indonesia-ness) in the border area.

At last, in terms of historical aspects, the community exists way earlier than the development of its nation-state, let alone a modern establishment named Indonesia. Harsja W. Bachtar (1927), a professor in societal history, in his dissertation, put a concept regarding the old and new concept of society forward. He identified the old society that filled with tradition and antiquity as "*nasion lama*" (old nation), while the new one as "*nasion baru*" (new nation), which is modern day Indonesia. This is where we could see that, as a modern concept, Indonesian-ness is worth to be presented as a "new political space", with adjacent contemporary values, and without leaving the trace of tradition and the linkage to the narrative of origins.

Problem Statement, Research Questions and Objectives

This article discussed further about Inayati's role as the district head of certain area of West Galela, North Halmahera in North Maluku, Indonesia. We would like to analyse the background Inayati had to eventually become one of the pioneering women in the district, to become politically active and provide strong and robust character in leading her people. Therefore, various factors were examined regarding her role as the actor of historical occurrence or events, because we believed that Inayati surely has certain modalities, such as educational background, family history, and personally generated set of skills and endurance to acquire such prominent position in the society.

Then, we analysed the problems and issues related to the case of North Halmahera regional autonomy and cultural domain arrangement that have been extraordinarily negotiated between parties of interest, as the prior expansion of administration was not only establishing a new political and communal space, but also dividing elemental matters of history and culture as we perceived altogether in the introduction part, which were all embodied in recent conflicts and clashes amongst communities. At last, we also studied the implications of the role of women in the area, especially on what changes could Inayati possibly bring.

Through the method of historical research and writings we observed further on Inayati's agential behaviour within the context of local political and governmental establishment, as well as its arrangements, which had created a new space for both domains to comply with one another.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This study combines the discussion about regional autonomy as a part of decentralization policy, which had been conceptualised and practised further since the beginning of *Reformasi* in Indonesia, and the study about women in politics after the end of New Order administration, under the framework of analysing past events as a series of structuration process, according to Anthony Giddens' Theory of Structuration, combined with Christopher Lloyd's Methodological Structuration, and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of Arena and Modality.

The decentralization policy is deemed as a controversial one; since the discussion about the fundamental concept regarding the definition and spatial-temporal context is never seem to cease to exist. Thus, we choose Syarif Hidayat's critical elaboration regarding the decentralization and regional autonomy, titled *Desentralisasi dan Otonomi Daerah Dalam Perspektif State-Society Relation* (2008) to explain about the relation between the state and its society after the expansion of administration of one region was applied. In his writing, we could discover the assessment Hidayat had made toward the policy, in which he stated that Indonesia had somehow entered the practice of the discretion of decentralization, a condition where the decentralization policy was utilized as mere constraining factor for regional development. He also argued that the policy must be adjusted with local characteristics, instead of just considering central government's objectives; such as

strengthening national integration, providing training grounds for future national-scale leaders, and accommodating and accelerating local communities' prosperity. It has to be able to establish decent examples of democracy in local extent, increase the effectiveness and efficiency in public services, and generate a concept of good regional governance. According to Hidayat (2008:22), the society could perceive and have better perception toward their government, both central and local government, if both governments are willing to establish implementative approach to reconstruct the concept of decentralization, by considering the characteristic and competence of the locals.

Thus, in this article, we didn't only emphasize the critical phenomenon of North Maluku's dynamic process of decentralization, but also the presence of women as political representatives in the regional level. Melani Budianta once highlighted women in politics, in her article titled *Decentralizing Engagements: Women and the Democratization Process in Indonesia* (2006). In this article, she explained on how women established their own political thinking and engaged in numerous political movements after the downfall of New Order, under the administration of Suharto. Budianta wrote the article through women's perspectives, especially regarding the effect of the newly generated waves of democracy for women in the post-New Order era. In a part of her writing, Budianta highlighted the process of decentralization and how it affected women's individual rights, for it must have been carried out within the basis of democracy, justice, equity, and respect for diversity (2006:920).

Based on the two literature reviews we presented above, along with other sources too, we put Ahsun Inayati and her thriving political movement and authority within the concept of structuration. According to Giddens' Theory of Structuration, Inayati is an agent with agential power, or agency, who is able to make changes or shifts toward the existing structure, for she has the ability to recognize that there are something wrong or unjust with the existing structure (that is considered constraining, or perhaps enabling), which allows the agency to reconstruct the existing one and make a whole new structure that complies with current condition and situation. Such agential power is acquired by the agent through the process of synchronization between the modality (set of skills and abilities, both given and acquired) and the arena (the society), as Bourdieu would explain as the formation of *habitus*. Within this process of structuration, the agency has power to establish a new structure that is very likely to be in a mutual accord with his/her future objectives or conducts.

In addition to that, according to Lloyd's Methodological Structurism, Every structure is a constant reproduction or transformation of institutionalized (existing) structure, thus it is described as a cyclical process. The agency, or the human structuring agency is able to alter the structure to reach the intended outcome of normal social process. However, at the same time, the alteration could also generate an unintended outcome of abnormal social process, which then both should be embraced by the agency, or could be a part of modality of other human structuring agency to challenge the currently existing, or established, structure. Within this theoretical framework, this article analyses Inayati's agential power in the context of the local government of West Galela District in North Halmahera, North Maluku Province.

Nevertheless, studies about women in politics, especially those that have linkages or leverages toward the issue of decentralization of North Maluku Province are less likely to be found. Therefore, this article aimed to be a mild epitome of such writings, in order to raise the awareness of the need of political empowerment in the frontier area, to eventually give better opportunity for the locals to participate more in their local administration and to discover the uniqueness of how Indonesia-ness are implemented in the frontier area.

Methodology

This article is a work of history that exercises Historiography, or the method of historical writings, as the method of research, in combination with methodology of interdisciplinary research that incorporate the method of history with other methods, such as psychology and eco-philosophy (Southgate, 2001). The method consists of four steps to be followed, which are heuristic, critics, interpretation, and the historiography itself. Along with the method, we also apply the approach of oral history to acquire oral sources as a part of oral tradition as historical sources that has been living within the memories of the public. Finally, the work of historians could bring contemporary meanings to the past events, and become more integrative and collaborative toward the community in the shape of collective memory.

Through the step of heuristic, we gathered all the sources available, related to the topic of the discussion, such as oral sources from simultaneous interviews conducted during field research, local archives and documents, newspaper, as well as secondary sources (books and journals) for contemporary references. Then, we put critics over the gathered sources to verify the authenticity and the reliability of the facts contained in the sources. After we could verify such components, we interpreted the facts and information objectively, according to the principles of historians in reconstructing the past, to eventually construct the interpretation into a comprehensive article.

Ahsun Inayati and the Rising Number of Women Participation in Politics

It took us four and a half hour car ride to the north to reach West Galela from Sofifi, North Halmahera, after several minutes bouncing on the speedboat from Semut Harbour, Ternate. We actually opted to reach Tobelo, a more crowded and alive district before Galela, but then decided to go all the way up to its neighbouring district, due to the information that we might meet numbers of women who were once very active in politics. To our surprise, we got warm greetings from West Galela District Office, led by Ahsun Inayati as the *camat* of the district. But, it turned out that we had actually met his husband, Arifin Neka, a day before that day, as he was the previous Vice Regent of North Halmahera, along with Hein Nemotemo as the Regent. He was the first Vice Regent of North Halmahera who also provided huge influence on the contending issues of regional autonomy in the island.

Inayati's physical appearance and facial expression was somehow familiar to us. Her voice was calm, with a bit of Javanese accent that we could identify conveniently. She is the current District Head of West Galela, preceding Fakhri Pandanga, Abdul Azis Bopeng, and Halil Talaba. She was appointed as the district head through the annual event of *lelang jabatan* (an open selection to assign more capable and competence employees of the government (*Pegawai Negeri Sipil/PNS*) in several positions of certain governmental bureau, under the principle of exercising meritocracy, based on the Law of Civil Servants). Such practice was pretty common to be carried on in the whole North Maluku and Maluku Province, as Inayati explained:

"Women of Galela has long been known as active participant in the politics; a domain where men usually dominate. In West Galela, there has to be at least one woman in every five or seven seats provided in total. It is all stated in the Law."

Inayati was appointed as the head of West Galela District in 2016, after completing her duty as Agricultural Counsellor at Local Department of Agriculture. She left her functional occupation as Civil Servant at North Halmahera's Department of Agricultural in Tobelo to enter political and structural domain due to the fact that there has been significant issues that caught her attention. She thought that the people of West Galela was struggling on creating a community bonding framework, as there hasn't been any effort in associating local familiarity and potentials.

Image 1. Ahsun Inayati, Head of West Galela District, North Halmahera Province (Source: Private Collection)

It, however, wasn't easy for her at the first time. She found it inconvenient



when the people started to scrutinize over her identity as a “newcomer” in the Eastern Archipelago. She was born and raised in Kediri, East Java, until she had graduated from high school, and then decided to pursue her academic advancement to the university level in 2004 at Bali, where she studied Communication and Counselling at the Faculty of Agriculture in Udayana University. She was then active as a temporary counsellor at the Centre for Agricultural Technology Studies and Research in Bali. It was in 2009 when she first came to North Halmahera as a bureaucrat under the Provincial Government of North Halmahera, as a staff in the Local Department of Agriculture.

Fertile soil covered most of West Galela area, making the district potential to be developed further as agricultural district of North Halmahera, not to mention that the agricultural sector had given terrific contribution to the increase of economic value of the district per 2018 (Kecamatan Galela Barat Dalam Angka, 2018). According to Inayati, as an expert in agricultural management, the land of West Galela is suitable for banana plantation, dry rice cultivation, cornfields, and other tuber plants, lentils, and secondary crops cultivation (*palawija*), including several other tropical fruits. This opportunity made it easier for Inayati to carry out subtler approach to the people, based on her expertise in agricultural sector, which was needed the most by the people, as it was the only driving force of West Galela's economic sector, as stated by Inayati:

“Nothing is easy in the frontier area. You are so far away from the capital, yet so close to the outside world. Agricultural sector must be the main propeller for the people of West Galela. At least enough for them to reach the state of subsistence.”

Perhaps, never once in her lifetime that she thought, or prepared, that one day she would become one of the government officials in the province or district she was assigned in, because she managed to continue her study regarding agricultural studies at Brawijaya University, Malang in 2009, focusing in the Management of Agribusiness at the Faculty of Economics and Business. But, it was all changed after she finished her master degree and got married to Arifin Neka in 2011.

Image 2. Arifin Neka, Inayati's Husband and the First Vice Regent of North Halmahera Province (Source: Private Collection)



Studying Inayati's role in the society of West Galela wouldn't be complete without analysing the kinship factor she had as the wife of Arifin Neka. Neka was one of the prominent politicians in North Halmahera, especially during the proposal of establishing North Halmahera Regency as one of the new autonomous area in the North Maluku Province, along with the Head of Tobelo District, Hein Nemotemo. The proposal was a huge success after a lengthy and arduous negotiation among the people of many districts, such as North Loloda, North Morotai, South Morotai, Southwest Morotai, Galela, Tobelo, South Tobelo, Kao, and Malifut that being put together under an administrative government of North Halmahera according to Law No. 1 of 2003. After the appointment of Nemotemo and Neka, the districts were expanded into twenty-two districts with 254 villages within the proximity (Kabupaten Halmahera Utara Dalam Angka, 2016). This made Neka influential enough to put leverage upon Inayati's eagerness to affiliate further in the local political domain. She started her structural career when she got herself employed as local civil servant at the District Office of West Galela as Chief of People's Welfare Division in 2013, soon after the District of West Galela was established in the first district expansion carried out by Nemotemo and Neka.

According to Inayati, the people of West Galela were actually very critical to the condition of their homeland. They were strongly bound by racial unity, along with vigorous historical narratives that set their narrative of origin. Her identity as a Javanese often made her performance constantly doubted by many. She observed such behaviour as a usual phenomenon that conventionally generated among the traditionally developed community, as they tended to be result-oriented and taken every achievement for granted, but overlooked the process. Besides, she's the first woman to ever hold the position, and therefore provoking resenting and sexist comments; despite of her having kinship ties with Neka, one of West Galela's "Founding Fathers", as she stated during our interview:

"That, ladies and gentlemen, is how democracy works here. In West Galela, everyone is allowed to be as critical as they want or can, as long as they have good points or reasoning that support their criticism. My duty here is to make sure that everyone, including me, is getting our job done, so that we could bust their pessimistic and negative perceptions off."

She led nine villages under the administration of her district; Samuda, Soatobaru, Roko, Dokulamo, Kira, Duma, Gotalamo, Makete, and Ngidiho with more than 11,000 people inhabiting the whole district. The majority of the population was within the productive age of 20-40 years old, but mostly were unemployed, self-employed as farmers, or limited to taking care of the household (Kantor Kecamatan Galela Barat, 2019). Not to mention, but West Galela relies heavily of the produce of the land, since they are geographically semi-landlocked. Inayati personally saw this as a correct opportunity for her to encourage the people to be engaged even more to their community, especially women in a world of men making history for themselves.

Thus, we had acknowledge at least two modalities that Inayati had as the actor of such historical occurrence, which are her kinship ties with one of the most influential individuals in the area and her educational background as a agricultural counsellor that gave her substantial advantage in helping the community out with their daily and most basic needs.

At last, there was another modality found within Inayati that we discovered and considered as a more personal, yet intriguing reason why she didn't hesitate on plunge herself in into the Draconian world of regional bureaucracy, which is her signature approach as a woman. She believed that as a woman, her female instinct could provide a more personal and collaborative approach in dealing with various issues, especially when it comes to the act of violence and individual or communal conflicts, as she stated wittily:

"Pardon my language, but men with their "sticks" are always doomed to have nothing more than just a game of sword fight. You see, a so-called relentless fight of masculinity... I'll give in, since you won't budge, say no men ever. *Alhamdulillah* (thank God), He created us in pairs."

Such utterance was based on the context of Hindu's mythology, which is the concept of *Lingga* and *Yoni* that describes the proper compatibility of men and women to construct proper balance. It was based on the personification of the relationship between Shiva and Parvati as the God and Goddess of triumph and exuberance (Adnyana, 2016).

Such reasoning then led Inayati to introduce some breakthrough in the district, such as the encouragement of community bonding within communal activities and subtler approach toward several corporations that had positioned West Galela as their "playground". For example, she introduced the cross-religion gathering (including the clash within *Gereja Masehi Injili Halmahera* (GMIH)), facilitating regular dialogue between the people of West Galela and Tri Usaha Baru Ltd. (Gold Mining Company that has been operating in several exploration area in North Maluku Province), and poly-culture movement, which was deemed unique and could only be practiced in West Galela.

Regional Autonomy and Cultural Domain Arrangements

Syarif Hidayat (2008) explained the concept of regional autonomy within two separate complexity of decentralization concept; political decentralisation perspective and administrative decentralisation perspective. Politically, decentralisation referred to the devolution of power from central to regional government, or the transfer of power, from top to bottom, within a state, offices, or organization (Smith, 1985), which allowed the central government to run exercises on the regional government. Otherwise, administratively, decentralisation put certain emphasis on the transfer of administrative authority where the regional government could run an authoritative rule over their sovereign area, such as planning, decision-making, and organizing. However, this article would elaborate the phenomenon of regional autonomy through the lens of history and culture that allowed us to see beyond political and authoritative matter.

After the establishment of North Maluku as a new province with its own regional administration, in the context of the flourishing development of New Autonomous Area (*Daerah Otonomi Baru/DOB*) at the provincial and district level, there had been a confusion regarding the arrangement in the cultural domain, apart from the new political establishment and administration matter. Such confusion was based on the inability, and impossibility, of any laws to reorganize the current cultural arrangement that has been installed among the people of the whole Maluku in the traditional concept of *Maluku Kie Raha*, an ancient belief that unite four sultanates in Maluku that consists of Ternate, Tidore, Jailolo (Halmahera), and Bacan. While the political domain, embodied in the concept of creating New Autonomous Area, manages spaces and people administratively, the cultural domain manages the more elemental matter of history and culture. It is, then, obvious that the establishment of the new province didn't really consider all aspect divided, especially regarding the existence of shared natural resources, tradition, and customary practices that are still pretty much influential. In the case of the people of West Galela, such condition goes accordingly with Inayati's statement that they are strongly bound by racial unity, based on their exceptionally influential narrative of origin.

In 2014, at the village of Roko, there had been a social commotion that happened due to the newly found gold mines. Roko is the village located at the northwestern tip of West Galela District, within the close proximity to the border between North Halmahera, West Halmahera, and Loloda Utara District. To the east of the village, around the gold mines, there is an area known as *Tanah Rukun*, a traditionally claimed piece of land that is deemed to be owned by the *Kolano* of Loloda. To make it short, several groups claimed that the gold mines were belonged to the Kolano, thus it wouldn't matter if the people of Roko wanted to explore the mines, since the people of Roko consists of 80% Tobaru people who actually came from Loloda (Data Kependudukan Kecamatan Galela Barat, 2019). The root of this issue was the dissection of Loloda, a prominent political entity in the course of history of Maluku, into two different districts and under two different regencies; North Loloda belongs to North Halmahera Regency, while South Loloda belongs to West Halmahera Regency, disrupting the historical and cultural chain (Rahman, 2016).

Other than that, regarding the environmental and health issue, Inayati highlighted the hazardous effect of mercury (Hg) and cyanide (CN) that could risk the lives of many miners. She put her concern toward environmental damage and health issue forward, understanding that there was not much that she could do as the head of the district, since the business permit was issued by the provincial government. Thus, any complaints submitted by the district would be a mere lamentation, if there were no follow-ups from the provincial government. Besides, it turned out that the piece of land was under the jurisdiction of West Halmahera Province.

Further concern from Inayati was when the long-established mining company in West Halmahera, Tri Usaha Baru Ltd., put interest in expanding the scope of its exploration to near Roko. In 2017/18, both province, North and West Halmahera were protesting the company for transporting heavy equipment through Trans Halmahera Utara Road, instead of establishing a road across West Halmahera that could benefit its people, accounted as a part of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). Such complication was considered as the inconceivable side effects of establishing new autonomous province and district.

According to Mustafa Mansur (interviewed in July 4th, 2019), the Appointed Secretary for Loloda's Kolano, the village of Roko was previously belonged to Loloda of West Halmahera, but since the position of the village is too far away from the province's capital, the village was then transferred into the administration of West Galela of North Halmahera. This fact was also intriguing because some people believed that Roko should at least be put under the administration of North Loloda District. The people of Roko went disoriented after the administrative separation, though they were culturally related to the people who lived in the village of Jano,

Loloda of West Halmahera. The issue escalated into a more serious one when some groups of people proposed the formation of community around the mine to ensure the disbursement of any benefits that could be provided by the company under the responsibility of conducting CSR programs, in exchange to the land right given to be further explored, following the existing deals between the people of Kao-Malifut with Nusa Halmahera Minerals Ltd. The proposal was politically and economically correct, but failed to comply with the fact that the land was entitled with the traditional right of Kolano of Loloda.

However, such traditional claim from the Kingdom of Loloda was also considered as premature proposition, since this traditional political entity doesn't belong to the configuration of *Maluku Kie Raha* with Ternate, Tidore, Jailolo, and Bacan. It was said that the Kolano of Loloda didn't fulfil the invitation to the Moti Confederation (*Moti Verbond*) in 1322 (Rahman, 2016). He was late to the meeting, due to the fact that his ship sank near Dufa-dufa, Ternate. As the consequences, Loloda was excluded from the confederation of *Maluku Kie Raha*, and then became forgotten in the course of history for quite a long time. The implication affected the people who lived in the proximity of Loloda, which is located up in the north, facing the open sea as one of the frontier area in the eastern part of the archipelago, up until today. During the rising trends of regional autonomy, Loloda had to be the thanksgiving turkey, carved by both West and North Halmahera. Loloda as a political and cultural entity once again lost the opportunity to establish its own authority and sovereignty.

Dealing with the environmental and infrastructural issues, Inayati proposed the ban on her people to enter the gold mines, due to health consideration, as well as the establishment of trans-district road in West Halmahera to support the activity of the mining company. She pointed out that the usage of North Halmahera trans-district road to transport heavy equipment had inflicted financial loss to every district along the road. Any road damages were going to require closure and restoration, which bothered the on-going and regular activities and overburdened the regional expenditure. Within this framework of thinking, Inayati offered a more grounded awareness in settling down political issues. Indeed, she knew that public might see such approach as feeble movement, but she also realized that her decision was somehow got tacit approval from some groups of people who believed that the issues and conflicts arising were more than just political sweepstakes.

Other than that, Inayati also dealt with claims over agricultural land rights that had long been neglected by its owner, land acquisition for the establishment of another airport in Halmahera Island, aside Kuabang Airport at Kao District, the internal clash in GMIH due to the disagreement between one synod to another, and the appeal of access and infrastructural development in the shape of inter-village asphalt road. Inayati carried out collaborative actions toward these issues by welding support and network under her administration. She was also quite proficient in distributing the line of duty among her personnel.

As an actor within a specific spatial and temporal context of history, Inayati was positioned as the agent with agential power in Giddens' Theory of Structuration (in Spiegel, 2005) that allowed her to make changes of the current structure that she considered constraining her agential role, such as the social structure of the people of West Galela who needed more than just leadership and assertiveness. The structure was constraining enough that it didn't allow the society to develop further. Instead, such constrain in the social structure affected the other life aspects of the people of West Galela, including on how they perceive their cultural and historical identity within the context of new political spaces created through regional autonomy. The structure was not only constraining the agency, but also enabling her to alter it by reconstructing it into a new structure that allowed the agency to fulfil the needs of the people and her responsibility toward the development of the community.

According to Bourdieu (2008), in the concept of habitus, an agency is an individual who is capable of understanding this life as a game with two sets of rules, both written and unwritten, and then make the most out of it by adapting to the current structure or reorganizing it to make a more suitable one that matched his/her structure (consist of individual background, everyday practices, kinship ties, and educational capabilities) and structuring structure (perception and tendency of shaping the present and the future). In the process of reorganizing the structure, the agency needs *capital*, or modality, and the *field*, or the according arena that matched with his/her decent concept of reorganized structure. The more compatible, or convenient, the combination of habitus, capital, and field, the more likely the agency would create recent practice that prevailed in later society. Thus, Inayati acquires such agential ability through the successful combination of three modalities –kinship ties with Arifin Neka, educational background as agricultural consultant, and personal motivation to raise awareness of women empowerment in the frontier area, in West Galela as the arena/field. Eventually, she managed to establish a structure that could correspondingly bring good accounts to her administration.

The Implication of Inayati's Agential Role

In our previous correspondence with Inayati, we had been informed that the Regent of North Halmahera, Frans Manery, had approved the people of Roko's demand of the construction of inter-village road, to ensure village-to-village access between the village of Roko and Dokulamo. She also encouraged the women of West Galela to be more productive by producing *kasbi* (cassava) and banana chips in the means of elevating the value of commodities produced by the fertile soil of West Galela. Thus, according to Lloyd's Methodological Structurism (1993), every structure is a constant reproduction or transformation of institutionalized (existing) structure that rolls as a cyclical process. Inayati, as the human structuring agency, was able to alter the structure to reach the intended outcome of normal social process, such as providing better opportunity and circumstances for the people of West Galela. Fortunately, at the same time, the alteration also generated an unintended outcome of abnormal social process, which was the increase in women participation in local administration, bureaucracy, politics, and economy that should be seen as a good sign of regional empowerment.

In the case of Ahsun Inayati, we observed and contemplated her agential role as a peculiar result of such assertive communication with mild approach to the community. Inayati had been always considered as an outsider to the community, but managed to exhibit progressive actions that manifested as values of integrity in the constantly challenged frontier area.

By entering the political and authoritative domain of West Galela, Inayati had introduced the concept of gender mainstreaming to the public, pointing out that every process of decision-making has to take both men and women into account, in order to conform one's need to another. However, Budianta (2006) pointed out that up until 2004, the quantity of women's participation in politics, especially in the local assemblies, was rather small at around three per cent only from thirty per cent required by the Law No. 12 of 2003 regarding Direct Regional Election. The flourishing trend of decentralization in the end of the 20th century should be seen as an accommodation for women to compete in many levels possible. Decentralization should be treated as a modern and sophisticated phenomenon that generates bigger arena for everyone, including women in a very patriarchal society of various regions in Indonesia (Budianta, 2006), instead of the emergence of cultural exclusivism, nativism, and intolerance. To make it short, women could stand tall in the realm of formal democracy, as the tip of the spear in every platform. In the case of Inayati who administer over an area next to the northern frontier, women's participation in politics

could amplify the sense of Indonesia-ness that increase the eligibility of everyone to have the same opportunity to grow in the newly assembled political space.

However, Inayati is not the very first woman of North Halmahera who entered the commonly men dominated political domain and decided to engage in to the community as she mentioned some notable women of Galela, such as Hajjah Gamar Rauf, the daughter of well known local politician Haji Baha, who had prominent and



extensive time of service at the Regional Legislative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah/DPRD*) of North Halmahera, as one of the Member of B Commission, from 2004 to 2009, from Partai Keadilan. She served in the council during post-conflict period and became one of the peace building agencies that were responsible for inter-religion reconciliation. Also, there is Jubelina Simange, a politician from Partai Demokrat who entered the political arena of North Halmahera in 2009. In comparison to her “predecessor”, Inayati’s role and achievement was less profound and provoking, if we were talking about how serious her position and propagation could impact the whole society. But, it was certain that she had better opportunity in engaging with the community of her district as she reached them out with a rather peculiar approach of an outsider that installed inside into the community through her personal kinship.

Image 3. Hajjah Gamar Rauf, Prominent West Galela’s Politician during the Era of Conflict, Member of the Regional Legislative Council (2004-2009)
(Source: Private Collection)

After all, she believed that becoming the head of West Galela District was one of her checkpoints in her structural career, both as one of the official of the local government and as one of the concerning locals who aimed to create better life opportunities in the frontier area. She urged women of West Galela to have courage in delivering their aspirations and ideas, as well as to join her in the local government level to make difference. One example is Wasrita Lemon, who just got appointed as the Chief of Gotalamo Village, one of the villages under the administration of West Galela District, breaking the all-men formation of the chief of nine villages.

Conclusion

As the Head of the District of West Galela, Ahsun Inayati had played a significant role in the enhancement of regional development through a local-based approach, as well as delivered plenty of encouragement toward women participation in politics and local government, under her administration. She had also become the moving agency, a pioneer for the community, to achieve certain level of advancement, by successfully harnessing all of the modalities she had, such as the educational background as an expert in agricultural management, personally

generated set of skills, endurance, and boldness to carry the duty out, and also an inevitable advantages of having a kinship relation with a dominant political figure of North Halmahera. Each modality had contributed to the progress she made during her administration, though further studies and field research would be needed to reassure of which modality contributes more to the successful role of a woman in the frontier area.

Other than Inayati's agential role, we could also elaborate on how the problems and conflicts in the area should be dealt with, with a rather dichotomized approach. There are at least two domains affecting the stability of the newly established area in the context of Indonesia's regional autonomy that had just started in the early period of *Reformasi*, which are the political and authoritative domain that based on the concept of area division and authority expansion in the shape of a regional representative body, and the sociocultural domain that was established by historical cognition and local indigenoussness. Both domain obviously had certain constrain and couldn't be more fluid and permeable toward each other, since the practice of regional autonomy simply divided the whole area into pieces of land, based on contemporary considerations that didn't comply with the historical and cultural values held by the currently dispersed community, as we could observe in the case of Roko Village of West Galela.

Inayati managed to push her abilities in the area to eventually achieve something bigger than herself. She implemented various policies, carried out numerous negotiations, conducting a rather subtle approach to the community, and executed an influential administration. She especially encouraged other women to empower themselves, to get themselves involved to the modern world where opportunity comes to those who seek.

Recently, there has been an update regarding Inayati's action toward the issues she had been dealing with. The Regent of North Halmahera, Frans Manery, had approved the people of Roko's demand of the construction of inter-village road between the village of Roko and Dokulamo. She also returned to her position as the Agricultural Counsellor and managed to encourage women of West Galela, mostly housewives, to be more productive by producing *kasbi* (cassava) and banana chips to add some economic value to the community. Thus, according to Lloyd's Methodological Structurism (1993), Inayati, as the human structuring agency, was able to alter the structure to reach the intended outcome of social process, which was providing better opportunity and circumstances for the people of West Galela by resolving existing issues gradually. Fortunately, at the same time, the alteration also generated an unintended outcome, which was the increase of women participation in local administration, bureaucracy, politics, and economy that should be seen as a good sign of regional empowerment.

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INDONESIAN BUSINESS WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION AND ASEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

ASEAN, COMMONALITY AND SHARED SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND VALUES

Wahyuni and Agus Setiawan

Department of History, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia
(wahyuni.pbs@gmail.com , agus.setiawan62@ui.ac.id)

Abstract

The purpose of this research is to analyse the strategy of the Indonesian Business Women's Association (IWAPI) as an organization that fights for the economic independence of women entrepreneurs in Indonesia. The AEC concept rolled out in 1997 as an opportunity for IWAPI members to expand product marketing at the regional level. However, the AEC is also a challenge for IWAPI, whose members are mostly women of small and medium scale entrepreneurs. The challenge is due to several obstacles that hamper the progress of women entrepreneurs in Indonesia. Therefore, IWAPI conducted three empowerment programs as a strategy to face the AEC in 2015. These three programs are improving the quality of human resources, expanding marketing networks and facilitating access to capital. This research uses the Lloyd structurism approach in analysing the thoughts that underlie the birth of the three steps of the IWAPI strategy. This research proves that the strategy undertaken by IWAPI was a renewal, transformation that continuously carried out by the IWAPI Chairperson. These three strategies prove IWAPI's commitment to actively develop the economy of the ASEAN region by maintaining the business continuity of women entrepreneurs in Indonesia. The source of this research is written data, such as archives, documents, articles, and other references. This research was also strengthened by oral data which were the result of interviews with the Chairperson and IWAPI's members. This research is expected to enrich studies on the history of women in Indonesia and Southeast Asia, specifically their role in the economic field.

Keywords: *IWAPI, ASEAN, women entrepreneurs, empowerment, sustainable*

Introduction

The ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) is a form of the economic integration of countries in the Southeast Asian region. The idea of establishing the AEC revolved around the holding of the ASEAN Summit in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia on December 1997. The leaders of ASEAN countries agreed on the ASEAN Vision 2020 which focused on the growth of a stable, prosperous and competitive ASEAN region with equitable economic growth and equitable and can reduce poverty and social inequality. The October 2003 summit in Bali, Indonesia resulted in the same decision at the 1997 summit. However, at the Summit in Kuala Lumpur in 2006, a new consensus was resulted which stated that the year of the entry into force of the AEC was advanced from 2020 to 2015.

The implementation of the AEC in 2015 will make the Southeast Asian region economically integrated. The four pillars of blueprint agreed at the 38th ASEAN Economic Ministers Meeting (AEM) in Kuala Lumpur, August 2006, made competition in the ASEAN region increasingly competitive. The four pillars of the AEC are a market and a single production base, a highly competitive economic region, an area with equitable and equitable economic development, and an area integrated with the global economy (Ministry, 2019). With those pillars, all barriers to investment and trade both tariffs and non-tariffs will be removed. Therefore, ASEAN countries were expected to be able to increase economic growth in their countries to achieve prosperity as a result of the free flow of goods, capital, and services among ASEAN countries (Lisbet, 2014, p. 79-80).

The existence of the AEC is an opportunity and challenge for ASEAN countries. Indonesia has the opportunity of competitive advantage in products, natural resources, and human resources. The population of Indonesia, which is half of the total population of ASEAN, is an opportunity for Indonesia to sell its products in a larger market share. But on the contrary, Indonesia will only become a market share of nine other ASEAN member countries if Indonesia is unable to manage its potential. Therefore, the government and business people in Indonesia responded by taking strategic steps, as was also done by the Indonesian Business Women's Association (IWAPI).

IWAPI, which was founded in 1975, is the first organization to accommodate the interests of women entrepreneurs in Indonesia. In 2015, at the age of 40th IWAPI and the start of the AEC, IWAPI had 30 thousand members with details of 2% macro entrepreneurs, 18% medium entrepreneurs and the rest were small businesses. Most members of IWAPI were engaged in the handicraft or creative industries. With the birth of the AEC concept in 1997, IWAPI must think of strategic efforts to face AEC in 2015.

Problem statement, research questions and objectives

The development of the global economy makes IWAPI must continue to innovate in various aspects. How the IWAPI strategy in preparing its members for the AEC in 2015 is the main research problem analyzed in this article. Based on the research problems mentioned above, the research question, the author is divided into two, first is how the idea that underlies the establishment of IWAPI and its development and the second question is how the IWAPI's strategy to face the AEC in 2015 to be able to compete in regional forums. The period of research began in 1997 as the initial idea of the AEC until 2015 as the start of the implementation of the AEC in Southeast Asia.

This research is expected to enrich the study of the history of Indonesian women in the scope of Southeast Asia, especially their efforts in the economic field. This research is also hoped to be an inspiration for young people to contribute to national development in various fields. For economic actors, the results of this study are expected to be useful as a reference for better economic empowerment programs for women entrepreneurs.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This research proves that IWAPI as a non-profit organization has made three strategic efforts to face the AEC in 2015. The three strategic efforts have not been identified by previous research. Ratnasari (2017) examined the efforts made by members of the Bandung branch of IWAPI to face the 2015 MEA with qualitative methods. The effort understudy focused on the use of Instagram social media as a promotional medium that was judged to support informing and persuading potential consumers to be willing to buy the products offered.

Research on IWAPI has also been found in international publications. Leahy (2017) created a research project that analysed obstacles and strategies undertaken by women entrepreneurs in Cambodia, Indonesia and Laos. The study revealed that the obstacles faced by women entrepreneurs from these three countries were as the researcher also found in this research. However, Leahy's research covers the problem of women entrepreneurs in Indonesia in general, not specifically describing the efforts made by IWAPI to meet these challenges.

Research on empowering women entrepreneurs in ASEAN was also carried out by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Devolution or OECD (2017). The OECD focuses its research on efforts to overcome gender disparities that inhibit women entrepreneurs by supporting policies and programs that encourage the progress of women entrepreneurs and their entrepreneurs in ASEAN. The OECD explained one of IWAPI's empowerment programs in the field of Information and Communication Technology (ICT). However, this study also has not fully elaborated on the IWAPI strategy to face the AEC in 2015. Therefore, this research is expected to be a more comprehensive reference.

This research is strengthened by two main concepts, namely the concept of women entrepreneurs and empowerment. The concept of women entrepreneurs expressed by Hendratmi (2018) based on the International Labour Organization (ILO) is a woman who participated in the total activities of entrepreneurship, able to take risks, and able to identify opportunities in their

environments to combine resources in unique ways so as to take advantage of the business they do. Women in entrepreneurial activities are mostly involved in the home business for the production of micro and small enterprises (MSMEs), or formal and informal sectors. These characteristics are found in IWAPI members, women entrepreneurs who at all times must continue to innovate in developing their business.

The second concept is empowerment or in English is called empowerment. Empowerment is a concept that was born in the development of European thought in the 1970s and continues to grow until now. Prijono and Pranarka in their book titled *Empowerment - Concepts, Policies and Implementation* revealed that the basic pattern of the empowerment movement mandates the need for power, and emphasizes alignments with "the powerless". This movement wants all to have the "power" which is the basic capital of the actualization process of existence. Structurally, humans do indeed need to be able to actualize their existence (Prijono, Pranarka, 1996, p. 54). The empowerment movement is carried out by IWAPI through work programs aimed at realizing the independence of women entrepreneurs so they can develop their business and be able to compete in the era of globalization.

Methodology

This research uses a historical method consisting of four steps, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. This research data source uses written sources obtained from IWAPI documents, articles from contemporary newspapers and magazines, books and data from the ASEAN website and the results of previous studies. Verbal sources were obtained from interviews with general chairperson and IWAPI management. The data source is then tested for credibility and interpreted based on facts to determine the meaning of the event or event. The facts are collected and then put together and arranged into scientific and comprehensive writing.

This research uses a structurism approach model, a methodology that sees social structure as a loosely structured unit that allows the historical actors (actions) of these structures to take steps to change the structure of history. The structurism approach places the role of man (*agency*) as a historical factor, although he or she remains bound to their social structure. The *agency* concept is known as individuals or social groups that have the power (power) to reproduce or transform or change the social structure where it is located (Llyod, 1993). This research identifies the figure of IWAPI Chairperson as an agency. With their capacities and abilities, they have taken actions that bring renewal to women entrepreneurs in Indonesia. Llyod stressed that the transformation or change process was first initiated by the agency. The ideas they put forward were able to bring significant changes to the progress of women entrepreneurs in Indonesia, especially IWAPI members.

Results

Analysis and Findings

Ideas for Establishing IWAPI and Its Development

The Indonesian Business Women's Association (IWAPI) was established on 10 February 1975 in Jakarta to coincide with the International Women's Year (IWAPI, 1997). IWAPI was founded in the spirit of a developing Indonesia. The development of the Indonesian economy after 1966 could hardly be compared to Indonesia in previous years. The New Order government was able to engineer an extremely rapid economic recovery, as reflected in sharply falling inflation and rising economic growth. Even in just a little over a decade, Indonesia was hailed as an example of success from Asia. Economists view Indonesia's actions from 1966 to 1968 as the most effective means of controlling inflation in the twentieth century (Hill, 2002, p. 4-5).

The economic recovery carried out by the New Order government was reflected in various statements of government policy. Special emphasis was placed on food production and clothing, encouragement of foreign investment, especially in industry and mining. This government policy has had an impact on impressive sectorial output growth. The average growth rate increased from 1.4%

annually during the first five years of the 60s to 3.8% in the years that followed until 1971, and to 3.7% during the 1971-1977 periods. By 1977 the Indonesian economy had experienced a striking structural change (Booth and McCawley, 1985, p. 4-5).

Indonesia, which was starting the modern industrialization process, needs support from various parties. Entrepreneurs were important business actors in the course of industrialization. Therefore, the government needs to encourage the emergence of new entrepreneurs who could work together in National Development. The existence of IWAPI helped the government task. IWAPI was established to develop the role of Indonesian women as entrepreneurs to be truly able and active to participate in Indonesia's economic development. (Halilintars, 1989, p. 195).

The idea of the establishment of IWAPI was first put forward by two sisters, Kemala Motik and Dewi Motik. They saw the great potential that exists in Indonesian women. Women dominate the trading activities in markets, home industries and even in the fields. Many women entrepreneurs emerged as figures that were instrumental in driving the economy of the surrounding community. The fact was made aware of the sisters' motives that women have a big hand in advancing the nation. However, they realize the potential of Indonesian women entrepreneurs has not been able to develop optimally due to some obstacles. First, entrepreneurial knowledge and insights were still minimal. Secondly, a strong cultural understanding requires women to be at home as housewives. Third, government policies that were less in favor of women entrepreneurs, as in the case of obtaining financing loans to banks (Arman, 2014, p. 77-78). These three factors then led to Kemala Motik and Dewi Motik to establish IWAPI. Kemala and Dewi hope that by uniting women entrepreneurs in an organization, they can have the power to develop their potential by exchanging information and expanding networks.

In the first year, there were 10 members of IWAPI. The second-year grew to 50 people until finally in 1992 it became 15,000 members. Now in 2019, IWAPI members have reached more than 30,000 members spread throughout Indonesia (IWAPI Central Board, 2016). The increase in the number of members was in line with the establishment of IWAPI branches in the province. In 1980, the IWAPI branch developed into 16 Provinces, and then expanded in 1992 to 27 Provincial branches, indicating that IWAPI already exists in all provinces in Indonesia. All provincial branches are under the leadership of the central IWAPI or Central Management Board (DPP) domiciled in the capital, Jakarta. The DPP is chaired by the general chairperson elected by the IWAPI National Working Meeting (Rakernas).

The development of members and branches of IWAPI shows the positive response of the community towards this organization. The existence of IWAPI has changed the concept of Indonesian women entrepreneurs where previously they developed business networks individually, into groups. This change in mind set is due to good communication between them. Besides, the strong character in women also drives these changes. Women are also more easily invited to work together, can be trusted and responsible for their affairs. They are motivated to meet the needs of family life so that they leave the prestige and rise with their abilities. With the character of women who are brave and confident, they are easier to penetrate the market. This fact has encouraged IWAPI to fight for the economic independence of Indonesian women.

IWAPI wants to contribute to the prosperity of the Indonesian people by empowering the women's economy. The position of women as housewives is very important for their families. However, if a woman becomes an entrepreneur, she will not only benefit for her family but also the community. Therefore, IWAPI wants to advance women entrepreneurs. Although in its journey, IWAPI has many challenges and opportunities. One of the global challenges faced by IWAPI is readiness to face the AEC in 2015.

IWAPI Strategy Facing the AEC in 2015

The concept of the AEC was first conceived in 1997 at the ASEAN Summit in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The same concept was declared in October 2003 during the ASEAN Summit in Bali. Businesses respond to the birth of the concept of AEC with various efforts that can improve the competitiveness of their businesses. IWAPI also made this strategic effort. Before the AEC concept emerged, IWAPI had been preparing ASEAN trade liberalization since 1992. President Suharto on

various meetings always advised that small and medium entrepreneurs continue to unite in facing the challenges of the ASEAN free market in the future.

The implementation of the AEC in 2015 puts Indonesia's economy at a crossroads. For entrepreneurs of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs), the presence of AEC can potentially win the domestic product market. However, the AEC will also open up greater and wider opportunities for Indonesian products dominate the ASEAN market. This opportunity can be achieved if Indonesian entrepreneurs can produce high-quality and competitive products. (Ministry of Trade, 2013). IWAPI, which has 90% of the members of small and medium scale entrepreneurs, has prepared three strategies to face the AEC in 2015.

The first IWAPI strategy was to improve the quality of human resources. The goal is that IWAPI members can create good quality products and open insights on export policies and procedures. IWAPI's efforts to improve the quality of women entrepreneurs have been initiated since 1979 by establishing the IWAPI Education Centre. The IWAPI Education Centre was initiated by the first Chairperson of IWAPI, Kemala Motik (1975-1982), to help girls drop out of school, women entrepreneurs who want to improve their careers or housewives who want to increase their family income. The IWAPI Education Centre organizes courses, such as garment, catering, modern beauty, traditional beauty treatments, and gardening ("IWAPI Education", 1980). This course was also complemented by knowledge of financial management, staffing management, taxation, sanitation and marketing, and entrepreneurship.

In 1992, IWAPI completed the construction of a four-story building at the IWAPI Education Centre located on Jalan Kalipasir 38, Cikini, Central Jakarta. With the establishment of the building, the government hopes that IWAPI could more optimally foster small and medium entrepreneurs ("The Government Must", 1992). Female leaders who have succeeded in their fields were included as a teaching team so that course participants could learn a lot from their experiences. The existence of the IWAPI Education Centre has encouraged economic growth and new jobs. Thousands of course participants have graduated from this institution. With this success, IWAPI has also helped the government overcome the negative impact of the population explosion in Indonesia by reducing unemployment.

The existence of the IWAPI Education Centre located in Jakarta was not easy to be accessed by women entrepreneurs in outside Jakarta. Therefore, during the leadership of the IWAPI Chairperson, Suryani S. Motik (1997-2007), innovations began to be carried out so that entrepreneurial knowledge also spread throughout the region. In 1999, IWAPI worked with PEP (The Private Enterprise Participation) sponsored by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Department of Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises and the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KADIN) to create a series of guidebooks for Small and Medium Enterprises Indonesia (MSEs). Topics for the series of publications include *Bookkeeping, Accounting, Financing and Financial Accounting, Business Planning, Marketing, and business networking*. The purpose of the book's publication was to promote the development of MSMEs in Indonesia by enhancing management and technical capacity through knowledge transfer and expertise transfer from Canada. With this handbook, women entrepreneurs can study independently and whoever is elected to the IWAPI management can continue their leadership better.

In 2002, IWAPI and PEP launched a leadership handbook for IWAPI management entitled *Leading with IWAPI*. The book was designed to help women entrepreneurs who become IWAPI administrators to improve leadership skills and encourage self-confidence in IWAPI administrators. Suryani revealed that IWAPI would grow into a strong and professional organization if the board carries out the mandate with full responsibility. She also invited all management to jointly lead collaboratively, realizing shared goals and objectives (IWAPI, 2002). With the same project, in 2004, IWAPI published a book titled *Woman Entrepreneurs Helping Each Other Achieve Success* to support the insight of women entrepreneurs through literacy. The books were distributed in various branches of IWAPI throughout Indonesia and became a guide to entrepreneurship. With this book, Suryani S. Motik hopes that anyone can continue leadership at IWAPI.

Suryani S. Motik also focused on developing IWAPI training as an effort to face the EAC in 2015. In 2003, IWAPI held training in Jakarta with the theme "Public Speaking and How to Write Proposals". This training aims to improve the ability of self-confidence and improve the quality of

self-members of IWAPI. This training continues with the holding of entrepreneurship training where IWAPI members were taught to create a company profile and management of company promotion (IWAPI, 2018, p. 7). From 2003 to 2005, IWAPI collaborated with the European Union (EU) for the project of ceramics, wood handicraft, and silver jewellery. EU provides training, makes exhibitions, and brings experts from outside. EU experts guide IWAPI members on how to design silver, produce good silver, and made crafts from wood. IWAPI members got lessons on how to weave wood because Indonesian wood can be easily broken if taken to a country in four seasons (Imas Shidiq, personal communication, February 17, 2019).

In 2004, IWAPI collaborated again with PEP to conduct training with the theme "Young Women Entrepreneurs in a Gender Perspective". With the same project, IWAPI sent seven members of which six came from the Provincial IWAPI and one came from the central IWAPI to Canada deepened entrepreneurship science for seven years. They received international knowledge briefings, business meetings, meeting with Canadian entrepreneurs, seeing market behavior, and product trends in Canada.

Guiding women was also very helpful in times of crisis, for example, the 1997 monetary crisis and the 2004 tsunami in Aceh. IWAPI guides women to rise from adversity with various coaching programs, such as knitting, arranging flowers, and other hand skills. The handicrafts were marketed to various places, including hotels. They also regain their confidence to rise from adversity and disaster. With the support provided, the people of Aceh responded positively to IWAPI as an organization that provides support for women through training and provides wide opportunities for self-development (Muller, 2006).

In further developments, IWAPI continues to collaborate with various institutions to improve the quality of women entrepreneurs in Indonesia. In 2014, IWAPI collaborated with Microsoft Indonesia to enhance ICT training to increase the efficiency, competition, and growth of their business. The training was held in big cities in Indonesia. The training material focuses on educating and training IWAPI members at Microsoft office 365, introducing the concept of "Clean IT and Cyber Security" and providing technology updates. The training also discussed business-related topics, such as the advantages of using genuine software given the high use of pirated software in Indonesia. IWAPI through a partnership with Microsoft also offers its members to obtain Microsoft laptop and software packages that provide women entrepreneurs access to the web, internet, and e-market. (OECD, 2017).

IWAPI's second strategy for dealing with the AEC is to expand business networks. Business is greatly influenced by the breadth and quality of a network. IWAPI developed a business network of Indonesian women entrepreneurs so that it was connected to all provinces in Indonesia. One effort to expand the marketing of IWAPI member products is to hold trade shows. Trade shows also encourage women's interest to become entrepreneurs. IWAPI Trade Shows are held regularly in various places in Indonesia. Aside from being domestic, IWAPI has also pioneered trade shows abroad since 1980 by following trade missions to France and holding trade shows in Amsterdam in 1982.

IWAPI has also pioneered cooperation with countries in ASEAN at the regional level. Indonesia is one of the founding countries of ASEAN, which is committed to increasing economic growth in the Southeast Asian region. The Indonesian government encourages economic cooperation in the export and import with ASEAN countries. Therefore, IWAPI also supports this commitment. IWAPI's cooperation at the regional level was first formed in November 1981 with women from the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) party. The purpose of the visit as stated by Datin Hajjah Fatimah was to strengthen sisterhood and exchange experiences, especially in the economic field. ("Woman in", 1981). IWAPI's collaboration with Malaysia continues and reciprocates visits. In 1990, it was IWAPI's turn to visit Malaysia. On the contrary, three months after that, a group of Malaysian women entrepreneurs as an invitation to attend the 7th IWAPI National Working Meeting in Surabaya on February 8-9, 1991. The presence of a Malaysian delegation showed a close relationship between Indonesian and Malaysian women entrepreneurs. ("Malaysian women", 1991).

In addition to bilateral cooperation, IWAPI also actively participated in ASEAN regional economic cooperation. Regional level cooperation began in February 1983 where IWAPI participated in the ASEAN Tourism Forum in Manila in collaboration with the Indonesian Embassy in

Manila and the Director-General of Tourism. Indonesian handicrafts brought by IWAPI members succeeded in attracting the interest of the Philippines community. The trade show has opened IWAPI members' business relationships with Philippines entrepreneurs. Another encouraging thing is that Indonesian herbal medicine, which was originally not allowed into the Philippines, finally received approval from Mrs. Marcos to be exported to the Philippines because there were many fans (Kodyat, 1983).

IWAPI's participation in regional forums has had a positive impact on the business progress of its members. For example, an IWAPI member named Zainah who successfully exported bridal clothes and mote-accessories to penetrate the markets of Singapore, Malaysia, Morocco, and Australia ("From Bridal", 1993). Another example of successful IWAPI members is Nur Asmah who has succeeded in expanding its product marketing to Malaysia and Singapore. Asmah products are curtains/doors, and various types of bridal room settings, borders, and others. For this achievement, Asmah was awarded as one of seven accomplished Indonesian women entrepreneurs in 2000 that succeeded in raising the economy of the surrounding community (Oemar, 2000).

The marketing of IWAPI member products in the Southeast Asian market is also carried out through ASEAN forums. Suryani S. Motik expressed happiness when she was able to promote the products of IWAPI members in the ASEAN forum. In the beginning, IWAPI members were very worried and afraid of facing bureaucracy when leaving the country. They generally do not master English. However, Suryani strengthened them to show a friendly attitude. Thus the public can be interested and want to buy their products. Their products include batik, pearls from Lombok, and so on. Some get orders from Brunei Darussalam. Suryani was very proud to see the success of its members. (Suryani S. Motik, personal communication, April 10, 2018).

Facing the AEC 2015, IWAPI was active in bilateral and regional business meetings. On August 7-8, 2003, IWAPI sent an IWAPI delegation to the APEC Women's Leadership Network Meeting in Chiang Mai City, Thailand. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the key to success in strengthening entrepreneurship in the Asia Pacific region with business innovation, capital and financial access for Small and Medium Enterprises and Micro as well as capacity building to overcome obstacles for MSMEs exporters.

On October 9-10, 2003, IWAPI held an Indonesia-Malaysia business meeting in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra. The seminar discussed the condition of women entrepreneurs in Indonesia facing the ASEAN free market. The Indonesian Minister of Women Empowerment, Sri Redjeki Sumaryoto, as the keynote speaker said that in 2003, around 60% of the 30 million micro, small and medium entrepreneurs were women entrepreneurs. They were mostly still constrained in marketing and capital. The Government of Indonesia through the Ministry of Women's Development has been working with Malaysia to open market access so that IWAPI members can open wider business networks. Both parties can take advantage of the ongoing economic growth ("Women's Conditions", 2003). Also in the same year, IWAPI sent a delegation to the International Federation of Women Entrepreneurs (IFWE) at the Annual Global Conference in Yangon City, Myanmar.

IWAPI also supports the realization of efforts to empower women entrepreneurs in the Southeast Asian region. In 2007, ASEAN established the Asean Women Entrepreneurs Network (AWEN) as an initiative to build a network of ASEAN women entrepreneurs. The initiative to establish AWEN was announced by Viet Nam at the 6th ASEAN Committee on Women (ACW) Meeting held on 7-8 November 2007 in Chiang Mai, Thailand. The establishment of AWEN is an activity planned in the ACW Work Plan 2011-2015 and the ASEAN Socio-cultural Community blueprint 2011-2015. AWEN's work plan focuses on digitizing market access and outreach, promoting the sustainability and self-sufficiency of MSMEs, increasing information sharing of ASEAN women and empowering ASEAN women's leadership at the international level (AWEN, 2017). The existence of AWEN opens opportunities for women entrepreneurs in ASEAN to further develop. The Indonesian Minister for Women's Empowerment, Professor Yohana Susana Yambise, appointed IWAPI as a vocal point representing Indonesia at AWEN in 2014. The government appreciated IWAPI for its struggle to realize the independence of women entrepreneurs in Indonesia.

The third strategy of IWAPI in dealing with the AEC is to open access to capital needed by women entrepreneurs. The major challenge faced by women entrepreneurs relating to finance is ownership of property that can be used as collateral. In practice, Indonesian society still gives men

greater rights of ownership as well as succession rights over land and property because they are identified as the heads of their households. Indonesian women, in general, have fewer valuable personal assets than men. Furthermore, husbands have the highest priority in the family to use collateral and are entitled to determine whether their wives can have access to that collateral. This means that women, in general, control less capital compared to men (Widyadari et al., 2006).

A survey conducted by the Academics in 2005 on the access of women entrepreneurs to obtain credit revealed factors that discouraged women from applying for loans to banks. The factors revealed by women entrepreneurs are complicated lending procedures, non-bankable business, personal views, insufficient guarantees, high-interest rates and fears of failure (Widyadari et al., 2006). The problems revealed by the Academic survey have become fundamental problems for women entrepreneurs in Indonesia. When looking at the initial journey of the establishment of IWAPI, the issue of women entrepreneur's access limits to banking became one of the factors driving the birth of IWAPI in 1975.

IWAPI's efforts to overcome financial or capital problems are very varied. IWAPI works closely with the government and banks for easy access to capital. In 1984, IWAPI Chairperson, Dewi Motik (1982-1992) initiated the Indonesian Women's Entrepreneurs Cooperative (KOWAPI) as a solution to the financing difficulties faced by women entrepreneurs. Small entrepreneurs generally need capital that is not too large to rotate their business. However, if they borrow from a bank, they must go through a bureaucracy which is also not simple. Some of them came to Dewi Motik to borrow money as business capital. Gradually Dewi could not longer accommodate the growing demand. From this, Dewi then initiated the idea of establishing KOWAPI as a "bank" for IWAPI members (Dewi Motik, personal communication, February 19, 2019).

In its development, KOWAPI spread throughout Indonesia. President Soeharto gave appreciation and support to the cooperatives that have been run by IWAPI. The President hopes that the IWAPI cooperative movement will be enlarged to develop people's credit. The number of KOWAPI continues to increase from year to year so that the Indonesian Women's Entrepreneurs Cooperative Center (PUSKOWAPI) was established for the provincial level. On June 22, 1998, all KOWAPI and PUSKOWAPI were put together in a Parent Cooperative of Indonesia Women Entrepreneurs or INKOWAPI. (INKOWAPI, 2018).

KOWAPI also works with the government to provide access to capital to women entrepreneurs. In 2006, KOWAPI DKI Jakarta submitted a proposal to the Ministry of Cooperatives and received a PERKASA program worth 100 million rupiahs with an interest of 0.5% per year within 10 years (2006-2016). The loan and interest from the loan was returned to the government through Bank DKI. The funds was channeled back to the target of IWAPI (micro-scale) with an interest in 0.5-2% per year and a magnitude of five hundred thousand to two million rupiahs per person. Similar cooperation was also carried out by the Provincial KOWAPI in synergy with the local government. The positive response of the entrepreneurs to the existence of KOWAPI is reflected in the increase in the number. Now, there are 54 KOWAPI and 21 PUSKOWAPI who have joined INKOWAPI with a membership of around one million people. Loans provided by KOWAPI also varied and continued to increase, around 2 million - 200 million per person (Imas Shidiq, 2019).

IWAPI also continues to fight for the ease of its members to easily obtain loans from banks. IWAPI under the leadership of Suryani S. Motik encouraged the government so that women may have their Taxpayer Identification Number (NPWP), not in their husband's NPWP. The aim is that women entrepreneurs can more easily apply for a loan from a bank, create a Trading Business License and show their business professionals. IWAPI also encourages women entrepreneurs to register their businesses on their behalf. The aim is to legally protect their business. Some cases are found when businesses are registered in the name of their husbands, women find it difficult to claim their businesses in the event of a divorce. The problem is rooted in the perception of the Indonesian nation's culture which considers that the role of women is behind the husband. So, many women say that only helps the husband's business, even though they are more hard-working to advance the business. (Suryani S. Motik, 2018).

IWAPI's efforts to provide banking access also by rolling out the *Credit Circle Micro Program* in 2005 in collaboration with the PEP (The Private Enterprise Participation) Implementation Project and Manulife Care Foundation. The intended credit was in the form of revolving fund credit for 12 provinces. Funds obtained from Manulife. PEP guides in the form of training, opening, and

technical training. The Central Board of Management (DPP) of IWAPI selects participants who would receive the credit. The nature of credit was the joint responsibility given by groups (1 province, 1 group). Each group consists of 5-8 people. The amount of credit obtained by individuals ranges from 5-8 million rupiahs, depending on the type of business and its purpose. The credit period was one and a half years or eighteen months with a loan interest of 10%, where at the end of the loan, the interest drawn is returned to the group as initial capital for the group to rotate funds to members (Imas Shidiq, 2019). With the *Credit Cycle Micro Program*, members of IWAPI micro and small entrepreneurs could have affordable capital access.

Tracing back the three strategies that IWAPI undertook to face the 2015 AEC as outlined above, it appears that IWAPI continues to engage with stakeholders, both government and private, with domestic and foreign agencies. From 2011 to 2015 approaching the implementation of the AEC, IWAPI continued to actively conduct training for members of IWAPI with various workshops. In 2014, the Brunei Darussalam state trade mission came to Indonesia in the Trend Expo 2014 to improve bilateral relations between the two countries. IWAPI was also actively entering into cooperation and MoU with banking and financial agencies. In 2011, IWAPI conducted an MoU with PT. Matahari Putra Prima, PT. Telekomunikasi Tbk, Agel Semesta, Bakrie Mikro Finance Cooperative, PT. Garuda Indonesia, PT. Sriwijaya and PT. State Savings Bank. In 2012, IWAPI also entered into an MoU with PT. National Pension Savings (BTPN), PT. Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI) and other agencies. In 2015, IWAPI became a guest speaker and got awarded at the AWEN event in Viet Nam. (IWAPI, 2018).

Discussion

IWAPI's three strategic efforts to face MEA in 2015 are a form of awareness and concern to advance the fate of women entrepreneurs in Indonesia. IWAPI understands that its members, who are mostly small and medium-sized entrepreneurs, will be left behind if no empowerment efforts are made that can empower them to compete in regional and international forums. The three IWAPI strategies have an impact on improving the quality and business of women entrepreneurs and the existence of IWAPI as a government partner. IWAPI has also represented women's business organizations in regional and international forums.

The three strategic efforts of IWAPI have not been able to completely overcome the various problems faced by women entrepreneurs. IWAPI Chairperson, Dyah Anita Prihapsari (2010-2020) revealed at the 25th IWAPI National Working Meeting in Bali, at the end of November 2014, that IWAPI still faced serious obstacles facing the AEC in 2015. "High bank credit interest is an obstacle for us ", Said Dyah. Therefore, the micro, small and medium business sector is difficult to develop. Other obstacles faced by IWAPI are levies that cause high-cost economies and various other obstacles. Dyah asked President Joko Widodo to immediately make a pro-policy for women entrepreneurs in the MSMEs sector (Rezy, 2014).

Protection policies adopted by export destination countries also make it difficult for Indonesian products to compete with foreign products abroad. Besides, the results of Indonesian products also have weaknesses. One of the disadvantages is packaging. Dyah revealed that in terms of quality, products made in Indonesia were not inferior to other countries. Therefore, IWAPI intensively conducted training that provided insight into how to export products and how a product appears to have high-quality packaging (Murdaningsih, 2015). Facing the AEC in 2015 IWAPI also had to standardize. IWAPI encourages standardization in terms of products (SNI), labour certification, and ISO. Standardization as a joint effort to make a benchmark or measure is a mandatory requirement in free trade. IWAPI found that many small entrepreneurs have not standardized their products. IWAPI's efforts are to continue to educate to meet these standards. With this standardization, Indonesian women entrepreneurs are ready to compete in the AEC 2015.

Various obstacles faced by IWAPI in facing the AEC in 2015 also became a problem faced by other women entrepreneurs in Southeast Asia. IWAPI has tried to present solutions to each of these obstacles. These efforts have shown progress for women entrepreneurs in Indonesia. They show solidarity and care to move forward together. In this regard, IWAPI has changed the perspective of women entrepreneurs to obtain economic equality. The efforts that IWAPI has made can be an inspiration for other growing women's business organizations in Indonesia. However,

AEC offers opportunities in the form of a large market of US \$ 2.6 trillion and more than 622 million people which is very challenging for business people. In 2014, the AEC collectively was the third-largest economy in Asia and the seventh-largest in the world (ASEAN, 2019). Women entrepreneurs in Indonesia and Southeast Asia, in general, must capture the presence of the AEC as a golden opportunity that can improve their business.

Conclusion

The implementation of the AEC 2015 in Southeast Asia is a reality that cannot be avoided by ASEAN member countries. IWAPI as the oldest women's business organization in Indonesia has fought for its members to overcome various barriers to international trade by making three strategic efforts. These efforts are a form of idea transformation developed by the Chairperson of IWAPI. They were agency figures in IWAPI whose thoughts bring renewal to the organization.

The transformation of thoughts from the IWAPI Chairperson can be seen in the development in the areas of coaching, marketing, and capital which are core activities of entrepreneurship. Kemala Motik's idea of establishing the IWAPI Education Centre in 1979 was later developed by Suryani S. Motik with the launch of the entrepreneurial book series which was used as a guide for IWAPI members and administrators throughout Indonesia and ICT-based coaching. Dewi Motik's idea of overcoming the financing problem by establishing KOWAPI as a "bank" of IWAPI in 1984 then developed with other alternative access to capital, such as the *Credit Cycle Micro Program*. IWAPI's collaboration with various international institutions also not only has an impact on network expansion but also results in more intensive guidance.

The three strategic efforts made by IWAPI have had a positive impact on increasing the competitiveness of women entrepreneurs in facing the AEC in 2015. However, they still encounter some obstacles, such as government and banking policies that are not yet pro to small entrepreneurs. However, IWAPI's three strategic efforts have helped women entrepreneurs maintain their business continuity and as a form of IWAPI's commitment to supporting the government to participate in developing the economy in the ASEAN region. For its efforts, the existence of IWAPI is recognized at the regional and international levels. Three years in a row, since 2016-2018, IWAPI won the "Honorary Outstanding Women Award" at the AWEN forum.

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REALITIES OF WOMEN EMPOWERMENT ON NIKE AD: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Elvana Permataswari

Master's Program in Linguistics, Faculty of Humanities, Airlangga University,
Surabaya 60286 Indonesia
(E-mail: elvelvana@gmail.com)

Abstract

The concept of women empowerment in the present situation is a burning issue. In all ages, women have regarded by men as inferior. Although the issue of women empowerment now has gained many attentions in national and international, it needs all people from different backgrounds to come forward to ensure it is reaching its goal: equal rights for women. This research aims to uncover the realities behind the Nike ad video: Dream Crazier related to women empowerment issue. Nike, as a brand for sports which usually dominated by men, recently releases an advertisement video entitled "Dream Crazier" which seems to encourage or empower women to achieve anything they can dream eventhough people discouraged them. This study exposes the realities behind the ad by using Fairclough's three dimensional model of CDA. This study is expected to contribute to knowledge production in South East Asian studies since this ad is advertised in countries all over the world, including South East Asian countries. This ad demonstrates how women in their roles have been depicted into ads to create resonance with current global issues. It is concluded that eventhough the ad seems to empower women to stand equal to men, it still makes women as they are living under the men's shadows and always being compared to men to everything they have achieved.

Keywords: women empowerment, critical discourse analysis, equality, ads, women

Introduction

According to Shettar (2015), "women empowerment refers to increasing the spiritual, political, social, educational, gender or economic strength of individuals and communities of women" (Shettar, 2015, p.13). In this 21st century era, the issues of women empowerment become one of the most crucial issues in the world. Shettar (2015) also added that "Women empowerment involves the building up of a society, a political environment, wherein women can breathe without the fear of oppression, exploitation, apprehension, discrimination and the general feeling of persecution which goes with being a woman in a traditionally male-dominated structure" (Shettar, 2015, p.13). Empowerment of women is, in short, a form in which power, social, gender, and status of women are uplifted equally to men. It is the process of defending women against any kind of violence.

Today, a considerably massive number of women-empowerment-themed advertisements have emerged in media. Starting from mainstream media like TV, radio, and newspaper to online media. Historically, women influence in advertising have been used as marketing strategies, but what once framed as negative by the media has now shifting into women empowerment. In 2019, the Nike: Dream Crazier ad campaign proposed a women-empowering take. Nike as a brand which is used to provide sport products to men has now broaden its wing to also embrace women. Considering these issues, it is important to examine the produced meaning and uncover the ideologies the advertiser carried. What makes women empowerment interesting for media and what ideologies are hidden over women status.

Critical Discourse Analysis is a field of study that uncovers the covert and overt of social, values, and political norms (Amerian & Esmaili, 2014). Fairclough (2001) states that “CDA, as an interdisciplinary method, explores social and political context in order to emancipate ideologies, hegemony, dominance and social powers” (Amerian, M., & Esmaili, F. 2015, p.5). CDA is very suitable to use in this study since it is a multifunctional approach. As Fairclough (2001) says, Critical Discourse Analysis is a discipline which helps uncover socio-political values and norms, in fact, a multi-disciplinary approach which discovers political as well as social contexts in order to unveil ideologies, dominance, social power abuse, and hegemony.

Problem statement, research questions and objectives

By examining Nike as a sport brand for men and women that recently launches the Nike: Dream Crazy ad that is carrying women empowerment issues, this study offers a research question as follow:

1. What are the realities behind the Nike: Dream Crazy ad related to women empowerment issue?

Following the question, the objective of this study would be:

1. To investigate or uncover the realities behind the Nike: Dream Crazy ad related to women empowerment issue.

A limitation of the study is that it focuses on one video advertisement only. Therefore, its results are not generalisable. For this purpose, another study with a larger sample would be required.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Shettar (2015), in his study, reveals that women in India are seen as inferior to men and they never say anything about it, they just accept the way it is, even though the Indian government has already worked something on for the issue. The study underlines that India face some obstacles to achieve women empowerment including: education, employment, and change access in social structure.

Baxter (2015) analyzes six advertisements and divides them into two categories: three ads with women empowerment theme and three targeting men, or we can say the “opposition” ads. In his study, he comes to a conclusion that the companies producing the ads do not genuinely endorse the female-empowering movement but only manipulate consumers to get more sales with their “faux activism”. By underlining the current trend of “ad-her-tising”, he concludes that found that not every brand activism implies authenticity.

Alkan (2016) analyses three different campaign’s video commercials using critical discourse analysis and social semiotic approach. Even though the visual texts of all these three campaign’s video commercials empower women by depicting them as powerful and independent as the campaigns produce the myths of contemporary women as funny, unstoppable, success-oriented, *etc*, the researcher comes to a conclusion that these representations of women are only used to target consumers by encouraging women to buy the products of the companies as a sign of their women power.

Ahmad, M., & Shah, S.K. (2019) investigate gender representation of English language text book given to the five-graders in both public and private schools in Punjab, Pakistan, using the three-dimensional approach of CDA proposed by Fairclough. In his research, he finds that the textbook is gender biased by representing more males than females. He also adds that the textbook has been designed to to maintain domination of male both in implicit and explicit ways and these kinds of affairs could lead to gender discrimination.

Amerian, M. & Esmaili, F (2014) explore the gender representation in an international ELT series such as American Headway Student Textbooks. They use three-dimensional model of CDA proposed by Fairclough in 2001. Through their research, they reveal that the textbook series contain sexism: overt and covert, in which overt means to

discriminate against female explicitly and the covert one exploits women as a tool for advertising to promote selling.

Methodology

The data used for the analysis in this study is one ad from a famous sport brand "Nike". The ad was chosen for analysis because it is the most viewed ad produced by Nike that was published on Youtube this year (2019) with more than ten million views. This company which produces athletic sportswear usually for men is now targeting women. By looking at the brand's new approach in producing women-empowering-themed ad, this study tries to investigate the realities behind Nike: Dream Crazy video ad and utilized a critical discourse analysis approach in attempt to provide dependable results.

Result

Analysis and Findings

The term **women empowerment** according to Shettar (2015), refers to building the educational, spiritual, social, political, economic or gender power of individuals and groups of women. In the video ad campaign, Nike seems to encourage women who are working in the sports field to just do what they do even though they are suppressed and always compared and inferior to men. Nike, on February 2019 published a women-empowering "Dream Crazy" video ad campaign which features Serena Williams as the narrator. The focus of the video is the notion of sports which involve women and all of the moments that are thought to be "crazy" by some people, but noble if seen from the viewpoint of gender equality for both women and men. The Nike video ad campaign includes women who are involved in the world of sports to be noticed as "hysterical", "irrational" and "dramatic". From the depiction of an NBA team coach to a female athlete "winning 23 grand slams, having a baby, and then coming back for more", it empowers women to dare to have big dreams and achievements.

Critical Discourse Analysis has emerged as a part of discourse analysis, as one of the most important fields (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). CDA, according to Van Dijk (1999), is mainly concerned with investigating the ways dominance, social power abuse and inequality are reproduced, resisted and enacted and by talk and text in different political and social. Since, CDA bases on how language as a cultural tool bridges the correlation of power and privilege in social interactions, the researcher use it as a mean to describe, explain, or interpret the realities on the video ad campaign related to women empowerment issues. For the data interpretation, the study employs Fairclough's (2001) three-dimensional model. The three dimensions are three different kinds of constraints i.e. "constraints on contents, relations and subjects" (Fairclough (2001) stresses that these three constraints are "relatively immediate and concrete terms" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 61).

After knowing the theories used in this study, we need to also know about the company, in this case, Nike, and Youtube as the platform in which this ad is uploaded. First of all, Nike is a multinational company based in United States and is engaged in the manufacturing, design, and sales of sportswear. It is a major manufacturer of equipments for sports. Nike's sales targeted both men and women. While Youtube is a video-sharing platform based in and was first launched in February 2005 and now operates under Google's.

The 90 seconds-long Nike: Dream Crazy video ad campaign is designed to bring a positive meaning to the word "crazy" to the audience mainly by displaying the obstacles and double standards faced by female athletes. There are many athletes featured in the video ad campaign including Ibtihaj Muhammad, de Simone Biles, Chloe Kim and members of the U.S. Women's National Soccer Team and Serena William. Below are the text of Williams' Nike voiceover:

"If we show emotion, we're called dramatic. If we want to play against men, we're nuts. And if we dream of equal opportunity, we're delusional. When we stand for something,

we're unhinged. When we're too good, there's something wrong with us. And if we get angry, we're hysterical, irrational, or just being crazy.

But a woman running a marathon was crazy. A woman boxing was crazy. A woman dunking, crazy. Coaching an NBA team, crazy. A woman competing in a hijab; changing her sport; landing a double-cork 1080; or winning 23 grand slams, having a baby, and then coming back for more, crazy, crazy, crazy, and crazy.

So if they want to call you crazy, fine. Show them what crazy can do.”

Discussion

If we see the video ad campaign, the message that the company tries to deliver is about empowering women and believe that they can do anything even though they face many barriers. But by analysing the narrative or the script and also the images from the video ad campaign carefully, the researcher found that in order to make women feel bigger, Nike first brings down the women by calling them “dramatic, delusional, nuts, etc” in which if men do those things, it is considered to be normal. The narrative also oftenly and repetitively mentions the word “crazy, crazy, crazy” to describe that what the women athletes do or dream are impossible to achieve and if they still want to achieve it they have to be miserable and suppressed by men or their surroundings first.

Conclusion

Nike in this ad tries to represent strong women in sports field but narrating the women on the video as victims by repetitively calling them “crazy” because of men. In the Nike: Dream Crazier video ad campaign there is an unequal representation of both genders in the said where men are shown in dominant positions whereas, women have been shown in comparatively inferior positions.

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INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT TO MODERNITY OF WOMEN: THE INFLUENCE OF SOUTH KOREA'S INDUSTRY IN INDONESIA 1960s FOR WOMEN'S MODERNITY IN 2000s

MODERNITY, GLOBALIZATION, AND IDENTITY

Rostineu, M.A. & Dr. Linda Sunarti, M.Hum

Department of History/Faculty of Humanities/Universitas Indonesia
(rostineu0308@gmail.com, sunartilinda70@gmail.com)

Abstract

The change of South Korea's national strategy on industrialization during military regime of Park Chung-Hee (1961-1979) not only signified more active global strategies with developing countries in South East Asia, but also provided large sustainable opportunities for modernity of women, in particularly in Indonesia. This study will examine South Korea's industrialization in Indonesia with focus on its implication for women's modernity in Indonesia. Research on modernity of women in Indonesia is abundant, but does not include a focus on South Korea's industrialization impact on Indonesian women's modernity. It should be noted, during Japanese colonial in Indonesia (1942-1945) broadly regarded that Indonesian women had interacted with modernity. However, South Korea's industry in Indonesia shares different impact, in particular since Korean Wave (*hallyu*) as new industrial strategi of South Korea gives social and cultural influence for Indonesian society. In this paper will examine how South Korea's industrialization in Indonesia is a means of providing an sustainable opportunity for Indonesian women to interact with modernity. However, this paper in particularly will discuss about how was the development of South Korea's industry since 1961 until 2000s in Indonesia, and what are the implication of South Korea's industry for women's roles in Indonesia. Base on historical method of research in the context of modernization, this paper argues that since South Korean industry and companies in Indonesia continue to grow in line with the influence of Korean Wave, Indonesian women workers in South Korean companies occupy better and important role, as well as mediator that directly bridges the development of South Korean companies in Indonesia during 2000s. The data in this study are collected from relevant variety resources such archives, journal, articles. The interview also is conducted so that this paper will attempt to give a contribution for broader scientific discussion about the influence of globalization on industrialization of South Korea in Indonesia for the making of women's modernity in Indonesia society.

Keywords: *South Korea's Industrialization, Indonesia Women's Sustainable modernity.*

Introduction

The modernization paradigm in state diplomatic relations has significantly resulted in various changes in the country's society. In diplomatic relations in the economic field between Indonesia and the Republic of Korea (hereinafter referred to as South Korea), South Korea's industrial activity in Indonesia presents changes especially closely related to the structure of employment opportunities which ultimately leads to the structure of the role of women. Related to the modernization paradigm, there is research that explains that the modernization process essentially changes the values of the community and individuals so that through the process of industrialization has an impact on changing the role of women both in the family and public sphere (Lan, 2015: 1-17). On the other hand said that modernization has encouraged women to be able to take part in the public sector and but to take part in the household sector (Rajab, 2009)¹

Industrialization is part of the modernization process because it is closely related to technological innovation. However, in this article, the industrialization in question is more directed at the development of industries from the ginseng country in Indonesia, which began to bloom in the 1970s which is considered to provide socio-economic changes because it absorbs Indonesian people as workers in South Korean industries / companies. The author sees the development of the South Korean industry in Indonesia not only containing historical significance in the socio-economic perspective, but also cultural phenomena and cultural reactions.

For both countries, Indonesia and South Korea, in the 1950s and 1960s it was a period that was closely related to the concept of modernization. In this period modernization was carried out for a change from an agricultural society to a more developed country, both technologically, socially, politically, and economically. In the study of modernization that emerged from the results of cooperation between the two countries, and along with many researches, the author sees the regulatory process in the industry carried out by South Korea since the 1990s to become a starting point that triggers modernization, especially related with the changing role of women in Indonesia.

Problem statement, research questions and objectives

Whether we realize it or not, modernization is bound to happen, even though modernity is not obvious or even unknown. This paper describes the changing role of women workers in Indonesia in the context of modernity related to the presence of industries and companies from South Korea in the 2000s. The change in the role of women workers in Indonesian society as intended in this paper is focused on a limited scope, namely the Greater Jakarta area (Jakarta / Indonesia's capital, and surrounding areas). The context of modernity in this paper is related to the role and value of women workers in South Korean companies that are located in Jabdetabek. The process of transformation that they experienced was to show their 'identity that was considered more modern' than themselves before interacting with the industrial world of South Korea.

The process of change experienced by women workers who are the object of research in this paper can essentially be said to be a process of modernization. This can be strengthened by the concept of modernization from Huntington (1976) (in Hanum, 2018: 120) which focuses more on individual attitudes and values. Therefore, the modernization process always involves a two-way movement, so it needs to be analyzed how far the impact of the existence of the South Koea industry in Indonesia, especially on the role of women. Building upon the development of South Korea's industries and firms in Indonesia since the 1960s until 2000s, this article illustrates how South Korea's industrialization impact on Indonesian women workers' roles, in particular local (Indonesian) workers in South Korea's companies in the Greater Jakarta area.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The existence of South Korean industries / companies and the development of Korean Wave can be summarized as South Korean industries that were born from the process of globalization ('Koreanization') conducted by South Korea since the post-Korean War (1950-1953). In Indonesia, the influence of the existence and development of South Korean industry shows a change that can be said to be very meaningful because it contains a change in the role of local women workers (Indonesia). Previous research on the South Korean industry in Indonesia gave economic and social color and dynamics to the Indonesian people. As said by (Sormin, 2018) that the presence of the South Korean industry in Indonesia not only contributes to the field of absorption of local labor, but also contributes to the environmental and social problems of the communities where the industry is located.

Related to the South Korean industry, some writings from scholars explain from various perspectives, namely politics, economy, social and culture (Suryani, 2014: 69; Putri, et al., 2019; Pramita, and Harto, 2016; Ardia, 2014; Sari, 2018; Simbar, 2016). Research on the modernization of Indonesian women in connection with the presence of foreign parties has also been carried out, as written by Adhy & Irenewty (2014) which discusses the modernization of Indonesian women in the Dutch colonial period which further emphasizes the influence of the cultural closeness factors of foreign countries. In contrast to the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia, through caricature studies in

magazines and newspapers, proving that the modernization of Indonesian women in the Japanese colonial period was more political, ie women were positioned as political agents by the Japanese colonialists (Sasi, 2015).

From the results of previous studies, it can be understood that in the modernization of women globalization is a major factor that gives a change to the role of local women. Meanwhile, if viewed from aspects that affect the changing role of Indonesian women, it depends on the period / period. Different from previous studies, the modernization of Indonesian women discussed in this article has a different spatial time and place, and in a different perspective, namely a cultural perspective. More clearly, by applying structuration methodology, in this article the author tries to summarize the development of the South Korean industry since it was first present in Indonesia in the late 1960s until the 2000s into the issue of gender roles in the context of modernization. The scope of modernization is quite broad, so that in this paper the author only looks at the role of women (Indonesian) local workers in South Korean industries / companies in Indonesia.

Methodology

For analysis, I use the historical method in particular to explain the change of South Korea's industrial policy within to explain its impact on South Korea's industrial development in Indonesia during the 1960s and 2000s. Methodologically, this article uses structural analysis and concepts of globalization and modernization based on data from historical documents such as South Korea National Archives, literature reviews from books, journals, and interviews Of 12 Indonesian workers who work at South Korea's industry / firm. Based on the research question, I will examine the types of industries and companies from South Korea in Jabodetabeka counted before 1990 to the 2000s to then implicate them with the absorption and empowerment of Indonesian workers in Jabodetabek in 2010 and thereafter. In the last section (section three), I will review as an analysis for the effects of development on South Korea's industries in Jabodetabek for Indonesian employment as well as their roles and summaries and also discuss about how is the implication of South Korea's industry towards Indonesia women worker's role base on analysis. Finally, based on analysis I will explain the findings of the analysis as the conclusion of this paper.

Result

Analysis and Findings

South Korean Industry in the diplomatic relation with Indonesia

Industrial relations between Indonesia and South Korea can be understood as the impact of globalization which was highly developed by South Korea during the reign of Park Chung-Hee (1961-1979). According to Lee (2003: 261) that there are two important factors that encourage the development of industrialization in the context of the influence of globalization, namely: "the contextual factors that effect the national economy and industrial relations on a national level, and the factors of government policies formed in a globalizing context for enhancing the competitiveness of the national economy ". In the case of industrialization in South Korea, these two important factors can be explained by the existence and role of the great Chaebol companies for the development of the national economy during Park Chung-Hee's reign, and Yusin's declaration in 1972 to strengthen the implementation of industrialization with an export orientation. Therefore, strengthened by collection documents from the National Archives of Korea (Kukkagirokwon) it can be understood that in the period of Park Chung-Hee's leadership in South Korea there had been a change in the direction of diplomatic relations not only to the North but extended to countries in the South, including Indonesia.²

Based on reference searches related to recently research on diplomatic relations between Indonesia and South Korea that have been conducted in a few scholars in Indonesia, there is an article with an historical analysis of Redita's (2018) strongly believes that on the journey towards

² Korean National Archives. The Year of 1961. Code: DB0026306; The Year of 1962 Code. DB0026298

establishing diplomatic relations between Indonesia and South Korea, there are the main factor driving the establishment of diplomatic relations with Indonesia. In addition to the two countries being both members of the G-20 and APEC, each country also has the mutual bargaining power needed, namely the natural and human sumers of Indonesia for South Korea, and the source of technology, especially in the field of heavy industry from South Korea to Indonesia

Along with economic development in South Korea that received much attention during the government of Park Chung-Hee (1961-1979), South Korea established many companies and industries in Indonesia. Not a few impacts from the existence of the South Korean industry gave color and economic and social dynamics to the people of Indonesia. As said (Sormin, 2018) that the presence of the South Korean industry in Indonesia not only contributes to the field of absorption of local labor, but also contributes to the environmental and social problems of the communities where the industry is located. According to both countries settled their strategy for development plans, such as making a relationship between government and big business, called by Chaebol for South Korea and the Conglomerate for Indonesia. However, their political economy of development was different which stressed South Korea's export industry to strengthen the country's economy. In this part, I will explain the South Korean industry in Indonesia by identifying its development.

Mosse (2007: 270) explained that development in the "Third World" of the 1950s and 1960s tended to apply modernization by building industrialization. South Korea is no exception, since Park Chung-Hee's government (1961-1979) as president of the Republic of Korea strongly emphasizes export market-oriented industrialization, as well as the fabric of government with the big South Korean businessmen known by Chaebol to jointly conduct international trade (Kim, 2017: 2; Graham, 2003: 18-29; Amsden. AH. : 1989; Jones LR: 1980). In accordance with the vision of South Korea since 1964 which expanded exports (Yoo, 2017; Mah: 2010) , since this time, South Korea expanded economic cooperation with Indonesia. After diplomatic relations between Indonesia and South Korea were formally formed in 1973, various large electronic companies such as Samsung, LG, Hyundai, KIA were present in Indonesia competing with similar companies from other countries. There are also companies in the steel, IT and construction sectors. Previously, precisely in 1968, the NamGang company, Podeco Group, became the first company from South Korea in Indonesia, engaged in timber. In addition to wood, steel and electronics, the manufacturing industry (metal, machinery and electronics, food, chemical and pharmaceutical industries) from South Korea is also present in Indonesia (Ministry of Industry, Broadcast of October 8, 201)

When describing the character of South Korean companies in Indonesia based on periodization, then in the 1960s to 1970s South Korean companies were more oriented towards natural resources, such as timber, crude oil, coal. This is in accordance with the natural resources that are needed by South Korea to develop domestically. Korindo, which was founded in 1969, is the main representation for South Korean companies in Indonesia during this period. This South Korean company was engaged in timber until the 1980s. Since 1993 Korindo began expanding its business into the plantation sector.

From the 1970s to the 1980s, South Korea changed its strategy by providing support to the trade and development industry to take part in Indonesia. However, Indonesia until this period can be said to have not yet received significant benefits from the presence of ginseng companies. South Korean companies that flourished in Indonesia during this period tended not to be included in the group of labor-intensive companies, so the absorption of local labor was not so great. However, in this period the existence of South Korean companies in Indonesia was positively remembered through the memory of the general public about the construction of the Jagorawi Toll Road as the first toll road built by Hyundai Construction in the mid-1970s.

The positive image of the existence of a South Korean company in Indonesia in the 1970s was further widened by the success of South Korean companies in marketing a flavoring product known as Miwon. The presence of PT. Miwon, which was founded in 1973, is a contender for the success of Ajinomoto from Japan. Followed again by the success of the South Korean electronics companies that began coming one by one and is known by the people of Indonesia since the 1990s, such as LG, Yongma, LG, Samsung.

The achievement of democracy in South Korea in 1987 sought not to benefit some South Korean companies because they were unable to compete as labor-intensive and wage-saving industries. This influence brought South Korean companies to labor-intensive Indonesia. The South

Korean investors in Indonesia are generally entrepreneurs with small and medium scale capital. This emphasis on production costs applied by labor-intensive companies from South Korea eventually changed the positive image to negative by some Indonesian people. It was written in a study conducted by Shin Yoon-Hwan (2011) that a poor assessment by Indonesians about a South Korean company was caused by a conflict between implementing a typical South Korean management system in a solid work company and the culture of the local community.

Globalization which has influenced the changes in industrial relations of Korea since the 1990s (Lee, *ibid.* 2003) presents a new social and cultural phenomenon in Indonesia. Along with the development of the Korean Wave which is booming in almost all countries in the world, also in Indonesia is no exception, the presence of companies from South Korea to Indonesia is also increasingly diverse and numerous. In the early 2000s, several companies such as: Dong-Jin Textile Co. Ltd., has contributed to a growing number of local workers absorbed by companies from South Korea which reached around 36,000 people until 2017 (Tempo, 9 Oct 2019). The existence of South Korean companies in Indonesia from other periods has a different character according to the government's strategy, and the conditions of the company's world in South Korea. Further explanation of the dynamics of South Korean companies in the context of the social and cultural phenomena of local communities in the 2000s can be seen from the influence of Korean Wave in Indonesia.

Hallyu and Indonesian people's repond: Some Theoritical and Practical Linkages of Korean Language Competences

Different from the case of South Korean industries and companies in Indonesia that have developed since the relations between the two countries were made in the 1970s, the process of modernization in the field of culture that was globalized by South Korea only took place in the late 1990s. Modern South Korean culture, better known as Korean Wave or Hallyu in Korean, was developed consciously by the people of South Korea consciously and with support from the government (Kim & Jin, 2016). Related to the influence of Korean Wave, some writings from scholars explain from various perspectives, namely political, economic, social and cultural. Many scholars write their views that the Korean Wave became the power of South Korea to obtain economic benefits (Suryani, 2014: 69). Still in an economic perspective, Korean Wave studies relating to its influence in Indonesia show the economic-cultural side (Putri, et al., 2019; Pramita, and Harto, 2016; Ardia, 2014) in the form of the mushrooming of restaurants, cafes, cosmetics businesses, and others that show Korean identity; social-cultural side: in the form of imitation an behavior (Sari, 2018), cultural consumption behavior (Simbar, 2016).

Starting from the development of South Korean industries / companies and the phenomena created by the influence of Korean Wave in Indonesia, in this article the author tries to mix both of these into the issue of women's emancipation in the context of modernization. The reason for using a gender perspective is based on observations and field research conducted by the author to lead to an argument that the influence of Korean Wave in Indonesia containing gender issues needs to be recognized. This can be seen from the response of the Indonesian people to the presence of South Korean industries / companies and the influence of Korean Wave, both in the fields of entertainment, education, and economy.

In the process of globalization in the Korean Wave, of course there is a process of transformation, namely displacement which results in changes at the level of the role of certain conditions in the social system in Indonesian society. For example, when the Korean Wave product (songs, television dramas) began, then came the 'new values' that had not been recognized by the Indonesian people. The question is whether the 'new values' are really 'new products'? To answer that question, the authors begin by first explaining the entry into Korean Wave in Indonesia.

Hallyu, Korean Wave, which emerged since the end of the 20th century and began to develop rapidly in almost all countries in the world, including in Indonesia at the beginning of the 21st century is a form of modernization that is seen by South Korea globally. Many scholars have been doing risets about when was the Korean Wave frist begin? However, the initial periodization of the emergence of Korean Wave is uncertain. Even so, Korean Wave began to enter Indonesia since the screening of a Korean television drama series known as Drakor (Korean Drama), titled Winter

Sonata, in a private television station in Indonesia in 2003. Since then, other drama series have been broadcast by several television stations in a row. other private sector to give an impact on the people of Indonesia in education.

Foreign language education at formal institutions at the university level, especially East Asia, such as: Japan and China, already existed in Indonesia after the Indonesian nation's independence. Especially for teaching Japanese there were more than 50 years ago (Sutedi, 2017). However, Korean language education in Indonesia began in the early 2000s. Precisely it was officially opened in 2006 when the University of Indonesia opened the Korean Language and Culture Study Program for the undergraduate level. This condition shows the attraction of Korean Wave which is getting stronger in Indonesia so that formal education in Korean appears. As the development of formal Korean language education, the influence of Korean culture is felt increasingly wider and greater for the people of Indonesia.

Regarding the establishment of a Korean study program at the University of Indonesia, the author views that it is not just a cultural reaction from Indonesia that received the influence of the Korean Wave boom. Moreover, the establishment of the Korean study program can be seen as a vehicle to modernize Indonesian society. Still in line with this view, Kartodirdjo (1994: 3-4) says that 'modernizing society is important in the role of creative intellectuals ... because intellectuals can lead in cultural activities based on new perspectives and perspectives'. In this case, the intellectual thought that is considered as an agency for the changes that occur in Indonesia in connection with the development and changes in the South Korean industry needs to be known. For that reason, the writer also conducted an interview with Tommy Christomy who was the originator of the idea of establishing a Korean study program at the University of Indonesia to become the first Korean undergraduate study program established in Indonesia.

“... when I was in 2006 was in South Korea. I see South Korea as a country after Japan that inspires us about the rise of the economy and creative industries. Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, is fertile land for the Korean Wave. Now at that time I thought I had to have tools to deal with and respond to them. Chinese and Japanese study programs already exist. But we don't understand South Korea's presence properly. Korean Study Program was built to participate in globalization that was raised by Hallyu Korea”

From an interview with Tommy Christomy, an explanation on the basis of his thoughts which became the idea for the formation of the first Korean study program in Indonesia, it is clear that Korean study programs are the result of the 'creative thinking' of intellectuals who become a vehicle or ladder for the process of modernization at a certain time. On the other hand, creative thinking becomes 'innovation in education and human resource development' (Kartodirdjo, *ibid.* : 9)

Interestingly, the strengthening influence of Korean Wave in Indonesia tends to show a more active response on the part of women, especially adolescent girls and mothers. But this tendency does not mean that the active response of men is meaningless. Facts in the field prove that since the inception of the Korean language study program, Korean has become a strong attraction for women in Indonesia. Not only in formal education, Korean language teaching organized by foreign language courses has also attracted more young women and mothers. This fact proves that the Korean Wave in Indonesia is not only a phenomenon of the entertainment industry, more than that it has created social and cultural phenomena, namely the Korean language being a popular foreign language reference for women in Indonesia.

In connection with the response of Indonesian women to learning Korean, Ratminingsih's research results can be considered as a reason why Korean is more popular with women. Research that looks at the connection of ability factors with foreign language learning (2013: 278) prove that women have higher language competence than men. In his research Ratminingsih emphasized that differences in foreign language competence between women and men were not related to the influence of interactions or personality types. Strengthened by Elliot, et al. (2000), Eckert and McConnel-Ginet (2003) he argues that women's verbal competency skills are better than men are influenced by better female verbal abilities in addition to a more cooperative attitude (Ratminingsih, *ibid.*: 286).

Although Ratminingsih's research discusses English language competence, the results of the study are quite supportive to explain the conditions of mastery of the Korean language in Indonesia

until now. Based on the author's experience teaching Korean since 2009, Korean language competency is higher associated with superior female abilities. In addition, previous research (Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991; Tea, K.S.M. et al. 2009 in Ratminingsih, 2013: 285), that women are superior in acquiring a second language can be another strong supporter to explain the influence of gender on Korean language proficiency in Indonesia.

The field study by the author of Korean study program students at several universities in Java (UI, UNAS, and UPI) provides a new perspective regarding local people's interest in learning Korean. Local people's interest in learning Korean language and South Korean culture is not purely arising as an influence of the presence of Korean cultural symbols in various fields, such as: entertainment (songs, music, television dramas), education (language courses or educational institutions that provide language education Korea), culinary (restaurants, cafes that provide Korean specialties), beauty (cosmetic products from Korea). But some of the results of conscious actions carried out both by the individual concerned, as well as family parties who deliberately choose and support to learn Korean. Only, the selection and independent support to learn Korean is very likely as the influence of the presence of more and more diverse and diverse South Korean companies entering Indonesia since after the 2010s.

Therefore, the authors see that the globalization carried out by South Korea especially to Indonesia begins with the presence of South Korean industries and companies which are still quite limited. Along with the success of South Korea into a developed country in the late 1980s, the modernization of industry in South Korea after the 1990s gave birth to the Korean Wave which pushed more and more South Korean companies in Indonesia. Related to the study of Korea in Indonesia, there is a link with the influence of the internationalization of Korean popular culture (Korean Wave). Although Korean studies in Indonesia are still centered on the island of Java (Jakarta, Depok, Bandung, Yogyakarta), Korean studies and the influence of Korean waves are quite widespread on other islands in Indonesia. Regarding the industrial / corporate exposures and the Korean Wave in Indonesia, it cannot be denied that the influence of the internationalization of the South Korean industry in the 2000s can be focused on the issue of women's emancipation. The question is what parameters can be used to analyze the issue of modernizing women's emancipation in Indonesia? Then the alternative answer that the writer proposes through this article is the role of local workers (Indonesian people) in South Korean industries / companies in Indonesia which are presented through a gender perspective. According to the author, it is time to direct the discussion of the internalization of the South Korean industry (especially the Korean Wave) in the context of modernization by giving examples of facts obtained from certain institutions / business entities / organizations with the viewpoint that these facts contain elements that support sustaining development of a country.

Indonesian Female Workers in South Korean Companies: The Re-born of 'Modern' personality

Studies on the modernization of women in Indonesia have been carried out. During the Dutch colonial period, the closeness of European culture made Indonesian women valued as modern women (Adhy & Irenewty, 2014). In contrast to the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia, through caricature studies in magazines and newspapers, proving that the modernization of Indonesian women in the Japanese colonial period is more political, ie women are positioned as political agents by the Japanese colonial (Sasi, 2015) Since the new era, Indonesian women have increasingly participated in development as laborers. The new order became a dark period for Indonesian women workers as described by the story of a female worker named Marsinah (Qurniasari & Krisnadi, 2014). Unlike in the post-reform era, economic cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea has improved. This condition illustrates a different image in relation to the development of the role of women workers in the industry.

In this section, I analyze actual reality in Korean industries and firms related to employment and Indonesian workers's role. Along with the development of partnership, friendship, and cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea, South Korea's industries in Indonesia have been created in particular economic, social, and cultural phenomena. However, it needs to be emphasized in the social and cultural fields that not purely South Korean industries and companies that have existed in

Indonesia since the 1970s had an impact on that phenomenon. It is precisely the Korean Wave that is driving the strengthening of these socio-cultural phenomena.

It is undeniable that since South Korea has successfully transformed into a reliable industrial country at the world level, there are not a few opportunities for Indonesia, especially in absorbing Indonesian workers. Recently, in the Job Fair event held by the Indonesian Embassy in Seoul with the theme "Introduction to Session to Job Opportunity" on May 17, 2019, South Korea through well-known companies, such as: Lotte Chemical Corporation, Bank of Korea (IBK), OCI (Chemical and Energy Industry), CJ Logistics, LG International etc .; announced the absorption of thousands of skilled workers from Indonesia to be placed in positions such as managerial, middle and high level staff in various fields (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 17 May 2019). Such as chance writers interpreted that the success of South Korea with an "economic miracle" has given rise to companies that are open in recruiting workers, in this case with Indonesia.

In addition, the presence of South Korean industries and companies, as well as the Korean Wave, which is present in almost every aspect of Indonesian people's lives is now an issue that has received considerable attention. the process of internationalization through industry carried out by South Korea is seen from various perspectives. In Indonesia, the influence of the South Korean industry is considered a threat, a 'disturbance' because it is related to the cultural existence of a nation, and its influence more or less shows a negative impact, such as consumptive behavior to psychological problems. On the other hand, the influence of South Korean industry is aligned with the dominance of Western countries, or known as Westernization. In fact, one of the writings states that the position of the Korean Wave which has become a global culture since the beginning of the 21st century has shifted the position of Westernization in Indonesia (Larasati, 2018).

Different from the tendency of the existing views in previous studies, in this article the author tries to see the process of internationalization of the South Korean industry as opportunities as well as challenges, especially for the people of Indonesia. The opportunities and challenges that are intended need to be explained by showing the reality of the experience of Indonesian people who are exposed by the influence of the existence and development of the South Korean industry. Based on a gender perspective (Hanum, 2018: 1-2), from the fact that the author found it can be said that the globalization of the South Korean industry in Indonesia not only contains the issue of gender roles but also gender relations that construct the modernization process in Indonesian society today. If the modernization process is related to the Industrial Revolution 4.0, the authors see that the pessimistic view is particularly from the dimension of the role of women (Yasa, 2018) and empowering women (Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection of The Republic of Indonesia, 2018) it shouldn't be. The view that the Industrial Revolution 4.0 was a formidable challenge to the role and empowerment of women was rooted in the way in which the use of digital, technology, and engineering was a field of science that was much occupied and controlled by men.

Even though the Industrial Revolution 4.0 era, which had just begun recently, language acquisition would be a very important medium for example to be able to function in a physical cyber system (digital, technology, computerization). Especially in the booming South Korean industry in Indonesia, Korean language users have the opportunity to improve their other abilities (for example technology) so that language is no longer just a means of communication, but more than that it becomes an important component that enriches the ability of individuals to think critically, creatively, and even innovative.

The mastery of foreign languages can certainly open up opportunities and opportunities equally for both men and women. However, the fact that the writer found in a survey to a Korean study institute, South Korean companies in Greater Jakarta that the mastery of Korean is dominated by women. To delve further into the benefits of mastering Korean, the authors meet and interview local workers who work in South Korean companies in Greater Jakarta. The survey results show the tendency of the role of Indonesian women workers to present alternative strategies to be considered in the face of the industrial revolution 4.0.

The better mastery of the Korean language by the majority of women workers shows their role in relation to diplomatic relations between Indonesia and South Korea. The most important thing is that they become 'agents' who are able to increase collaboration between Indonesia and South Korea. Other influences from the mastery of Korean language by female workers in South Korean

companies include being able to adapt more quickly to new values and norms as well as being creative.

"When I feel confused with the work that I have to work on, because I can speak Korean, I can communicate directly with the head of the company without intermediaries from my direct supervisor."
(R, female, 28 years old)

By describing worker's ability using Korean language and her relationship with a top leader in workplace, the respondent not only expressed her creativeness and initiative to solve the problem she had, but also compares her ability and position with other workers experience. Such description mostly significant to all respondents I interviewed, and only women workers described similar way. In follow up interview, when I asked the same question why they compared their experience with others? They explained that it is different condition when a worker has ability in using Korean language in workplace because they even no need mediator to communicate a problem they face. It indicates that the ability using Korean language for worker has important value is used as faster solution way.

"I work more in the field, so to communicate with the leadership related to work in the company where I work is very impossible. Usually I only report to my supervisor directly, then after that my supervisor will communicate with the leadership of the company. I only carry out instructions given by my direct supervisor."
(male, 27 year old, worker)

When the same question is asked to man workers, mostly they are answered the same condition due to their roles and positions in the workplace. Male workers who work in South Korean companies generally occupy positions as field workers who deal directly with other workers while working. This position affects the use of Korean which they tend to rarely use when communicating at work. such this situation if I compare with the above conditions of women workers' experiences indicated. That there is a gap between the categories of worker positions and roles in Korean industries / firms and that of Indonesian workers's conditions. First, and foremost, most of male workers represent non-administrative employees, while women workers generally get administrative and service tasks to consumers. This condition describes the mastery of the Korean language constructing a new structure appearing issue to be considered as critic and rejection that women do not bargain as high as men in the face of the Industrial Revolution 4.0.

"The Korean company where I work now counts as a new company that came to Indonesia around 2015. The field of banking. As a new company that came to Indonesia, I worked really from the initial stages of this company coming to Indonesia until now can run a business in Indonesia. So I was involved in all coordination meetings and negotiations between Korean companies and Indonesian companies. I became a translator and interpreter at every meeting and internal meeting of the Korean company because the Korean company wanted to buy Indonesian banks that were no longer working. The Korean people who came from this new Korean banking they could not speak Indonesian, but could speak English even though not all of them speak fluent English. It made me often become a mediator between Korean banks and Indonesian banks while I was still in the acquisition process. Even those from the Korean banking sector that came to Indonesia had no experience with Indonesian life. Indonesian banking people also happen to be unfamiliar with culture, especially Korean. So in addition to interpreters and translators, I am in the position of secretary of Korean banking who will do business in Indonesia."
(D, female, 26 years old)

Respondents underlined their role as prospective workers in Korean banking who would do business in Indonesia. This indicates that the mastery of the Korean language really has a high value so that she has contributed to the expansion of cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea, as well as contributing to the groundbreaking stage of the establishment of a Korean company in Indonesia. He realized the importance of his role in the founding of the company he worked for. he also elaborated his knowledge of Korean culture and cultural values as knowledge that constructed himself as if he were a better and disciplined 'new individual'.

"I feel that the very strict discipline habits in the Korean corporate environment where I work are very influential for me when dealing with Indonesians. So when I made an agreement with Indonesian friends, I like being upset when I have to wait, but I don't mean being angry at them anyway. If the agreement I always try to come early so as not to be late. All of this is possible because all this time I worked at a Korean company, I always had to invest it on time. Because if not, for example, being late for just 5 minutes, I would certainly be sanctioned by the company.

(N, Female, 28 years old)

Respondents almost all said the same thing that the culture of discipline they got was evident from their current work environment, namely the South Korean industry / company. Their recognition seemed to imply that they became a new individual, certainly considered better than their attitude and behavior before working in a Korean company.

In the process of interaction with Korean companies as a result of globalization in the industrial sector, there is certainly a process of transformation, namely displacement that results in changes at the level of the role of certain conditions in the social system in Indonesian society. For example, when the Korean Wave product (songs, television dramas) began, then came the 'new values' that had not been recognized by the Indonesian people. Likewise with the existence of a South Korean company, the company culture and habits in the South Korean corporate environment are absorbed by the local workforce. The question is whether the 'strict discipline' is 'new values' and thus gives birth to 'new individual figures'?

The assumption that they (local workers) become like South Koreans who are so disciplined and hard-working contrasts Indonesian norms that are positioned as backwardness in their everyday life. This view is certainly wrong because basically in the world of work, or the world of education and others, upholding discipline is absolutely necessary. For this reason, due to the influence of the South Korean industry in Indonesia on the role and empowerment of the local workforce, many sides can be considered as positive impacts. Especially when the role and empowerment of the local workforce is related to the mastery of the Korean language which is dominated by female workers, the influence of the internationalization of the South Korean industry in Indonesia shows change from one period to another. In the Korean industry boom period in the 2000s, the changing impact of the South Korean industry in Indonesia showed a shift in the role of women from being mere labor to becoming 'agents' that contributed to the expanding development of the South Korean industry in Indonesia. In the end their role can be seen as a subject that will increasingly attach diplomatic relations between the two nations in the face of the industrial revolution 4.0.

Kong (1990) in Kong (2015) explained that the status of women in developing countries is related to national economic growth. Related to the status of women in the context of modernization can be explained by the quality of their lives. If the quality of life of women changes, their status usually changes. The development of the status of women in the case of the influence of the South Korean industry in Indonesia in this paper is not related to their quality of life. The modernity inherent in Indonesian women workers in this case can be explained by the mastery of the Korean language which is not only a communication tool, but also as an aspect that has changed the position of ordinary workers into important 'agents' who can fill the roles needed in the era industrial revolution 4.0.

Discussion

The growth of South Korea's industry and its changes in terms of nearly to early 2000s has forced and provided new opportunities for many Indonesian women workers and their important roles. Such that fact shows us the change of local women roles become more modern. The change of local women workers' role can be categorized as sustainable development of a country (Indonesia) to face the Revolution of industry 4.0. However, in the beginning period of diplomatic relations between Indonesia and South Korea, local women workers who work in South Korea industries / firms in 2000s show us their modernity through their roles as 'important agents' between the two countries in developing their relations, also as well as their roles in expanding South Korea's industries more varied in Indonesia.

The impact of changes in the South Korean industrial strategy in the 1990s gave birth to prospective local (Indonesian) workers who were more knowledgeable about the progress and development of the South Korean industry. Interestingly, along with the presence of more modern local labor candidates because of their mastery of the Korean language, women workers show their dominance in displaying an important role in South Korean industries / companies in Jabodetabek-Indonesia. The good mastery and use of Korean by most local women workers became a very important element which also changed the status of Indonesian women workers from ordinary employees to 'agents' who contributed to the expansion of South Korean industries / companies in Indonesia in 2015.

This proves that in the development of the South Korean industry in Indonesia, which began in the late 1960s, progressive changes occurred that helped change the role of Indonesian women workers. The change occurred naturally through the presence of Korean studies in educational institutions that were born as a result of the growing development of the South Korean industry in Indonesia since the early 2000s. Finally, the change in the role of local female workers in the development of South Korean industry in Indonesia proves that in the process of modernization in the industrial sector in South Korea in the late 20th century, local workers (Indonesia) have brought closer to the cultural and social knowledge of their home country (South Korea) so that they gave birth more modern women who act as 'agents' in expanding the development of the South Korean industry in Indonesia until now.

Conclusion

This article is the emergence of South Korea's industry in the process of modernization towards women workers of Indonesia in Greater Jakarta 2000s. The growth of South Korea's industry since 1970s and its changes in since late of 1990s in Indonesia provided new opportunities for many Indonesian women's roles. However, in the beginning of the period of diplomatic relations between Indonesia and South Korea, infrastructure development became a significant impact for Indonesian development. It is such an important difference that since the Korean Wave force period, the social-cultural discussion on Indonesian society's behavior has become a significant force and shaped a particular character on women's roles in Korean industries. In particular, through the Korean language which tends to be better mastered by women, has led them to play an important role, which is to be 'sticky' while contributing to expanding economic cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea today.

The impact of globalization on increasing the emancipation of women in the case of the development of South Korea's industry in Indonesia will ultimately also affect the process of reconstruction of the role and empowerment of human resources that tend to show the process of modernization. With the mastery of cultural aspects, namely Korean language, generally they are easier to open up to new things, to feel closer and easier to adopt 'new culture' (Korean culture). However, the recognition of those who consider that they have become 'new individual figures' that are formed is very dependent on the subjective assessment of the individual concerned. Generally they consider the 'positive influence' obtained through interaction with Koreans and their culture as 'new culture'.

In this paper, a transformation process is found that shows the development of the role and empowerment of Indonesian female workers in the South Korean industry, especially in urban cities (Jabodetabek), that is, from the role of ordinary laborers becoming 'agents' that contribute very important to strengthen relations and cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea. This transformation shows that each era has a different industrial character so that changes in the role of local women workers in South Korean companies occur. Most important from the results of this paper is that the changing role of local women workers in South Korean companies is natural. This is evidenced by the birth of the Korean language and culture study program in Indonesia as a result of the growing influence of the South Korean industry since the late 1990s. From the formation of educational institutions it also determines how important the 'mastery of foreign languages' (Korean language) that cannot be ignored in the face of the Industrial Revolution 4.0. The mastery of foreign languages (Korean) whose use is dominated by local female workers, is an illustration of women having alternative space in the language field to be able to play an active role in the Industrial

Revolution 4.0 era. Thus, the mastery of foreign languages becomes an important element to carry out sustainable development of a country.

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TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND THE NEW PATH OF MIGRATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA; A STUDY IN SABAH, MALAYSIA

Nur Widiyanto and Emanuela Agra

Hospitality Department, Ambarukmo Tourism Institute Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Abstract

The establishment of nature conservation projects often bring dilemmas for local communities in Southeast Asia, including in Sabah, Malaysia. On the one hand, the enactment of Kinabalu Park has triggered the dispossession of local people from their customary lands, but on the other, it offers various economic opportunities. Employing ethnographic method, this article explores the transformation of Dusun community living in nearby Kinabalu Park and its connection to the influx of foreign migrants from Indonesia. Besides Mount Kinabalu, agricultural acts as the core of cultural pattern for the people. However, the establishment of Kinabalu Park has offered tourism as the more profitable economic sector for local people. Furthermore, agricultural lands tend to be abandoned, left for the elders and foreign workers from Indonesia. Recently, scores of Indonesian migrant families are inhabiting several villages nearby Kinabalu Park involved growing vegetables. Religious factor and the advance communication technology also play role to this migration pattern. According to the statistic available and direct observation, the majority of Indonesian migrants are predominantly Christians, similar to religion of the host community. With the advent of ICT, these Indonesian migrants living in Sabah ensure that their family ties even though separated by Sulawesi Sea remains unhindered.

Keywords: *tourism, migrant, transformation, Kinabalu Park, agricultural land*

Introduction

In the last few decades, tourism has been placed as one promising economic sector for countries in Southeast Asia. Malaysia also has tried to engage with global tourism market through exploring both its eco and cultural tourism “resources”. According to the Ministry of Tourism, Education and Environment, Sabah in Borneo has been visited by around 3,4 million foreign visitors and earned around MYR. 26 billion in 2016. Tourism development in this country is also strongly connected to the shifting of political agenda since 1987 when the government located tourism as the major economic sector (Hjulmand et al. 2003). Therefore, eco-tourism relied on natural parks, including Kinabalu Park in Sabah is part of the policy to protect natural resources while supporting a stable economic growth from the tourism. Coincidentally, various traditional ceremonies have been long time known as the main attraction for tourists, along with the growing numbers of foreign tourist coming to climb up Mount Kinabalu.

Michel Picard (1990) offers “cultural tourism” to describe the further engagement between culture and tourism development in Southeast Asia. Bali is the example of an advance level of the engagement between culture and tourism, and eco-cultural tourism in Sabah is the new development in the region. In the similar vein, direct and in-direct engagement between local people and its fragile culture with tourism activities are something inevitably, and it may trigger various dynamics. The arrival of modern tourism in Sabah, especially to area nearby Mount Kinabalu is the third great changes toward the KadazanDusun community after the coming of British colonization and joining Malaysia Federation. It has been marked by the number of tourist arrival that drastically increase from 829 in the first year of its enactment as a

national park in 1965 to 434, 903 visitors in 2005, and increased to 715. 927 in the middle of 2012.

Mount Kinabalu is not only the center of the environmental protection and tourism activity, but also the symbol of community pride for Dusun people living nearby. The establishment of the mountain as national park in 1964 and listed as a World Heritage Site since 2000 have significantly brought Mount Kinabalu to be a popular destination, including Bundu Tuhan Village as the main gate for the climbing activity. From the economics point of view, Sabah also receives a significant increase of tourist arrival to Kinabalu Park. Not only regarded as the sacred mountain for local people, it was also used for traditional route to sell agricultural products in the past, before the connected modern transportation established. Usually local people needed almost a week to go there selling banana, rice or vegetables to coastal cities and brought back salt, or fish". However, the basic purpose of the state park is to preserve significant geographical, geological, biological or historical features as a national heritage for the benefit, education and enjoyment of the mankind (Nais, 1996). Thus, the policy favors physical environment and undermine the existence of indigenous communities which have been living in the area for centuries. Furthermore, by not mentioning the specific community living surrounded as the main beneficiaries, it can be viewed as the root of the problem to local people.

However, from the economic point of view, the enactment of Kinabalu Park also brings various economic opportunities for local people, including Dusun people in Bundu Tuhan village. There are two reasons why people from the village get the privilege to access various jobs opportunities from the state park; geographical aspect and historical aspect. The headquarter of Kinabalu Park is located in Bundu Tuhan, including the main climbing gate Timpohon. Moreover, local people also inherit the legacy from Gunting Lagadan as the first local people guiding the Western to climb up the peak of the mountain in the past. Therefore, nowadays, *malim gunung* (mountain guide) from Bundu Tuhan are dominating the numbers of listed guide and porter in Kinabalu Park, various low-level state park's jobs such as driver, gate keeper, including homestay and restaurant nearby. A lot of other economic initiatives connected to tourism also emerge, including by selling vegetables, handy-craft and the newest plan; creating the eco-tourism project in Winokok community forest, outside the Kinabalu Park.

Problem and objectives

Having busy with various tourism-based economic activities in the last few decades, local people have slowly transformed their livelihood system from agricultural to various economic initiatives connected to tourism. It has been resulted in the new worrying development when their agricultural lands then tend to be abandoned. Thus, these left lands are slowly attracting foreign migrant from Indonesia to come and replace local farmers. Currently, hundreds of Indonesian families especially from Tana Toraja and East Nusa Tenggara live in several villages nearby the Kinabalu Park, especially Kundasang, Kinasaraban and Bundu Tuhan for planting vegetables both as workers for their land lord, or rent the land from local people. Understanding the connection between tourism as the new determining factor of hinterland-to hinterland migration from Indonesia to Sabah is the main objective of this study. Thus, this paper is strongly aimed to answer two questions; (1) How does the development of tourism in Kinabalu Park has triggered the cultural change of local Dusun people ? and (2) How does the livelihood transformations of local Dusun people living in the area of Kinabalu Park determine the new path of migration to the area ?

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Fausto Barlocco (2008) emphasizes that the study on KadazanDusun in Sabah dominated by the issues of ethnicity, spirituality, cultural performance and the struggle over

natural resources. Thus, research on tourism and its connection to the impact on local community are rare. KadazanDusun is officially used as the umbrella for the ethnic groups under Dusunic root in Sabah. It is a common understanding that the Kadazans is considered as the Dusunic which have moved to the urban area; meanwhile the Dusuns are living in the hinterland areas, especially near Mount Kinabalu. They are divided into subgroups which are distinguished by their dialect, traditional customary law (*adat*) and other cultural traits (Reid, 1997). KadazanDusun is often excluded away from the study of indigenous groups of Malaysia as reflected on the Endicott's book; *Malaysia's Original People; Past, Present and Future of the 'Orang Asli'*, where the study is dominated for indigenous group in the peninsula (2016). In the Borneo contexts, Boulanger (2002) concludes that in Sarawak, ethnicity is exercised to resist modernity and foreign capital. Meanwhile, Chua (2007) describes the common attitude of Bidayuh in Sarawak; well-known of anti-Muslim and Malay principles as the low-level form of resistance based on cultural-religious identity. Thus, the *Bumiputera* in Sabah and Sarawak can be divided into Muslims and non-Muslims, both are consisted of many sub-groups, each with its own language, custom and sense of identity.

The identity the KadazanDusun has been given attention from various scholars. Kitingan (2012) clearly provides the history, social organization, worldview and the transformation of the group. However, she does not give a lot of attention to tourism as part of it. Meanwhile, religious life of the KadazanDusun and rituals related to "paddy-based culture" and the important harvest festival of Kaamatan have been given attention by many local scholars including Sintang (2013), Mahali and Tamring (2011), Husein (2008), and Low Kok On & Yok Fee (2012). These studies pose that the majority of KadazanDusun have been converted to Christianity or Islam, but most of them still practice rituals from the previous local belief; *Momolianism*. The ancestors of the KadazanDusun practiced a religious belief that is often considered as animistic through believing that every object has a guardian spirit. This is continued by the current generations who also have not totally 'converted' to any of the world religions, including those living in Bundu Tuhan and several villages nearby.

Related to tourism development, the arrival of modern tourism to the area of Mount Kinabalu can be viewed as the third great changes toward the community after encountering Western colonization and joining the Malaysia federation. The mountain which is known as *Gayo Ngaran* for the local communities is also seen as of community pride (Xin et al. 2014; Sung, 2012). After its establishment as national park in 1964 and listed as a World Heritage Site in 2000, the area grows as a popular destination marked by a significant increase of tourist arrival when in 2012 reached a total of 715.927. The increase of tourists' arrival to the villages nearby, could generate benefits and problem as well to the communities neighboring. The temptations of economic benefit from tourism have attracted local government to promote an interesting slogan; *Halatuju*, a master plan to bring tourism as a new strategy by comprising the expansion of appropriate infrastructures, attracting more visitors, exploring new market and to generate employment (Jaafar et al. 2013). This report emphasizes at the economic stand point showing that tourism has given benefits to local community. However, the report does not cover the implication of modern tourism toward cultural identity and religious life of the Dusun people in the area.

Goffman's theory of dramaturgy is the primary tool to analyze the engagement between Dusun people in Mount Kinabalu with tourism development in Sabah. It is completed by "heterotopic tourism" rooted in Foucault (1986) and Lefebvree's (1991) theory on heterotopia. Heterotopic tourism is the effort to develop a form of cultural tourism rooted in particular authenticity aimed at expressing the counter discourse toward the dominant forces. Dramaturgy is rooted in the dualistic performances of self when the individuals are not entirely determined by society by manipulating social situation. However, they are also not totally free to choose the images of self, limited by relationships within the social (1959: 14). The back region is the area where the expression is presented, meanwhile the front region is the arena where the community

'perform' themselves in front of audiences; the government, the majority groups or tourists (1959: 114). The key concept of dramaturgy is control over the back and front stages, therefore through employing heterotopic tourism, Bundu Tuhan Dusun's community can openly and peacefully show that they are not powerless.

Piketty (2014) warns that globalized economic system is always political, and it cannot be reduced to purely economic mechanisms. As a part of this system, global tourism is often located for giving its contribution for the social and economic inequalities. From this point of view culturally Bundu Tuhan Dusun's community have been being victims since the early enactment of national park aimed at servicing the global environmental and tourism. However, from the different perspective, this mainstream discourse has been being challenged by the indigenous insight especially in Asia (Chang, 2015). This post-colonial tourism studies have viewed tourism as the positive landscape for the indigenous communities to strengthen themselves. In this context, heterotopia as an important background for ethnic tourism. Through performing the authentic cultural 'differences', the oppressed group could maintain their existence. In the similar vein, authenticity (Cannell, 2004) is the backbone and the important cultural capital to engage tourism, Moreover, authenticity is the biggest gift searched by visitors, therefore endowed by the authentic culture and the attracting landscape have made Bundu Tuhan for having important sources to produce heterotopic tourism. However, it also brings Dusun people to go deeper and has led them to transform their livelihood orientation from agricultural to tourism. This phenomenon then attracts migrants from the neighboring country to fill the abandoned lands.

Methodology

The spirit of the research is ethnographic study to understand the dynamics within Dusun people in Sabah when engaging tourism (Spradley, 2016). As an ethnographic approach, it is aimed at finding and interpreting various symbols within a social phenomenon through a thick description. Therefore, it needs the intimate association with informants to find and to interpret significant symbols, emotion and understanding and the statement of underlying regularities of human experience. The study was conducted in Sabah, Malaysia, especially especially in Bundu Tuhan and Kundasang Village nearby Kinabalu Park from 2016 to 2018. Primary data were collected through participants' observation and in-depth interview, completed by secondary data from both the written and unwritten ones. I also have participated in the daily life of local people, gathered the perspectives from national park's authority and the tourists visiting the area. I visited Sabah twice in 2016 and spent more than 3 weeks for observing the daily life of the people of Dusun living at Bundu Tuhan, Kundasang and Kiau Nulu village in Ranau District. In 2017 and 2018 I visited Ranau for three times for interviewing dozens of key informants and gathered with several tourism activities and community events, including religious activities in Bundu Tuhan and Kundasang

From sacred mountain to the state park

The story of Mount Kinabalu as one of the central cultural patterns for the Kadazan-Dusun people in Sabah to be a part of modern conservation system can be traced from the era of British colonization. In the early mid of 1800s, several British officers in Sabah were interested in the giant landscape of the mountain, and it was continued by the first ascent to the top of Kinabalu by Sir Hug Low in 1851. Hug was guided by a local people from Bundu Tuhan, Gunting Bin Lagadan. Interestingly, the other version emphasized by Faridah Dambul, one of Lagadan's relatives refused that Low was the first person who successfully reached the peak. However, Gunting Lagadang until today is recognized as the local legend, the pioneer of the mountain guide or *malim gunung* at Kinabalu. He was admitted as the first person who proved that local Bundu people is the real "sons of the sacred mountain". After Hug Low and Lagadan's first ascent to the top, several expeditions were following, mostly for the ecological motives which directly brought the mountain to become known for its biodiversity and uniqueness. Thus, few

decades later, it become the main reason for the enactment of policies to protect the ecology through the Kinabalu National Park policy in 1964; for its richness of environmental resources and later, paving the way for the tourism. However, part of these ecological richness was also previously used by local people to fulfill their daily need; animals, rattan, fire wood and also logs for building houses.

In the early 1960 when Sabah was still under the British administration, the government enacted Mount Kinabalu as the protected area, followed by a monumental scientific expedition in 1961-1963 on the mountain conducted by a team from the Oxford University under the leadership of Prf. E.J.H Corner. This expedition determined the enactment of the area to be the Kinabalu National Park in 1964 by the Malaysia Federation. It was continued in 1984s when Kinabalu National Park was renamed Kinabalu Park to signify its status as a state park (The Parks Enactment, 1984). Nowadays, Kinabalu Park covering around 753.37 sq.km is under the Sabah Park system, that is a statutory body under the Sabah Ministry of Tourism and Environmental Development and administrated through the Sabah Parks Board of Trustees. There are eight state parks in Sabah under the body headed by the Sabah Park Director which are; Tun Mustapha Park, Tungku Abdul Rachman Marine Park, Pulau Tiga Marine Park, Crocker Range Park, Kinabalu Park, Turtle Islands Park, Tawau Hill Park, Tun Sakaran Marine Park and Sipadan Islands Park and each park headed by a Park Warden.

Mount Kinabalu (4095 m) is known for having the highest peak between the Himalayas and Cartenzs Pyramid in West Papua, Indonesia, surrounded by around 45 villages where around 30.000 Dusun people live. It includes around 3600 people living in Bundu Tuhan village. Culturally, people from two villages; Kiau and Bundu Tuhan are admitted as the group having the closest cultural connection to the mountain. They are considered as the people living on the shoulder of the sacred mountain. Before the enactment of the national park people regularly conducted an annual pilgrimage to the summit area of the mountain to give respect to ancestors and also to give their loyalty to the god namely *Minamangun*. Before departing to the mountain, the *monolob* ritual led by the shaman, or *bobolijan* to get a permission from the ancestor's spirit was conducted in the forest area of Tinompon, nearby the climbing gate to the mountain. However, after the enactment of the national park in 1964, the access toward the mountain was neglected. Moreover, if local people wanted to enter the mountain, they should register and pay as applied to the other visitors. Angrily said, during an interview in December 2017, Bundu Tuhan native chief Joseph Sariman emphasized "How could we should pay to enter our own land?. However, having no legal documents to support their claim over the mountain has made their cultural access toward the sacred Kinabalu, home of the ancestor's spirit, officially has been denied, including after the area listed as one of the world heritages by UNESCO in 2000. This is the root of the sorrow of the local people, culturally.

Ton Diets (1996) describes the spirit of national policy represented by the enactment of Kinabalu Park through emphasizing that local people are demanded to support the policy and its goal to protect the environment, but their socio-cultural access is denied. Faqih on Diets's book highlights that national park policy is rooted in the eco fascism spirit, the effort to favor environmental protection, meanwhile local people existence, can be neglected. Furthermore, Faqih also notes two others streams of environmental movements; (a) eco-populism as the anti-thesis of eco-fascism; protecting the environment should be aimed to benefit the people living around/within the area, instead of neglecting their existence both culturally or physically, and (b) eco-develop-mentalism, refers to spirit of the ecological protection aimed at guarantying the sustainability of natural resources as the supply for development project or capitalistic industry (1996: v-x). Thus, Dusun people living nearby Kinabalu Park needs a breakthrough to maintain

their cultural access toward the sacred mountain, and also involve into tourism industry provided for the economic reasons.

The Development of Heterotopic Tourism in Mount Kinabalu

Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran

The establishment of the state park has arrived and accepted as the serious dilemma for Dusun people in Bundu Tuhan. One the one hand it has brought the economic opportunity through offering several jobs, but on the other hand it arrives as the clearest marker for the denial of their cultural access toward the mountain. Moreover, the enactment of national park has also brought the permanent border for the people to continue particular forms of traditional activities such as, cutting bamboo, rattan, log or hunting and gathering food to the forest according to the traditional Dusun practices. In the end of November, 2017, I witnessed one of the most important cultural events for the Dusun people in the Mount Kinabalu area; *Kakapan id Gayo Ngaran* or Return to the Big Name. Gayo Ngaran is the local name of Mount Kinabalu for local people, to express their respect to their sacred mountain. Officially, this event was accepted as the yearly event since 2010 to accommodate the spiritual access of the people toward the mountain. For two days, the Dusun people would be given free access to enter the park area and moreover, conduct a pilgrimage to the summit area of the mountain. Returning from the mountain, the successful pilgrimage climbers would be welcomed with a series of traditional art, dances, sport and culinary festival at Dewan Kinabalu area within the boundary of Kinabalu Park. Before hundreds of pilgrimage climbers coming from various places in Sabah departing to the mountain, the sacred *monolob* ritual lead by a *boboliyan* was conducted at the forest area nearby the Timpohon Gate, the main climbing gate to the mountain to seek safe before climbing.

Picture 1 and 2. The local “pilgrimer” and the *monolob* ritual



The ritual was started by citing “*rinait*”, the sacred Dusun text by the *boboliyan* wearing the black traditional Dusun clothes for almost 20 minutes, continued by slaughtering five chickens one by one, disseminating its blood as the symbol of the effort to ask a permission from the spirit of the forest. After the *boboliyan* gave the last *rinait* citing, the head of Kinabalu Park’s officers, the native chief from Bundu Tuhan and Kiau officially gave the sign for the local climbers start their pilgrimage. Around 400 listed pilgrimage climbers joined for the *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran* 2017 and the majority did not reach the summit. After walking for three to five ours they decided to return back to Timpohon gate. For them, the summit was not the main goal, instead celebrating and having an opportunity to enter their sacred mountains, to re-charge and strengthen their identity as a part of the Dusun community. These people almost everyday witness that “their mountain” visited by domestic and foreign climbers. Therefore, having two days to freely enter the gate during the *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran* the park’s authority is something that too valuable to miss.

These successful climbers stayed overnight at the mountain and will be welcomed at the area nearby the head office of Kinabalu Park in the next day. The second day is the “big day” to welcome the climbers and to celebrate the opportunity given to the people to “going back” to the mountain. In the last few years, the event to welcome the pilgrimage climbers from villages surrounding the mountain has become the regular tourism event namely “*hari komuniti tempatan*”, or the community day within the state’s park. It is also the arena to conduct a party for the community through the festival of traditional games, traditional culinary festival, storytelling about the history of Dusun people and Mount Kinabalu, Dusun singing contest and various traditional dances performances. During these two days, local people would not be charged for MYR. 3.00 to enter the park gate as usual, and the non-local climbers would be only allowed to depart to the mountain after the event has been ended.

The current happiness during *Kakakapan in Gayo Ngaran* cannot be separated from the early struggle done a decade ago, when a group of people from Bundu Tuhan and Kiau have started to re-claim their sacred mountain. Joseph Sariman, the representation of *Kuasa Anak Negeri Bundu Tuhan* emphasize the early struggle in 2010 was started by the community research facilitated by an NGO to identify the “biocultural” resources and traditional knowledge of the community in preserving the environment. It was followed by the official letter from the community to demand the legal access to conduct the ritual namely *Kakakapan in Gayo Ngaran* in Mount Kinabalu. It was accepted in 2010, when the first ritual conducted by local community. Thus, since 2012, the park authority officially has decided that two days in in the early December the mountain will be closed for the visitor, for giving a little time for the local people to conduct *monolob* ritual and make a pilgrimage to the Kinabalu. Moreover, in the last few years, *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran* has been listed as one of the popular cultural tourism events in Kinabalu Park’s calender.

Heterotopic tourism is represented through the effort of strengthening cultural claim over Mount Kinabalu by conducting *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran*. The ritual has been accelerating the re-awakening the spiritual connection with the mountain and revitalizing a deep cultural knowledge of how Mount Kinabalu represents to the people. Thus, conducting *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran* is the strategy to offer an alternative way to deal with homogenization in the term of environmental policy and the dominant role of the world religion: Islam and Christianity. According to Lefebvre, it can be located as the mode of autosuggestion by seeing the state’s policy as a site to struggle. Through reclaiming the mountain for the pilgrimage site, the people have offered three symbolic cultural interpretations over the outsider’s hegemony. *First*, if for the government Mount Kinabalu is the important space for the ecological protection and for its economic role through tourism, local people challenge it by raising the alternative discourse; the mountain is a sacred place from the Dusun’s cosmology. It is the untouchable landscape for “going home” after the people die, the home of the sacred and respected invisible figures. *Secondly*, through *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran*, people has raised the discourse of the utopic figures rooted in *Momolianism* such as Kinoingan and Hominodun, to challenge the other “utopic” figures brought by Christianity and Islam. *Thirdly*, through transforming the ritual to be one of the tourism agendas within Kinabalu Park, it describes the effort to maintain the steady economic access through tourism for the local people, besides intensively engaging climbing activity to the Mount Kinabalu.

Leaving agricultural land to serve visitors

Discussing eco-tourism in Sabah will be closely related to the existence of climbing activity to Mount Kinabalu. Standing as the highest mountain in Southeast Asia, Kinabalu becomes the famous destination for climbers and researchers in the region. I met Afiqah, a local visitor from Selangor in the front of the head office of Kinabalu Park. She interested to explore more about local culture after hearing series myths from her *malim gunung* during her trekking

to the summit. Afiqah also witnessed her guide was seriously citing a prayer using the local Dusun language before entering the summit area of the mountain. Through her guide, she understands that Kinabalu is the sacred and respected landscape for the people. Officially, the main roles of mountain guide are to assist the visitors to reach their aims in the mountains, and secondly to increase the guest's knowledge on the destination visited (Ching, 2009: 83). However, the behavior of local guide represents local worldview to place Mount Kinabalu as both the place to make a living and the sacred place according to their local beliefs, *Momolianism*. Moreover, the area of Akinabalu peak is considered as the stepping stone for the death spirit before leaving to *Libabou*, or the heaven.

Geographically, Bundu Tuhan has a strategic location that brings visitors who want to climb up the mountain will pass the village. The people having a strong root in agricultural, thus the majority of people in Bundu Tuhan are farmers. However, a lot of young men also work as the mountain guide, porter and daily worker at Kinabalu Park, including several restaurants nearby. The number of mountain guide have been significantly increasing from 20 *malim gunung* in 1978 to 171 in 2005, and almost 260 in 2017. Bundu Tuhan has supplied most of the guides and porters for the climbing activity in Bundu Tuhan. In 2017, from 260 *malim gunung* and porter which are legally listed in Kinabalu Park office around 180 are from Bundu Tuhan. The existence of predominantly number of *malim gunung* from Bundu Tuhan is connected to the history of Gunting bin Lagadan, the local legend who became the first officially registered park guide after guiding the British officer to the summit in 1851. Therefore, inspired by Lagadan's, young generation from Bundu Tuhan proudly locate themselves as the real son of the mountain, therefore have the biggest right to work as the *malim gunung*. Moreover, according to the Park Enactment No. 10 of 2002 that regulate all mountain climbers to Mount. Kinabalu should be accompanied by a local mountain guide through the regulation stating the legal proportion is 3: 1, meaning three climbers should be accompanied by one *malim gunung*. It directly gives a lot of new opportunities to the local people especially from Bundu Tuhan and Kiau to involve on the climbing activity.

Living in the hilly area and endowed by important the legacy from Gunting Lagadan, almost all young men in Bundu Tuhan have experienced to be a *malim gunung* or at least porter. After finishing their study at senior high school, local men would go to Timpohon, a climbing gate for working as *malim* or porter. It has been done as the temporary activity while waiting to get another job or continuing their study to the higher level. Roystone Tiam, which is now working as the international relation staff at the head office of Sabah Parks in Kota Kinabalu worked as *malim gunung* for almost 3 years. Having a long and big network to the mountain guide activity in Kinabalu Park has made it is easier for the new generation of Bundu Tuhan to get access for the job. Thus, people from Bundu Tuhan are considered as the first layer, followed by the neighbor village Kiau in the second layer, and the rest are several villages surrounding the mountain. Besides being *malim gunung* or porters, dozens of Bundu Tuhan people also work as the gate keeper, park's office, some restaurants and staff in several lodge along the climbing route to the top of Kinabalu.

Guiding the climbers to the summit of Kinabalu is not only about earning RM 150 for once climbing trip to make a living for family, but it is also the way to prove to that they are the real owner of the mountain. Moreover, it has a cultural purpose; to make regular pilgrimage to the "mecca" of their cultural beliefs, their sacred land, besides merely financial purposes. The mountain itself has long history of external domination neglecting Dusun people from its sacred land. In 1958, it was declared by The British colonial as the nature reserve area, and it was continued by the Malaysian Government by the enactment of Kinabalu National Park in 1964, meaning that the access of local people toward the mountain had been drastically decreased. It explains that becomes the mountain guide is very important to protect their cultural bound with the mountain. Thus, climbing activity is a pilgrimage and job at once. An active *malim gunung* can guide both of local and foreign climber two times in a week, so from the financial perspective

it is a profitable job, compare to be a vegetables farmer. According to Peter Pausai, local young man working at Tahubang Lodge, growing vegetables needs a lot of cost for the land preparation, seeds, growing crops and the un-certain post-harvest vegetables price.

From the cultural point of view, the engagement between local Dusun people in Bundu Tuhan and tourism development, especially through the climbing activity in Kinabalu Park reveals two important things. Firstly, it is aimed to maintain the legacy of legendary Gunting Bin Lagadan as the real sons of the mountain. Furthermore, secondly, it is also guarantying local people to always have the direct access toward the sacred mountain. An active *malim gunung* has the legal access to regularly visit the sacred mountain, different from the common Dusun people who are considered as the common visitor and have an obligation to pay the entrance fee. In this case, climbing activity has provided an opportunity to bridge the need to fulfil the need to maintain the ties with certain cultural identity and, secondly the demand to establish eco-tourism in the area. Therefore, cultural ground has been effectively exercised; when the demand of ecological protection and tourism agendas can effectively be compromised with the need of producing cultural expression.

Departing from the idea of both Foucault and Lefebvre on *heterotopia* as the space to escape and to respond the hegemonic forces, tourism has been taken as the alternative avenue to show the effort of Dusun group in Bundu Tuhan to maintain their cultural identities. Moreover, it is the breakthrough to survive from the hegemonic powers; the Malay (and Islam) politics dominating Dusun groups in the religious and political issue, and the national park that has effectively denied the access of these groups toward their ancestral land. According to the Adam's study on Sherpas community in Nepali Himalaya, authenticity is the very important cultural capital to develop and maintain the identity (Adam, 1996: 40). Thus, in Bundu Tuhan, social and cultural identity are exercised through tourism as the alternative avenue by employing the authenticity rooted in the indigenous religions, to strengthen certain claims over the ancestral land which have been legally taken over the government through the state's park. Contesting cultural authenticity through tourism is a part of the effort to develop new avenue to express resistances with their own ways. Therefore, *heterotopic* tourism rooted in the authenticity plays its important role as the "in between stage" to bridge between the back region, the need to maintain local belief and front region, the involvement to the tourism activity. However, this successful movement through shifting from agricultural to tourism also brings the other consequences; the abandoned agricultural lands, left for the elder and then, foreign migrants from Indonesia.

Crossing the sea to grow vegetables: Indonesian migrants in Ranau

Faridah Dambul is an old Dusun woman who was born in Bundu Tuhan in 1956. She converted to Muslim from *momolianism*-she called it pagan belief in early 1970. Nowadays, she manages a homestay for tourists in Kundasang namely Sunduan Lodge. Having a family house in Bundu Tuhan, Faridah regularly return to Bundu Tuhan to visit the farmland and meet her big family, including Sokuil, the grandson of the local legend: Gunting Lagadan. In the early June 2017, after observing the state level harvest festival, Kaamatan in Penampang, I moved and stayed two nights at Faridah's home stay, before leaving to Bundu Tuhan. I shared a kitchen with a Belgium family from Brussels with two daughters who have spent three days at the lodge. Amazingly, during three days in Faridah's house, I met five Indonesians, three from Tana Toraja, two men are Hendra and Alex, and Nina, a 21 years old woman. The two others are two men from East Nusa Tenggara province, Julius and Agustinus. Nina has worked as a domestic-helpers for two years, and sometimes helps Alex and Hendra to grow vegetables on Faridah's farmland nearby the homestay. Nina decided to move to Ranau after getting divorced with her husband in Toraja, and invited by her cousins Hendra to come. Hendra also sent a lot of pictures through whatsapp describing Kundasang as the alternative promising place to continue her life.

Meanwhile Julius and Agustinus have been living for 5 years in Kundasang, they grow cabbage and tomato after renting a farm land from Faridah's little brother in Kundasang. In the first three years in Sabah, they worked for the land lord to grow vegetables, and at third year the land lord decided to give his land to rent.

In the next day, I was invited to visit the Community Learning Center (CLC) a semi-formal school for the Indonesian children managed by the Indonesian government in Kampung Cinta Mata, Kundasang, Ranau Sub District, and witnessed around 60 Indonesian children in the school. They were children from hundreds of the Indonesian migrant living in especially three villages; Kundasang, Bundu Tuhan and Kinasaraban. Mostly they are from Tana Toraja in South Sulawesi and Flores, East Nusa Tenggara province in Indonesia. These two areas share several similarities to Ranau; situated in the highland and rooted in agricultural, including by cultivating vegetables. The Indonesian predominantly come to Sabah to grow vegetables, as they did in the home country. From the religious issue, the majority of these migrants are Christian, similar to the majority religion in the area. This pattern is different from the biggest numbers of Indonesian migrants living in the coastal areas of Sabah such as Kota Kinabalu, Tawau or Sandakan which are Muslims coming from the coastal areas of Sulawesi in Indonesia. The majority of these "low land" migrants work in various informal sectors; bus/taxi driver, restaurants, industry, domestic helpers and palm oil plantations. Mansur, one of the Indonesian migrants from Majene, West Sulawesi who I met at Tawau Harbor, Sabah explained that the Indonesian migrants both from the coastal of highland would cross the Sulawesi Sea and usually stopped in Nunukan before crossing to Tawau, both illegal or illegally. Then, the "Muslims" migrant scattered to several low land areas such as Lahad Datu, Sandakan, Tawau, Kota Marudu or Kota Kinabalu for several informal jobs, including to the palm oil plantations, meanwhile the Christian from Tana Toraja and Flores directly moved to Ranau to grow vegetables. However, some Muslim families from the coastal areas of Indonesia also join to migrate to the Kinabalu Park area, especially to Kundasang Village that also inhabited by local Muslim community. Mansur who have lived in Tawau for almost ten years emphasized that these migrant paths have existed since the first time he arrived in Tawau.

In the similar vein, Peter Pausai from Bundu Tuhan emphasizes that a great transformation has occurred in the area of Kinabalu Park since two last decades, especially in the term of livelihood system. Having a strong root in agricultural activity through growing paddy and vegetable, things have changed and the declining along with the involvement with tourism sectors connected to the Kinabalu Park. It is also marked by the influx of Indonesian workers, especially those from Toraja and Flores coming to Ranau as workers at *kebun*, the agricultural land, to fill the empty room left by the young generation of Bundu Tuhan who prefer working at tourism sectors; such as to be *malim gunungs*, porters, guides or home stay workers nearby the headquarter of Kinabalu Park. A lot of land owners in Bundu Tuhan take the similar way with Faridah Dambul by developing the mutual partnership with the Indonesian. Faridah has almost one hectare of land in Kundasang and a half hectare more in Bundu Tuhan, and she has been employing three Indonesian workers to cultivate cabbage and potatoes on her land in the last ten years. Faridah emphasizes that besides the fact that local workers are not sufficient anymore, her Indonesian workers are the ones she could rely on both for their skills, affordable payment and their attitude.

Thus, many the other land owners in Bundu Tuhan also prefer to lend their agricultural lands of around MYR 1500 every planting season (around 4 months) to the Indonesian migrants rather than managing the land themselves. The reason is because the significant increase of production cost to grow vegetables involving several fix costs within the agricultural business; buying seeds, paying for workers' salary and buying pesticides. Therefore, conducting agriculture-based business is considered as a dangerous game because when harvesting time, the price of vegetables could be drastically dropped. It was added by the fact that many local people prefer to involve into tourism-based business as mentioned above, such as earning

around MYR 200 to 400 for two days guiding the climbers to Mount Kinabalu or by working at several homestays, hotel or restaurant linked to the Kinabalu Park. Thus, being a *malim gunung* is clearly seen much more profitable rather than facing uncertainty from managing their own land themselves. It then matches with the need of the Indonesian migrant who come to Sabah for earning money relying on their skill and knowledge in growing crops, as the did in their home country.

Picture. 3 & 4 An Indonesian migrant while working and the Indonesian children at CLC



Thus, having paddy as one of the central cultural patterns reflected on the yearly Kaamatan harvest festival, Dusun people in Ranau have been slowly leaving their connection to the land. Leaving their land that in the past was used by their ancestors to grow *padi hutan*; a term for dry paddy cultivation in the mountainous areas nearby Mount Kinabalu, they gave right to cultivate the lands to the people coming from Indonesia who do not have any sense to maintain certain cultural pattern with paddy or Mount Kinabalu. Therefore, only few old farmers in Bundu Tuhan such as Sotoy, Peter's grandmother who go to her own farming land every morning to take care of the vegetables. Meanwhile, the majority of the younger generation will depart to Kinabalu Park or Ranau for working on non-agricultural field. Peter Pausai was smiling when I asked him; "When was the last time you visit your *kebun*?" he then answered, "It might be a year ago, when I should go there to pick up my *nenek* because it was going to rain hard soon". However, for a community that locate paddy and traditional agricultural activity as a central cultural practice, this transformation can be considered as a serious challenge. Having slowly lost paddy as the symbol of authenticity and replaced by the closer relationship to Kinabalu Park for the economic and cultural reasons, the cultural identity of Dusun people especially in Bundu Tuhan is recently symbolized through the pilgrimage to the sacred mountain of Kinabalu.

KadazanDusun community is claimed for its ability to survive within different eras, times and circumstances and nowadays has arrived at the crossroad between traditionalism and modernity (James, 1999). Tourism development in Kinabalu Park is an instrument of globalization coming to undermine various traditional values, symbolized on *Momolianism* and its practices. Tourism has also changed the economic orientation of people in Bundu Tuhan, effectively transformed from land-based activity rooted in paddy as the central pattern, into tourism based economic. It brings the role of tourism becoming bigger and influence the sense of cultural claim toward Mount Kinabalu as it is reflected through the *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran*. Partly claiming the sacred mountain Kinabalu and strengthening the traditional ownership over Winokok community forest while leaving agricultural land have indicated that the community has exercised their Dusunic authenticity to guarantee the access over both cultural identities and a steady livelihood sectors provided by tourism they have today. However, on the other, they could enjoy a steady position to dominate many economic opportunities provided by the increase numbers of visitors coming to Kinabalu Park within last few decades. The success in culturally claiming the mountain trough regularly conducting *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran* can be

considered as the half-hearted revivalism of the *Momolianism*, which is not merely directed by the cultural motives, but also the rational-economic motives to have bigger opportunities in engaging with tourism industry within the park. However, this transformation has paved the way for the development of a new migration path; from hinterland to hinterland marked by the influx of the Indonesian migrant coming to Ranau for growing vegetables on the abandoned fertile agricultural lands.

Conclusion

The encounter between local culture rooted and tourism development in the area of Mount Kinabalu produces several transformations within Dusun people in the nearby villages, including Bundu Tuhan and Kundasang in the term of livelihood orientation. The promising economic role of tourism in providing the economic opportunity has been combined with the need to maintain cultural connection to Mount Kinabalu as the source of cultural identity to produce the *heterotopic* tourism. Realizing that tourism as one key driver for the economic progresses, the effort to strengthen cultural recognition over the ancestral land is conducted without opposing tourism, instead, it is taken through collaborating with tourism. However, the deeper engagement with tourism-based economic sectors has resulted in the abandoned of agricultural lands, and directly attract the influx of foreign migrant especially from Indonesia to replace local farmers in taking care and managing the lands. Thus, the mutual partnership between Dusun people in Kinabalu Park area and the Indonesian migrants especially from Tana Toraja and Flores can be considered as one fruit of the long engagement between local culture and tourism development in the area of Kinabalu Park.

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DENIAL OF THE ROHINGYA GENOCIDE: PROBLEMATIZING DAW AUNG SAN SUU KYI AND THE 'RULE OF LAW' IN POSTCOLONIAL MYANMAR

Wendell Glenn P Cagape, PhD

Centro Escolar University
(wendellglennpcagape@gmail.com)

Abstract

Even as the world condemns it as genocide, the government of the Union of the Republic of Myanmar and democracy icon, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi denied it and refused to accept it as such and mounted a legal defense arguing that what the subsequent response against the attacks as of August 25, 2017 on various police outposts were anchored on the rule of law. This premise is at the center of this paper. What then is the rule of law in Myanmar? What to them was genocide by the standards of the international community? And why do they deny it? These questions are what this paper problematizes. Qualitative in nature, this paper perused pages of transcripts of speeches to find themes, settings and meanings that will be attributed to problematizing Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the rule of law in the postcolonial Myanmar. And her speeches were delivered in public from 2016-2018. In analyzing her speeches, the paper uses Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. The paper concluded that on the part of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, we problematized her actions and silence over the Rohingya genocide. Her military father who remains to be her influence and that her continued claims that her father is the father of Burmese military; Her special relations of the military generals during her incarceration in her house arrest; Her drive/focus on democratic transition as per her electoral promise in 2015; Her context of rule of law is only political dynamics; And on the Rule of Law, the study revealed these: The rule of law remains to be purely political narratives because the generals are not held accountable inside the country using the judiciary; It is subsumed under the ongoing legal reforms in Myanmar.

Keywords: (five keywords) Aung San Suu Kyi, Rohingya, crisis, problematizing, Southeast Asia, Myanmar

Introduction

The present realities

The United Nations Security Council, acting on its report, calls for the prosecution of Myanmar generals for crimes among others, genocide at the International Criminal Court (Mahtani 2018). The Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar bluntly concluded that “The gross human rights violations committed . . . are shocking for their horrifying nature and ubiquity” and “undoubtedly amount to the gravest crimes under international law” says the editorial of The Washington Post (2018).

The Report of the United Nations Independent Fact-finding Mission recommends *in toto* (OHCHR 2018):

- (a) *The international community, through the United Nations, should use all diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means to assist Myanmar in meeting its responsibility to protect its people from genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. It should take collective action in accordance with the United Nations Charter, as necessary;*

- (b) *The Security Council should ensure accountability for crimes under international law committed in Myanmar, preferably by referring the situation to the International Criminal Court or alternatively by creating an ad hoc international criminal tribunal. Further, the Security Council should adopt targeted individual sanctions, including travel bans and asset freezes, against those who appear most responsible for serious crimes under international law. It should also impose an arms embargo on Myanmar;*
- (c) *Until the Security Council acts, the General Assembly, or alternatively the Human Rights Council, should create an independent, impartial mechanism to collect, consolidate, preserve and analyse evidence of violations of international humanitarian law and human rights violations and abuses and to prepare files to facilitate and expedite fair and independent criminal proceedings in national, regional or international courts or tribunals;*
- (d) *The Human Rights Council should continue to support the mandates of the Special Rapporteur on Myanmar and the High Commissioner for Human Rights, and ensure they have adequate resources to maintain a strong focus on the human rights crisis in Myanmar;*
- (e) *The Human Rights Council should specifically request OHCHR to focus on ensuring accountability for human rights violations and abuses in Myanmar, including by enhanced monitoring, documentation, analysis and public reporting on the human rights situation; raising awareness among civil society and other actors engaged in documenting human rights violations about relevant international standards; working with victim communities to raise awareness about justice options; and supporting comprehensive rule of law and security sector reform in Myanmar in line with international human rights norms and standards. Appropriate resources must be allocated;*
- (f) *The Human Rights Council should establish a second fact-finding mission for a limited period to build on the work undertaken by the Mission, until either one of the mechanisms outlined in (b) or (c) are operational, or the reinforced work of OHCHR set out in (e) is in place;*
- (g) *The United Nations should urgently adopt a common strategy to ensure that all engagement with Myanmar takes into account, and addresses, human rights concerns, in line with the Human Rights Up Front Action Plan. This should guide all UN engagement in Myanmar, particularly in relation to Rakhine State, and include policies and public advocacy stances. All United Nations support to Myanmar authorities should undergo a full Human Rights Due Diligence analysis;*
- (h) *As a matter of urgency, there must be a comprehensive, independent inquiry into the United Nation's involvement in Myanmar since 2011, with a view to establishing whether everything possible to prevent or mitigate the unfolding crises was done; identifying lessons learned and good practice; making recommendations as appropriate, including on accountability; and enabling more effective work in future;*
- (i) *The United Nations and international community must ensure that the repatriation of refugees and return of internally displaced persons only occurs when safe, voluntary and dignified, with explicit human rights protections in place, including citizenship. In the current circumstances, returns are not possible;*
- (j) *All Member States should ensure that engagement with Myanmar, and support for aid, development and reform projects, take into account and address human rights concerns, and explicitly conform to the principles of non-discrimination and equality. They should ensure that humanitarian organizations working on Myanmar are appropriately funded. States should cease operational support to the Tatmadaw and other security forces until there is (1) demonstrable commitment to genuine reform, (2) international assistance in implementing reform and (3) acceptance of and cooperation with international mechanisms to hold those responsible accountable for crimes under international law;*
- (k) *Regardless of the imposition of an arms embargo by the Security Council, States should not authorize the transfer of arms to Myanmar, considering the overriding risk that they*

would be used to undermine peace and security and in the commission of serious crimes under international law;

- (l) Relevant regional organizations, including the European Union and ASEAN, should develop strategies to ensure accountability for perpetrators of crimes under international law in Myanmar, including through sustained engagement with Myanmar and support for an international justice mechanism;*
- (m) Member States should exercise jurisdiction to investigate and prosecute alleged perpetrators of serious crimes under international law committed in Myanmar;*
- (n) The United Nations should establish a trust fund for victim support, through which victims can receive psychosocial support, legal aid, livelihood support, and others means of assistance. All trust fund projects should be designed in consultations with victims.*

United Nations Special Rapporteur for Myanmar, Yanghee Lee, in her address to the United Nations Human Rights Council in Geneva, Switzerland in early March 2018 said that “I am becoming more convinced that the crimes committed following 9 October 2016 and 25 August 2017 bear the hallmarks of genocide and call in the strongest terms for accountability,” (Wilkinson 2018). The UN Human Rights Chief Zeid Ra’ad al-Hussein informed the UN Human Rights Council that an “act of genocide” may have taken place in the Rakhine targeting the Rohingya (Nebhay and Lewis 2018). Following this, in July 2018, FortifyRights accused ranking Myanmar military officials of “planned genocide” (Beech 2018).

However, the Myanmar military denied these allegations of genocide against the Rohingya (BBC 2018), and accuses Facebook of undermining them after the social media giant removed pages and accounts after the damning UN report of Rohingya genocide was released (Ellis-Petersen 2018) (Slodkowski 2018) (McLaughlin 2018).

While the Myanmar military denied the Rohingya genocide, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi stayed silent about it (Ellis-Petersen and Hogan 2018). Her critics including the UN Human Rights Chief were calling for her resignation over the Rohingya crisis (Smith 2018) (Baynes 2018).

Following the UN Report on the Rohingya Genocide, Canada also referred to the Rohingya crisis as genocide and accuses Myanmar of committing genocide against the Rohingya people (NYT 2018). The US Government sanctioned the Myanmar military over ethnic cleansing and genocide (Mahtani 2018).

With this backdrop, the Myanmar military establishment as well as Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the State Counselor of Myanmar refused to admit guilt or acknowledge genocide against the Rohingya. They opposed¹ it and evaded accountability as pressures mounting for the United Nations Security Council to discuss it in its meeting and to refer the case of the Rohingya to the International Criminal Court at The Hague.

At the United Nations, the Third Committee aired their deep distressed by the reports of unarmed Rohingya in Rakhine State being subjected to the unlawful use of force by non-State actors and the excessive use of force by the military and security forces, including extrajudicial killings, rape and other forms of sexual violence, arbitrary detention and the unexplained disappearance of Rohingya civilians in Rakhine State, and by reports of large -scale destruction of homes and systematic evictions in northern Rakhine State, including the use of arson and violence (A/C.3/72/L.48 2017).

These are elements of ethnic cleansing and genocide targeting the Rohingya in the northern Rakhine State.

Problem statement, research questions and objectives

Central to the thesis of the study is the stand of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on the issue of the atrocities against the Rohingya since 2017. Her silence is what drives us to ask: Why won't she act?

¹ Letter of the Permanent Representative of Myanmar to the United Nations Security Council dated August 24, 2018 S/2018/596. Letter can be accessed here: https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/S_2018_596.pdf

Specifically, the study looks at the corpus commonly used in her speeches and draw an analysis on what could perhaps explains her silence.

The objective of this study is to problematise certain behaviors of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the concept of the 'rule of law' in Myanmar which has been widely used to reasoned out government's actions against the atrocities on the Rohingya.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

In spite the atrocities against the Rohingya, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi remains non-committal, refused to comment or issue a statement against the military generals for what has happened on August 25, 2017. It was written that as one member of her inner circle put it: "She will never ever be seen to do what Nambiar tells her to do." Nor will she ever concede that the Rohingya Muslims are being subjected to ethnic cleansing, not even when tens of thousands are being burned from their homes amid widespread reports of killing and sexual violence (Keane 2018).

Discourse has been defined as 'a group of ideas or patterned way of thinking which can be identified in textual and verbal communications and can also be located in wider social structures' (Lupton 1992). It is in this manner that speeches become a great source of data because spoken words can be studied to extract meanings that relates to social processes and analyze it in the purview of how language works within power relations. Further, discourse analysis requires a deeply reflexive approach to recognize the rules of formation, and to understand the patterns of power relations, through self-conscious analytical scrutiny (England 1994).

FDA draws its lineage from Critical Discourse Analysis. The CDA is widely used in analyzing speeches of world leaders. CDA provide some approaches to research with the primary aim of uncovering the relationship between language, society, power, ideology, values and opinions (Rahimi and Javad Riasati 2011). In this, discourse played a crucial role in determining the dominant narratives while also acknowledging the marginalized narratives. We better understand this when we go back to the arguments of Michel Foucault in his book *Archaeology of Knowledge*. He quipped that "*I have decided to ignore no form of discontinuity, break, threshold, or limit. I have decided to describe statements in the field of discourse and the relations of which they are capable*" (Foucault 1972). However, in his pursuits to study discourse, he also proposed exclusionary mechanisms which pertains to taboos, rituals and privileges of the speaking subject. These forms of prohibition seem fairly straightforward and Foucault does not spend much time in elaborating them, noting merely that where the (intersecting) grid of prohibition is tightest is in the regions of politics and sexuality (Foucault 1981). So, in studying the speeches of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, we investigate her words under the scalpel of the four hypotheses of Michel Foucault under *Archaeology of Knowledge* and analyze further her exclusionary mechanism since the issue of the Rohingya genocide lands on the lap of political discourse.

Following Foucault, *we must question those ready-made synthesis, those groupings that we normally accept before any examination, those links whose validity is recognized from the outset; we must oust those forms and obscure forces by which we usually link the discourse of one man with that of another; they must be driven out from the darkness in which they reign* (Foucault 1972).

And with the discourse found in her publicly delivered speeches, we take every word and sentences at face value. For in Foucault, he quipped:

"holds that statements are performances which can be taken at face value regardless of both the possible ambiguity of the sentences used in their formulation (such ambiguous sentences are the subject of commentaries on texts) and the causal factors involved in their utterance (such causal factors are studied hermeneutically, for example in the psychoanalysis of everyday life) (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983).

Foucault's theorization of the constitutive and disciplinary properties of discursive practices within socio-political relations of power is a demonstration of the postmodern concern with how language works to not only produce meaning but also particular kinds of objects and subjects upon whom and through which particular relations of power are realized (Luke 1999). It is in this locus that we dissect Aung San Suu Kyi's speeches to find relations between her objects and the subjects

of her narratives, to somehow problematize her position as someone who used to be the darling of the West with a moniker of the “Democracy Icon” of Southeast Asia.

Finally, Foucault said that:

“The quest for the primary designations of language drew out from the silent and innermost heart of words, syllables, and sounds themselves, a dormant representation that formed, as it were, their forgotten soul (which it was necessary to bring back to light, to make speak and sing once more, in order to attain a greater exactitude of thought, a more miraculous power of poetry); in a similar way, for modern thought, the inert density of the unthought is always inhabited in a certain manner by a cogito, and this thought, dormant within what is not thought, must be brought to life again and stretched out in the sovereignty of the ‘I think’” (Foucault 1989)

One crucial presupposition of adequate critical discourse analysis is understanding the nature of social power and dominance. Once we have such an insight, we may begin to formulate ideas about how discourse contributes to their reproduction (van Dijk 1993).

Methodology

This is one of the central theses of this paper. This is why we intend to problematize her actions and her refusal to tackle the issue using the Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA), looking at her speeches delivered at the Nay Pyi Taw and other public fora including the Keynote address on *Development Effectiveness Roundtable*, Speech on the *National Reconciliation and Peace*, Speech on *Democratic Transition in Myanmar: Challenges and the Way Forward*, her Address before His Holiness, Pope Francis in Myanmar as delivered at the Myanmar International Convention Center, her Message on the *Union Peace Conference 21st Century Panglong*, Speech on the *commemorative ceremony of the 50th ASEAN anniversary*, her *Report to the People*, and her Speech at the *71st United Nations General Assembly* in New York.

The study limits only to her public speeches in analyzing meaning using FDA and take only those spoken by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from 2016-2018, respectively. The speeches were sourced from the official website of the State Counselor of Myanmar at www.statecounsellor.gov.mm.

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) evolved from Critical Discourse Analysis as commonly used in analysis of spoken and written speeches of various leaders and their situations. It will be employed to gather meanings from words as spoken by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in her public engagements inside Myanmar and within ASEAN and the United Nations.

We intend to peruse the speeches of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi for relations between discourse, power, dominance, social inequality and positioning. In this paper, we approach these realities by focusing on the role of discourse in the production or challenge of dominance (van Dijk 1993). Dominance, continued van Dijk, is defined as the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality (Ibid pg 250).

Result, Analysis and Findings

The following are the speeches under review in this paper.

Sample 1 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on September 17, 2017 delivered publicly during the National Reconciliation and Peace at Nay Pyi Taw, in Myanmar;

Sample 2 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on September 21, 2016 delivered publicly during the 71st United Nations General Assembly in New York, USA;

Sample 3 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on November 28, 2017 delivered publicly upon the Apostolic Visit of His Holiness Pope Francis to Myanmar, in the Myanmar International Convention Center;

Sample 4 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on August 23, 2018 delivered publicly on the 43rd Singapore Lecture in Singapore;

Sample 5 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on February 26, 2018 delivered publicly at Nay Pyi Taw, in Myanmar on the Development Effectiveness Roundtable;

Sample 6 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on January 27, 2018 delivered publicly at the Union Peace Conference 21st Century Panglong;

Sample 7 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on August 14, 2017 on the Golden Anniversary of the ASEAN at Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar;

Sample 8 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on October 12, 2017 as her Report to the People, at Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar.

In the succeeding table, statistical data are presented per speech samples as generated from the MS Word processor.

Statistical Items	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Sample 4	Sample 5	Sample 6	Sample 7	Sample 8
Pages	6	3	2	5	4	2	2	2
Words	3,654	1,641	923	3,489	1,692	1,413	962	1,136
Characters with no spaces	17,219	8,413	4,417	18,154	9,017	6,962	5,197	5,666
Characters with spaces	20,836	10,033	5,335	21,597	10,673	8,466	6,140	6,868
Paragraphs	45	24	13	50	50	20	19	21
Lines	237	120	68	241	146	92	68	79

Part of the analysis of the speeches is also the statistical attributes that are found in each speech sample. Over the span of 3 years, from 2016-2018, on average, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi speak on at least 3.25 pages of prepared narratives.

For Sample 1, hereunder are the corpora.

Top Words	Number of times found in the speech	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times found in the speech
Peace	22		Bangladesh	4
Development	14		Refugees	4
Rakhine	14		Democracy	3
Myanmar	11		Democratic	3
Muslim/s	10		Rule of Law	3
Conflict	9		Right	3
Stability	7		Clearance Operations	2
			Justice	1
			Armed Groups	1
			Terrorist Groups	1
			Armed clashes	1

The top seven most commonly found words in her speech in the National Reconciliation and Peace refers to mostly the “desirables” she envisions Myanmar shall hereafter will achieve after the exodus of the Rohingya on August 26, 2017 to Cox’s Bazar in Bangladesh. She repeatedly speak of ‘peace’ in a string of words such as in “peace and stability”; and in more strings of words such as in “democratic transition, peace and stability and development”. The same goes for “development” and refusing to call the Rohingya, Rohingya, she mentioned them as “Muslim/Muslims” 11 times in her speech. The same manner that she referred to the northern Rakhine State (nRS) as “Rakhine” to subsume the entire swath of land that includes the Buddhist-majority southern Rakhine State, mindful that the international community, as of 2017, is looking at the atrocities that has happened in the northern Rakhine State in particular.

In this speech, she mentioned “rule of law” only three times. She used it to commit her government “to the restoration of peace, stability and rule of law, throughout the State”. State in this statement, in her discourse refers to the northern Rakhine State (nRS) which she aptly referred to as the “Rakhine”, providing a wrong representation of the state because there were no “clearance

operations” ever undertaken in the “southern Rakhine State”, only in the “northern Rakhine State” where most of the Rohingya population settles.

“Clearance Operations” as a reference to the response of the Myanmar Tatmadaw on the Rohingya population following the August 25, 2017 attacks on thirty police outposts, was mentioned only twice. This, to my analysis, was intentional.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi framed her discourse to shield the Myanmar Tatmadaw and the ranking military officials in her country by narrowly referring in her speech, “clearance operations”, in the same vein as she refused to refer to the Rohingya on their ethnic group’s name but rather as “Muslim or Muslims”.

On sample 2, hereunder are the corpora.

Top Words	Number of times found in the speech	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times found in the speech
Peace	10		National Reconciliation	4
Development	9		Rakhine	3
Myanmar	5		Stability	3
			Migration	3
			Extremism	3
			Corruption	3
			Right	3
			Fear	2
			Hatred	2
			Human rights	1
			Citizenship	1
			Rule of Law	1
			Ignorance	1

This speech is Daw Aung San Su Kyi’s United Nations General Assembly first address after her party’s National League for Democracy won an impressive win in parliamentary elections in 2015.

She repeatedly used ‘peace’ at 10 times, ‘development’ at 9 times and followed by Myanmar at 5 times. in her UNGA speech, it can be inferred that she was appealing to another international audience which listens to her ‘promising democracy’ discourse position over ‘rule of law’, ‘human rights’, and “citizenship” when it pertains to the Rohingya issue.

It is noteworthy to also understand that in this speech, there were no massive atrocities against the Rohingya groups by the Tatmadaw as the unfortunate events would have to happen on October 6, 2016, roughly 18 days after she delivered this address.

Sample 3, hereunder are the corpora.

Top Words	Number of times found in the speech	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times found in the speech
Peace	7		Independence	2
			Myanmar	2
			National Reconciliation	2
			Founded on Laws	1
			Rights	1
			Rakhine	1
			Development	1

This Address was before His Holiness Pope Francis and understandably, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s repeated word is “peace” for seven times throughout her brief speech.

On the other hand, she also used “independence” twice and “Myanmar” twice in her speech. This visit of Pope Francis happened on November 28, 2017, roughly around three months after the exodus of the Rohingya to Bangladesh after clearance operations were implemented by the Tatmadaw. Anticipating perhaps a statement by His Holiness the Pope, echoing international criticism on Myanmar on its handling of the human disaster, she subtly reminded her audience and the officials of the Holy See that indeed, Myanmar is an independent state, which will not be interfered.

“Founded on Laws” which we supposed to refer to “rule of law” was used only once in her address, along with the reference of “Rakhine” uttered only once, “rights” and “development”.

On Sample 4, hereunder are the corpora

Top Words	Number of times found in the speech	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times found in the speech
Myanmar	22		Bangladesh	4
Transition	16		Rule of Law	3
Peace	13		Dictatorship	2
Rakhine	12		Freedom	2
ASEAN	9		National Reconciliation	2
Democracy	7			
Development	6			
Democratic Transition	5			

Her speech before her audience at the Grand Hyatt Singapore is her 43rd Singapore Lecture as sponsored by the ISEAS. Her audience are mostly businesspeople, enterprise leaders, global leaders, government officials and economists.

For this speech, she pitched “Myanmar” for twenty-two times while maintaining “transition” by sixteen times. She also used the word “peace” for thirteen times, ASEAN for nine times, “democracy” for seven times.

Her direct discourse reference on the Tatmadaw and its dictatorship registered only the use of the word “dictatorship” twice while using the word “rule of law” for three times.

On sample 5, hereunder are the corpora.

Top Words	Number of times found in the speech	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times found in the speech
Development	22		Rakhine	4
Myanmar	15		Peace	3
			International community	3
			National Reconciliation	2

This speech is addressed to an audience of businesspeople in Myanmar.

In this speech, she used “development” twenty-two times and “Myanmar” for fifteen times. she was pitching development effectiveness in this roundtable with key industry leaders and businessmen.

She discussed on the issued which has unfolded in “Rakhine” by using the word for four times, batted for “peace” for three times, “international community” for three times and “national reconciliation” for two times.

On sample 6, hereunder are the corpora.

Top Words	Number of times	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times
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	found in the speech			found in the speech
Peace	13		Myanmar	3
People	11		Conflict	3
Union	10		Potential	2
Country	5		Development	1
			Federalism	1
			Nation	1
			National reconciliation	1
			Democratic	1

This speech was delivered by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on the *Union Peace Conference- 21st Century Panglong* attended by representatives of the government, members of Parliament, the Armed Forces, ethnic armed groups, political parties and civil society organizations.

Again, “peace” is repeated 13 times throughout her speech and “people” for eleven times, which refers to majority and minority ethnic groups in Myanmar, with the exception of the Rohingya. “Union” which refers to Myanmar’s republic was used ten times and country, which refers again to Myanmar was used five times.

It is noteworthy to observe too that national reconciliation was only used once so with “democratic”, “federalism”, “nation” and “development”. She however cited “conflict” three times in this speech.

On sample 7, hereunder are the corpora:

Top Words	Number of times found in the speech	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times found in the speech
ASEAN	42		Rule-based	2
Community	9		interest	2
			Development	2
			Diversity	2
			Myanmar	1
			Non-interference	1
			Cooperation	1
			Trust	1
			Dialogue	1

This speech was delivered at Nay Pyi Taw on the golden commemorative ceremony marking the 50th Anniversary of ASEAN.

She appeared to her audience in this speech without much concern on the Rohingya since the latest atrocities done unto them happened a year earlier. This was delivered 11 days prior to the attacks at the police outposts in the northern Rakhine State and more than 11 days prior to the clearing operations done by the Tatmadaw against the Rohingya.

“ASEAN” was used forty-two times and community was used nine times. She was affectionately referring to the historic past of the ASEAN as a community and placed her narratives of its future as a close-knit community of nations.

Subtly again, she mentioned “non-interference”, “trust”, dialogue” and “cooperation” once while “rule-based” which is related to “rule of law” argument was used twice.

On sample 8, hereunder are the corpora:

Top Words	Number of times found in the speech	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times found in the speech
People	11		Peace	4
Rakhine	7		Resettlement	4
Development	5		Unity	3

Bangladesh	5		Rehabilitation	2
			Repatriation	1
			International community	1

This speech by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was delivered as her Report to the People months after the exodus of the Rohingya towards Bangladesh.

She used the word “people” eleven times and mentioned “Rakhine” seven times while “development” was used five times along with “Bangladesh” for five times.

She mentioned “peace” for four times, “resettlement” for four times, “unity” for three times, “rehabilitation” twice and “repatriation” once and “international community” once.

It is noteworthy that in all her speeches, we didn't find “Rohingya” but Muslim/s and we didn't find northern Rakhine State but “Rakhine State” instead. We found “rule of law” used only ten times across all eight speeches.

Number the corpus “rule of law” used	Sample	Alternative corpus used
3	1	
1	2	
1	3	“Founded on Laws”
3	4	
-	5	
-	6	
2	7	“rule-based”
1	8	
Total corpus “rule of law” used		Total corpora in all eight (8) speeches
10		14,910

We shall, henceforth, analyze the discourse using the four-hypothesis test of Michel Foucault.

1st Hypothesis – Statements different in form, and dispersed in time, form a group if they refer to one and the same object;

Under this hypothesis, we come up with a group we infer hereinafter as themes. These are *avoidance, excuse, resolved, acknowledgment and rejecting international pressures*.

Under *avoidance theme*, the discourse revealed in this passage of her speech at the *Union Peace Conference- 21st Century Panglong*, we quote:

“We will not resort to exerting pressure through populist politics, or coercing others through political means to achieve our goals” (Suu Kyi 2017). Though not directly attributed to the August 2017 exodus of the Rohingya as a result of the ‘clearing operations’ of the Tatmadaw against them, this refers to efforts of her government to sustain national reconciliation among ethnic groups, however, excluding the Rohingya.

Resting under the umbrella of the ASEAN, she avoided the issue of the Rohingya atrocities including ethnic cleansing and genocide by citing:

“ASEAN provides a model for peaceful borders, and wider regional harmony. ASEAN’s recipe for success is consultation and more consultation until consensus is reached and cooperation made possible” (Suu Kyi, Speech 2017). Here, this passage infer to the October 2016 atrocities which resulted to the dispersal of the Rohingya to Bangladesh after ‘clearing operations’ were done by the Tatmadaw.

She also said that “since 5 September, there have been no armed clashes and there have been no clearance operations” (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2017). Clearance operations are being undertaken by the Tatmadaw and a steady of exodus of Rohingya towards Bangladesh even past this date will attest otherwise.

Under *excuse theme*, she said and we quote:

“I think it is only fitting that I should remind you today that our government has not yet been in power for even eighteen months. It will be eighteen months at the end of this month. Eighteen months is a very short time in which to expect us to meet and overcome all of the challenges that have been expected to do” (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2017).

Through this passage in her speech, it was an apparent excuse in response to the growing international pressure that demands her to do more for the Rohingya issue and the atrocities used against them. She has laid down the premise that she can't address the issue of the Rohingya exactly because her government has just been in office for barely eighteen months, that she can not be dispose of to respond to the challenge by condemning the Tatmadaw for its crimes against the Rohingya.

Under *resolved theme*, we found important passages in her speeches.

Speaking before the 71st United Nations General Assembly the Rohingya on September 21, 2016, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said:

“Over the last few years, the world has focused its attention on the situation in the Rakhine State of the country. As a responsible member of the community of nations, we do not fear international scrutiny” (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2016).

In assuaging international condemnation against Myanmar by international NGOs, key influential people, from Nobel Peace Laureates to the UN officials led by the former UN Human Rights Council chief and the UN Special Rapporteur on Myanmar, Ms. Yanghee Lee, she spoke that *“as part of our Government's commitment to finding lasting stability and harmony, and supporting broad-based, inclusive socio-economic development in Rakhine State, and indeed, throughout the nation, we have established the Union Enterprise for Humanitarian Assistance, Resettlement and Development in Rakhine State, the Rakhine Advisory Commission Implementation Committee and the Rakhine Advisory Board.”* (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2018). This was what she said addressing business leaders and industry leaders during the Development Effectiveness Roundtable held on February 26, 2018 in Nay Pyi Taw.

In her most recent speaking engagement in Singapore, she said that:

“Addressing destabilizing issues in Rakhine State was a fundamental part of building our Pillar 1. Within two months of taking on the responsibilities of government, we have established the Central Committee for Rule of Law and Development in Rakhine and soon after, we approached Dr. Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations, to head an Advisory Commission that would help us to find lasting solutions to the problems that were jeopardizing peace and progress in a region so bountifully blessed by nature” (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2018).

And;

“On their recommendation, an Independent Commission of Enquiry, led by Ambassador Rosario Manalo, an eminent diplomat from ASEAN, has been established. The Commission met for the first time in Nay Pyi Taw on 15 August and will be commencing their work next week” (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2018).

These statements were in anticipation of the passage and voting of the draft UN Resolution recommending endorsement by the United Nations Security Council of Myanmar to the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC).

Under *acknowledgement theme*, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said:

“Of the many challenges that our government has been facing, the situation in the Rakhine has most strongly captured the attention of the world” (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2017). This acknowledgment that the issue of the atrocities against the Rohingya has reached the international radar and scale was at the central of her address to visiting Pope Francis in Nay Pyi Taw. She also acknowledged that the *compassion* and *encouragement* that His Holiness Pope Francis left in his message at the Fiftieth World Day of Peace on January 1, 2017 has been treasured and taken into heart.

Under *rejection of international pressure theme*, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said:

“There has been a lot of criticism against our country. We need to understand international opinion. However, just as no one can fully understand the situation of our country the way we do, no one can desire peace and development for our country than us. That is why we need to tackle these problems based on the strength of our unity” (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2017). This passage was spoken after the world have seen the traumatized Rohingya as they walked towards to border between

Myanmar and Bangladesh, in hordes, leaving the dead and bringing with them the stories of survival and pain.

This passage in her *Report to the People* speech has made her detached to the realities of the Rohingya, calculating and cruel. It should her continued denial of the crimes against the Rohingya to have existed, crimes such as rape, arson, ethnic cleansing, and genocide.

2nd Hypothesis – Form and Type of *connexion*;

For this hypothesis, Foucault was talking about his attempts at studying descriptions as a form and type of connection in the study of nineteenth century medical science. He rested in his analysis that medicine was organized in a series of descriptions.

He said.

“I had to abandon this hypothesis at the outset and recognize that clinical discourse was just as much a group of hypothesis about life and death, of ethical choices, of therapeutic decisions, of institutional regulations, of teaching models, as a group of descriptions; that the descriptions could not, in any case, be abstracted from the hypotheses, and that the descriptive statement was only one of the formulations present in medical discourse” (Foucault 1972).

Following his stand on descriptive statements and culling out from series of form and type of statements, we have chosen the form of *ethical choices* in analyzing the discourse presented to the public by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Through it, we elevate the analysis by asking more questions, for now and future research endeavors in this area.

It is because the person asking the questions is merely exercising the right that has been given him; to remain unconvinced, to perceive a contradiction, to require more information, to emphasize different postulates, to point out faulty reasoning, and so on (Foucault 1997). This was what Foucault replied when interviewed by Paul Rabinow. He continued that on the part of the one answering the questions raised, “as for the person answering the questions, he too exercise a right that does not go beyond the discussion itself; by the logic of his own discourse, he is tied tow hat he has said earlier, and by the acceptance of dialogue he is tied to the questioning of the other” (Ibid pg. 111).

In sample 1, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said “*This does not mean that we are not ready to go on with our task of overcoming these challenges. Because I believe in the community of nations, I am prepared to share with all our friends who wish us well and who understand our problems and sympathize with us, what we have been doing to achieve democratic transition, peace and stability, and development.*”

In this description, she has an ethical choice of inclusively including the Rohingya and she and her party, the NLD plotted to spur the country towards full democratic transition but she did not. Why did she leave the Rohingya in her narratives of democratic transition towards peace, stability and development in all of Myanmar?

Why did she not bat for the amendment of the 1982 citizenship law that stripped the Rohingya of their birthright in Myanmar? This is very much part of the amendment the world wanted to see in Myanmar, not only its questionable 2008 Constitution.

Why did she not recognize the Rohingya by their name and historicity? Because doing so will augur meaningful national reconciliation and peace as well as unity in the country.

In sample 2, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi have said “*The people of Myanmar have long been deprived of their inherent right to live in peace and security, to fundamental freedom and to development, in the context of our 2030 goals, sustainable development.*”

Are the Rohingya not part of the people of Myanmar? Those who were apparently deprived of their right to a name and a nationality after 1982 citizenship law? Is it not their inherent right to live in peace and security too?

Why did she not include the Rohingya in her appeal to the United Nations about her own people being deprived of fundamental freedom and development?

In sample 3, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi have said, in front of Pope Francis: “*This is also a programme and a challenge for political and religious leaders, the heads of international institutions and business and media executives: to apply the Beatitudes in the exercise of their respective responsibilities.*”

It was in the same Address that she defined what beatitudes mean.

To continue with her Address, she said to the Pope: *“Jesus himself offers a “manual” for this strategy of peacemaking in the Sermon on the Mount. The eight Beatitudes (cf Mt. 5:3-10) provide a portrait of the person we could describe as blessed, good and authentic. Blessed are the meek, Jesus tells us, the merciful and the peacemakers, those who are pure in heart, and those who hunger and thirst for justice.”*

Did she, in her Address, intently leave the Rohingya and the atrocities they faced as a narrative devoid of meaning in the passage she mentioned to the Pope? Who are, in Myanmar, more in hunger and in thirst for justice? Is it not the Rohingya above anybody else?

Who needs peacekeeping in Myanmar? Is it not the Rohingya communities, after a crackdown and clearance operations done by the Tatmadaw?

Who needs to exercise beatitudes the most? Is she not, as the leader of the Union of the Republic of Myanmar?

In sample 4, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi have said: *“When I speak of democratic transition, I mean a democratic way towards a democratic goal, following a path laid down in accordance with the wishes of the people and maintained with their consent and cooperation”.*

Is it the desire of the majority to deprive the Rohingya their birthright? Was it their qualified wish to deprive the Rohingya of their freedom and democratic way of life?

Is it not despotic to deprive the Rohingya these basic freedoms and right?

In sample 5, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said: *“the second and thirs on the list of tasks for the DACU are the identification of priorities for development assistance, and the organization of a new set of refreshed sector and thematic coordination groups.”*

She heads the *Development Assistance Coordination Unit* of the government.

Why has there been no tangible development assistance extended to the Rohingya communities in the northern Rakhine State?

Why were they left out of development?

In sample 6, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said: *“As we negotiate to reach common agreements on issues where our views differ, we must recognize that courtesy is not weakness, negotiation not concession. Honesty, trust, awareness, and wisdom are necessary for negotiations to succeed.”*

Why does her government did not negotiate to end the atrocities against the Rohingya? Why is the civilian government not openly and truthfully asking the Tatmadaw to stop the atrocities and encourage accountability to be imposed?

Why did she remain silent than engaging on the realities of the Rohingya genocide?

In sample 7, she said that *“ASEAN is now entering a wider area of regional integration as new and diverse challenges to sustainable development emerge: poverty, rising inequalities within and among Member States, terrorism based on religious ideology, natural resource depletion. We must meet these challenges together, developing further our capacity for united endeavor.”*

In this, why did she not address the high poverty levels in the northern Rakhine State? Why did her government not able to negotiate with the Rohingya to help them, not drive them away, from their homes?

Why did her government not embrace the Rohingya as an ethnic group in Myanmar so as to discourage the recruitment of ISIS in the poverty-stricken, neglected northern Rakhine State?

In sample 8, she said: *“we are now negotiating with the Government of Bangladesh on the matter of accepting those who are now in Bangladesh.”*

Did she mean that the Rohingya in Cox’s Bazar will not be able to return to their homes in the northern Rakhine State?

Did she just officially give away the Rohingya over to Bangladesh?

3rd Hypothesis – Not possible to establish groups of statements, by determining the system of permanent and coherent concepts involve;

In this, we seek to analyze her speeches *in the interplay of their appearances and dispersion* (Foucault 1989).

The discontinuity in all these eight speeches manifested on her selected occasion and audience. As observed, she skipped directly mentioning Rohingya and the genocide.

4th Hypothesis – describes their interconnexion and account for the unitary forms under which they are presented: the identity and persistence of themes.

In all her speeches, the forms remain to be strictly formal and uptight. Her revolving themes focus on peace and development and in promoting Myanmar which is understandable in the light of her title of State Counsellor but she was not able to rally strong response against the military officials on the way the Rohingya were treated after August 25, 2017.

Myanmar's Rule of Law

Like any civilized nations on earth, Myanmar is a rules-based society, whatever its design or mechanism is – in civilian or military contexts. A study of the rule of law in Myanmar brings us back to the history of Burma at the height of the incarceration of Aung San Suu Kyi, then a prominent opposition leader.

The government of Myanmar has responded to worldwide dismay over the May 2009 criminal trial of democracy icon Daw Aung San Suu Kyi for allegedly violating the terms of her house arrest by characterizing it as a simple and unavoidable matter of law. State-run media outlets have rebutted arguments that the charges are baseless, erroneous and politically motivated. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs responded to criticism from the United Nations Security Council by saying that the case would “not have any political impact” and that it was being “considered and carried out as the task [sic] relating to the rule of law (Cheesman 2010).

In this, Aung San Suu Kyi was being criminally indicted using the “rule of law” which is the same “rule of law” her government is borrowing as narratives against international pressures as a result of the Rohingya genocide.

Aung San Suu Kyi and the ‘rule of law’ has a symbiotic relationship, at her time of house arrest and now, as the State Counsellor of the Union.

But what does the “rule of law” mean?

The answer is important, because if Suu Kyi cannot articulate, communicate and get general agreement on what the “rule of law” means to the Burmese people, it threatens to become just a political slogan rather than a tangible goal towards which objective progress can be measured (Bloom 2012).

Efforts to strengthen social, economic and civil rights within the country further require policies and actions that educate people about their rights and furnish practical assistance to anyone whose rights have been breached. This should be accompanied by the revision or repeal of criminal statutes and decrees that have in the past validated repressive activity by the state, and a review of prison conditions and detentions to complement the amnesty process begun by President Thein Sein in May 2011. Steps should also be taken to broaden the country's narrow definitions of citizenship, which currently operate to deny at least 800,000 members of the Rohingya community and an unknown number of other people equal protection under statutory law and the 2008 Constitution (IBA 2012).

Going back to its origins, what most laws in Myanmar today are importations from Great Britain and India as they were a colony for so many years.

On January 1, 1886, Myanmar became one of the provinces of British India. The statutory laws, which were designed in the English common law model for use in India, were extended to Myanmar (then known as Burma) as well. These statutory laws included the Contract Act, the Negotiable Instruments Act, the Sale of Goods Act, the Companies Act, the Arbitration Act, and the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes. The Indian Penal Code, drafted and adopted in 1860, was also imported from India. By the early 1920s, when judicial administration had become well organized in the country, the wholesale adoption of codes made for India on British common law principles was just about completed. However, Myanmar has enacted numerous laws amending pre-independence laws, such as the Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Act in 1956, the Criminal Law Amending Law in 1963, the Code of Criminal Procedure Amending Law in 1973, the Law Amending the Myanmar Companies Act in 1989 and 1991, the Law Amending the Civil Procedure Code in 2000 and 2008 (Kham 2014).

In the study of the ‘rule of law’ in Myanmar, one has to go back in 2012 when the Constitutional Tribunal's nine judges ‘voluntarily’ resigned after impeachment proceedings against

them prospered. While it was hailed a triumph of parliamentary democracy, it has also impinged on the judicial independence of the Constitutional Tribunal.

The resignation of the members of the Constitutional Tribunal on 6 September 2012 went back to a decision issued by the Tribunal on 28 March 2012 in the case *President of the Union v. Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, et al.*, which was only the fourth decision since the establishment of the Tribunal in February 2011. On 2 February 2012, the Attorney General of the Union had submitted Submission No. 1/2012 to the Constitutional Tribunal on behalf of the President, asking the Tribunal to resolve the issue of whether the committees, commissions and bodies formed by the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, the Pyithu Hluttaw, and the Amyotha Hluttaw could be defined as Union level organizations. The Tribunal decided that the bodies formed by each Hluttaw were not Union level organizations (Marti 2015).

Fast forward to 2018, the international community's shock at violations of international law in Myanmar, evidenced by the exodus of hundreds of thousands of Rohingya into Bangladesh and the plight of thousands more displaced people in the Shan and Kachin States, overlooks a crucial national failing in prevention: Myanmar's legal system is unable to prevent human rights abuses or hold violators accountable. The result is a culture of impunity in which the State, in this case the military and those close to it, rule by law (Aguirre 2018).

Without the rule of law and human rights, upheld by an independent national legal system capable of balancing the power of the executive and military, there can be no safe return for displaced people. Recent government promises to assist returnees to access justice are therefore hollow (Ibid).

This is the reality that even Aung San Suu Kyi has to rally her people to institutionalized. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said for the justice system to be strong, courts must be firm, particularly when tackling graft, as corrupt elements tend to take advantage of law for personal gain, while unbiased legal services remain a challenge in this country (Lin 2018). "If you keep very beautiful laws confined to the books and do not apply them in a way that would benefit the public, then we can't say there is rule of law," said the State Counsellor (Ibid).

Discussion

Problematizing Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the Rule of Law

In our effort to better understand the issues surrounding the response of Myanmar of the accusations of genocide against the Rohingya, we will dwell on problematizing her as the defector leader of the government as well as the principle of the rule of law in Myanmar.

First, the notion of the rule of law is perhaps the most powerful and often repeated political ideal in contemporary global discourse. Everyone, it seems, is for the rule of law. The rule of law is a major source of legitimation for governments in the modern world. A government that abides by the rule of law is seen as good and worthy of respect. In recent decades, billions of dollars have been spent by the World Bank and other development agencies on developing the rule of law around the world—with limited success (Tamanaha 2012).

Second, that it is a principle that is elusive.

Quite a direct descendant, the rule of law in Myanmar as well as majority of the world's nations, emanated from the Magna Carta of 1215, signed by England's King John, specifically under article 39, viz:

"No freemen shall be taken or imprisoned or disseised or exiled or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor send upon him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land."

Aptly stated, a rule of law is enshrined to govern the governed, to set limits to what is under the aegis of a rules-based society and what is not.

A rule of law is very difficult to maintain in any nation, if the citizens do not follow the rule of law adopted.

The American Bar Association suggested that a 'rule of law' cannot ever be entirely separate from the people who make up our government and our society. The rule of law is more of an ideal that we strive to achieve, but sometimes fail to live up to.

In the case of Myanmar, is the rule of law followed by its citizens, from ordinary folks from all walks of life to the military generals, who for many decades ruled Myanmar and its citizens under a military dictatorship?

According to the 2011 Rule of Law Handbook of the United States Army, a rule of law (ROL) used the description of Dr. Richard Fallon in which it cited in toto (Cole 2011):

"First the ROL should protect against anarchy and the Hobbesian war of all against all. Second, the ROL should allow people to plan their affairs with reasonable confidence that they can know in advance the legal consequences of various actions. Third, the ROL should guarantee against at least some types of official arbitrariness.

Demands for the rule of law in response to violence in Myanmar's west correspond with this usage. Whereas in established democracies the rule of law as equality complements the rule of law as security, in a democratizing state the two are not necessarily compatible. The rule of law as an idea associated with substantive legal equality contributes to Myanmar's democratization, whereas when associated with public and state security it potentially undermines that democratization (Cheesman 2014).

As for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, her narratives today is linked to her past, in her childhood years surrounded by military generals who are loyal to his late father, Aung San, the prominent father of the Burmese military.

Born in 1945 in Rangoon, Burma. Aung San Suu Kyi spent her early years in Burma. She was just two years old when, on July 19, 1947, armed men burst in on a meeting convened to oversee Burma's transition to independence and killed her father and eight others. Growing up in the shadow of her father's legend, she was largely shielded from the turmoil of the post-independence years. At the Methodist English High School, in Rangoon, she took classes in morality and geography. Sao Haymar Thaike, a childhood friend and the daughter of Burma's first post-independence President, told me that Suu Kyi was a serious, bookish girl, raised by a "very strong, kindhearted" mother, Khin Kyi. In 1960, Khin Kyi was appointed Ambassador to India and took her daughter with her. Two years later, Burma's coup installed a socialist military regime (Beech 2017). She later joined her mother, who was appointed as Burmese ambassador (representative) to India in 1960. She was partly educated in secondary school in India and then attended St. Hugh's College, Oxford University, in England. While there, she studied politics, economics (the production, distribution, and use of goods and services), and philosophy (the study of ideas) and received her bachelor's and master's degrees. From her father she developed a sense of duty to her country, and from her mother, who never spoke of hatred for her husband's killers, she learned forgiveness. She also became influenced by the teachings of Indian leader Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948), who was a believer in nonviolent civil disobedience.

Fast forward to 2007, the United States Institute of Peace paper on "Building Democracy in Burma" made the case that the country "falls more into the pattern of post-colonial Africa than it does Asia". Nearly a century of British rule left the foundations for democracy but Myanmar "like many countries in Africa, wasn't able to translate these into an enduring foundation for sustainable democratic governance" (Grant 2018). Along with it is Aung San Suu Kyi and her vision of rule of law under democratic reforms and its ongoing transition.

A democracy icon who fell from grace, international leaders were outraged by the exodus of hundreds of thousands of Rohingya Muslims from Myanmar into neighbouring Bangladesh due to an army crackdown, they have accused her of doing nothing to stop rape, murder and possible genocide by refusing to condemn the powerful military or acknowledge accounts of atrocities (BBC 2018).

Conclusion

On the part of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, we problematized her actions and silence over the Rohingya genocide.

- Her military father who remains to be her influence and that her continued claims that her father is the father of Burmese military;

- Her special relations of the military generals during her incarceration in her house arrest;
- Her drive/focus on democratic transition as per her electoral promise in 2015;
- Her effort to strong and relevant democratic discourse by obscuring the issue of the Rohingya;
- Her context of rule of law is only political dynamics;
- Her detached attitude towards the Rohingya genocide for the fear that the military generals will take back her freedom and liberty;
- In all her speeches, she only uttered 10 times the words 'rule of law' against 14,910 words she uttered in all her separate eight speeches.

On the rule of law,

- The rule of law remains to be purely political narratives because the generals are not held accountable inside the country using the judiciary;
- It is subsumed under the ongoing legal reforms in Myanmar.
- It is a commonly-used word to infer legality to justify the clearance operations against the Rohingya communities.

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TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND THE NEW PATH OF MIGRATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA; A STUDY IN SABAH, MALAYSIA

Nur Widiyanto and Emanuela Agra

Hospitality Department, Ambarukmo Tourism Institute Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Abstract

The establishment of nature conservation projects often bring dilemmas for local communities in Southeast Asia, including in Sabah, Malaysia. On the one hand, the enactment of Kinabalu Park has triggered the dispossession of local people from their customary lands, but on the other, it offers various economic opportunities. Employing ethnographic method, this article explores the transformation of Dusun community living in nearby Kinabalu Park and its connection to the influx of foreign migrants from Indonesia. Besides Mount Kinabalu, agricultural acts as the core of cultural pattern for the people. However, the establishment of Kinabalu Park has offered tourism as the more profitable economic sector for local people. Furthermore, agricultural lands tend to be abandoned, left for the elders and foreign workers from Indonesia. Recently, scores of Indonesian migrant families are inhabiting several villages nearby Kinabalu Park involved growing vegetables. Religious factor and the advance communication technology also play role to this migration pattern. According to the statistic available and direct observation, the majority of Indonesian migrants are predominantly Christians, similar to religion of the host community. With the advent of ICT, these Indonesian migrants living in Sabah ensure that their family ties even though separated by Sulawesi Sea remains unhindered.

Keywords: *tourism, migrant, transformation, Kinabalu Park, agricultural land*

Introduction

In the last few decades, tourism has been placed as one promising economic sector for countries in Southeast Asia. Malaysia also has tried to engage with global tourism market through exploring both its eco and cultural tourism “resources”. According to the Ministry of Tourism, Education and Environment, Sabah in Borneo has been visited by around 3,4 million foreign visitors and earned around MYR. 26 billion in 2016. Tourism development in this country is also strongly connected to the shifting of political agenda since 1987 when the government located tourism as the major economic sector (Hjulmand et al. 2003). Therefore, eco-tourism relied on natural parks, including Kinabalu Park in Sabah is part of the policy to protect natural resources while supporting a stable economic growth from the tourism. Coincidentally, various traditional ceremonies have been long time known as the main attraction for tourists, along with the growing numbers of foreign tourist coming to climb up Mount Kinabalu.

Michel Picard (1990) offers “cultural tourism” to describe the further engagement between culture and tourism development in Southeast Asia. Bali is the example of an advance level of the engagement between culture and tourism, and eco-cultural tourism in Sabah is the new development in the region. In the similar vein, direct and in-direct engagement between local people and its fragile culture with tourism activities are something inevitably, and it may trigger various dynamics. The arrival of modern tourism in Sabah, especially to area nearby Mount Kinabalu is the third great changes toward the KadazanDusun community after the coming of British colonization and joining Malaysia Federation. It has been marked by the number of tourist arrival that drastically increase from 829 in the first year of its enactment as a

national park in 1965 to 434, 903 visitors in 2005, and increased to 715. 927 in the middle of 2012.

Mount Kinabalu is not only the center of the environmental protection and tourism activity, but also the symbol of community pride for Dusun people living nearby. The establishment of the mountain as national park in 1964 and listed as a World Heritage Site since 2000 have significantly brought Mount Kinabalu to be a popular destination, including Bundu Tuhan Village as the main gate for the climbing activity. From the economics point of view, Sabah also receives a significant increase of tourist arrival to Kinabalu Park. Not only regarded as the sacred mountain for local people, it was also used for traditional route to sell agricultural products in the past, before the connected modern transportation established. Usually local people needed almost a week to go there selling banana, rice or vegetables to coastal cities and brought back salt, or fish". However, the basic purpose of the state park is to preserve significant geographical, geological, biological or historical features as a national heritage for the benefit, education and enjoyment of the mankind (Nais, 1996). Thus, the policy favors physical environment and undermine the existence of indigenous communities which have been living in the area for centuries. Furthermore, by not mentioning the specific community living surrounded as the main beneficiaries, it can be viewed as the root of the problem to local people.

However, from the economic point of view, the enactment of Kinabalu Park also brings various economic opportunities for local people, including Dusun people in Bundu Tuhan village. There are two reasons why people from the village get the privilege to access various jobs opportunities from the state park; geographical aspect and historical aspect. The headquarter of Kinabalu Park is located in Bundu Tuhan, including the main climbing gate Timpohon. Moreover, local people also inherit the legacy from Gunting Lagadan as the first local people guiding the Western to climb up the peak of the mountain in the past. Therefore, nowadays, *malim gunung* (mountain guide) from Bundu Tuhan are dominating the numbers of listed guide and porter in Kinabalu Park, various low-level state park's jobs such as driver, gate keeper, including homestay and restaurant nearby. A lot of other economic initiatives connected to tourism also emerge, including by selling vegetables, handy-craft and the newest plan; creating the eco-tourism project in Winokok community forest, outside the Kinabalu Park.

Problem and objectives

Having busy with various tourism-based economic activities in the last few decades, local people have slowly transformed their livelihood system from agricultural to various economic initiatives connected to tourism. It has been resulted in the new worrying development when their agricultural lands then tend to be abandoned. Thus, these left lands are slowly attracting foreign migrant from Indonesia to come and replace local farmers. Currently, hundreds of Indonesian families especially from Tana Toraja and East Nusa Tenggara live in several villages nearby the Kinabalu Park, especially Kundasang, Kinasaraban and Bundu Tuhan for planting vegetables both as workers for their land lord, or rent the land from local people. Understanding the connection between tourism as the new determining factor of hinterland-to hinterland migration from Indonesia to Sabah is the main objective of this study. Thus, this paper is strongly aimed to answer two questions; (1) How does the development of tourism in Kinabalu Park has triggered the cultural change of local Dusun people ? and (2) How does the livelihood transformations of local Dusun people living in the area of Kinabalu Park determine the new path of migration to the area ?

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Fausto Barlocco (2008) emphasizes that the study on KadazanDusun in Sabah dominated by the issues of ethnicity, spirituality, cultural performance and the struggle over

natural resources. Thus, research on tourism and its connection to the impact on local community are rare. KadazanDusun is officially used as the umbrella for the ethnic groups under Dusunic root in Sabah. It is a common understanding that the Kadazans is considered as the Dusunic which have moved to the urban area; meanwhile the Dusuns are living in the hinterland areas, especially near Mount Kinabalu. They are divided into subgroups which are distinguished by their dialect, traditional customary law (*adat*) and other cultural traits (Reid, 1997). KadazanDusun is often excluded away from the study of indigenous groups of Malaysia as reflected on the Endicott's book; *Malaysia's Original People; Past, Present and Future of the 'Orang Asli'*, where the study is dominated for indigenous group in the peninsula (2016). In the Borneo contexts, Boulanger (2002) concludes that in Sarawak, ethnicity is exercised to resist modernity and foreign capital. Meanwhile, Chua (2007) describes the common attitude of Bidayuh in Sarawak; well-known of anti-Muslim and Malay principles as the low-level form of resistance based on cultural-religious identity. Thus, the *Bumiputera* in Sabah and Sarawak can be divided into Muslims and non-Muslims, both are consisted of many sub-groups, each with its own language, custom and sense of identity.

The identity the KadazanDusun has been given attention from various scholars. Kitingan (2012) clearly provides the history, social organization, worldview and the transformation of the group. However, she does not give a lot of attention to tourism as part of it. Meanwhile, religious life of the KadazanDusun and rituals related to "paddy-based culture" and the important harvest festival of Kaamatan have been given attention by many local scholars including Sintang (2013), Mahali and Tamring (2011), Husein (2008), and Low Kok On & Yok Fee (2012). These studies pose that the majority of KadazanDusun have been converted to Christianity or Islam, but most of them still practice rituals from the previous local belief; *Momolianism*. The ancestors of the KadazanDusun practiced a religious belief that is often considered as animistic through believing that every object has a guardian spirit. This is continued by the current generations who also have not totally 'converted' to any of the world religions, including those living in Bundu Tuhan and several villages nearby.

Related to tourism development, the arrival of modern tourism to the area of Mount Kinabalu can be viewed as the third great changes toward the community after encountering Western colonization and joining the Malaysia federation. The mountain which is known as *Gayo Ngaran* for the local communities is also seen as of community pride (Xin et al. 2014; Sung, 2012). After its establishment as national park in 1964 and listed as a World Heritage Site in 2000, the area grows as a popular destination marked by a significant increase of tourist arrival when in 2012 reached a total of 715.927. The increase of tourists' arrival to the villages nearby, could generate benefits and problem as well to the communities neighboring. The temptations of economic benefit from tourism have attracted local government to promote an interesting slogan; *Halatuju*, a master plan to bring tourism as a new strategy by comprising the expansion of appropriate infrastructures, attracting more visitors, exploring new market and to generate employment (Jaafar et al. 2013). This report emphasizes at the economic stand point showing that tourism has given benefits to local community. However, the report does not cover the implication of modern tourism toward cultural identity and religious life of the Dusun people in the area.

Goffman's theory of dramaturgy is the primary tool to analyze the engagement between Dusun people in Mount Kinabalu with tourism development in Sabah. It is completed by "heterotopic tourism" rooted in Foucault (1986) and Lefebvree's (1991) theory on heterotopia. Heterotopic tourism is the effort to develop a form of cultural tourism rooted in particular authenticity aimed at expressing the counter discourse toward the dominant forces. Dramaturgy is rooted in the dualistic performances of self when the individuals are not entirely determined by society by manipulating social situation. However, they are also not totally free to choose the images of self, limited by relationships within the social (1959: 14). The back region is the area where the expression is presented, meanwhile the front region is the arena where the community

'perform' themselves in front of audiences; the government, the majority groups or tourists (1959: 114). The key concept of dramaturgy is control over the back and front stages, therefore through employing heterotopic tourism, Bundu Tuhan Dusun's community can openly and peacefully show that they are not powerless.

Piketty (2014) warns that globalized economic system is always political, and it cannot be reduced to purely economic mechanisms. As a part of this system, global tourism is often located for giving its contribution for the social and economic inequalities. From this point of view culturally Bundu Tuhan Dusun's community have been being victims since the early enactment of national park aimed at servicing the global environmental and tourism. However, from the different perspective, this mainstream discourse has been being challenged by the indigenous insight especially in Asia (Chang, 2015). This post-colonial tourism studies have viewed tourism as the positive landscape for the indigenous communities to strengthen themselves. In this context, heterotopia as an important background for ethnic tourism. Through performing the authentic cultural 'differences', the oppressed group could maintain their existence. In the similar vein, authenticity (Cannell, 2004) is the backbone and the important cultural capital to engage tourism, Moreover, authenticity is the biggest gift searched by visitors, therefore endowed by the authentic culture and the attracting landscape have made Bundu Tuhan for having important sources to produce heterotopic tourism. However, it also brings Dusun people to go deeper and has led them to transform their livelihood orientation from agricultural to tourism. This phenomenon then attracts migrants from the neighboring country to fill the abandoned lands.

Methodology

The spirit of the research is ethnographic study to understand the dynamics within Dusun people in Sabah when engaging tourism (Spradley, 2016). As an ethnographic approach, it is aimed at finding and interpreting various symbols within a social phenomenon through a thick description. Therefore, it needs the intimate association with informants to find and to interpret significant symbols, emotion and understanding and the statement of underlying regularities of human experience. The study was conducted in Sabah, Malaysia, especially especially in Bundu Tuhan and Kundasang Village nearby Kinabalu Park from 2016 to 2018. Primary data were collected through participants' observation and in-depth interview, completed by secondary data from both the written and unwritten ones. I also have participated in the daily life of local people, gathered the perspectives from national park's authority and the tourists visiting the area. I visited Sabah twice in 2016 and spent more than 3 weeks for observing the daily life of the people of Dusun living at Bundu Tuhan, Kundasang and Kiau Nulu village in Ranau District. In 2017 and 2018 I visited Ranau for three times for interviewing dozens of key informants and gathered with several tourism activities and community events, including religious activities in Bundu Tuhan and Kundasang

From sacred mountain to the state park

The story of Mount Kinabalu as one of the central cultural patterns for the Kadazan-Dusun people in Sabah to be a part of modern conservation system can be traced from the era of British colonization. In the early mid of 1800s, several British officers in Sabah were interested in the giant landscape of the mountain, and it was continued by the first ascent to the top of Kinabalu by Sir Hug Low in 1851. Hug was guided by a local people from Bundu Tuhan, Gunting Bin Lagadan. Interestingly, the other version emphasized by Faridah Dambul, one of Lagadan's relatives refused that Low was the first person who successfully reached the peak. However, Gunting Lagadang until today is recognized as the local legend, the pioneer of the mountain guide or *malim gunung* at Kinabalu. He was admitted as the first person who proved that local Bundu people is the real "sons of the sacred mountain". After Hug Low and Lagadan's first ascent to the top, several expeditions were following, mostly for the ecological motives which directly brought the mountain to become known for its biodiversity and uniqueness. Thus, few

decades later, it become the main reason for the enactment of policies to protect the ecology through the Kinabalu National Park policy in 1964; for its richness of environmental resources and later, paving the way for the tourism. However, part of these ecological richness was also previously used by local people to fulfill their daily need; animals, rattan, fire wood and also logs for building houses.

In the early 1960 when Sabah was still under the British administration, the government enacted Mount Kinabalu as the protected area, followed by a monumental scientific expedition in 1961-1963 on the mountain conducted by a team from the Oxford University under the leadership of Prf. E.J.H Corner. This expedition determined the enactment of the area to be the Kinabalu National Park in 1964 by the Malaysia Federation. It was continued in 1984s when Kinabalu National Park was renamed Kinabalu Park to signify its status as a state park (The Parks Enactment, 1984). Nowadays, Kinabalu Park covering around 753.37 sq.km is under the Sabah Park system, that is a statutory body under the Sabah Ministry of Tourism and Environmental Development and administrated through the Sabah Parks Board of Trustees. There are eight state parks in Sabah under the body headed by the Sabah Park Director which are; Tun Mustapha Park, Tunku Abdul Rachman Marine Park, Pulau Tiga Marine Park, Crocker Range Park, Kinabalu Park, Turtle Islands Park, Tawau Hill Park, Tun Sakaran Marine Park and Sipadan Islands Park and each park headed by a Park Warden.

Mount Kinabalu (4095 m) is known for having the highest peak between the Himalayas and Cartenzs Pyramid in West Papua, Indonesia, surrounded by around 45 villages where around 30.000 Dusun people live. It includes around 3600 people living in Bundu Tuhan village. Culturally, people from two villages; Kiau and Bundu Tuhan are admitted as the group having the closest cultural connection to the mountain. They are considered as the people living on the shoulder of the sacred mountain. Before the enactment of the national park people regularly conducted an annual pilgrimage to the summit area of the mountain to give respect to ancestors and also to give their loyalty to the god namely *Minamangun*. Before departing to the mountain, the *monolob* ritual led by the shaman, or *bobolijan* to get a permission from the ancestor's spirit was conducted in the forest area of Tinompon, nearby the climbing gate to the mountain. However, after the enactment of the national park in 1964, the access toward the mountain was neglected. Moreover, if local people wanted to enter the mountain, they should register and pay as applied to the other visitors. Angrily said, during an interview in December 2017, Bundu Tuhan native chief Joseph Sariman emphasized "How could we should pay to enter our own land?. However, having no legal documents to support their claim over the mountain has made their cultural access toward the sacred Kinabalu, home of the ancestor's spirit, officially has been denied, including after the area listed as one of the world heritages by UNESCO in 2000. This is the root of the sorrow of the local people, culturally.

Ton Diets (1996) describes the spirit of national policy represented by the enactment of Kinabalu Park through emphasizing that local people are demanded to support the policy and its goal to protect the environment, but their socio-cultural access is denied. Faqih on Diets's book highlights that national park policy is rooted in the eco fascism spirit, the effort to favor environmental protection, meanwhile local people existence, can be neglected. Furthermore, Faqih also notes two others streams of environmental movements; (a) eco-populism as the anti-thesis of eco-fascism; protecting the environment should be aimed to benefit the people living around/within the area, instead of neglecting their existence both culturally or physically, and (b) eco-develop-mentalism, refers to spirit of the ecological protection aimed at guarantying the sustainability of natural resources as the supply for development project or capitalistic industry (1996: v-x). Thus, Dusun people living nearby Kinabalu Park needs a breakthrough to maintain

their cultural access toward the sacred mountain, and also involve into tourism industry provided for the economic reasons.

The Development of Heterotopic Tourism in Mount Kinabalu

Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran

The establishment of the state park has arrived and accepted as the serious dilemma for Dusun people in Bundu Tuhan. One the one hand it has brought the economic opportunity through offering several jobs, but on the other hand it arrives as the clearest marker for the denial of their cultural access toward the mountain. Moreover, the enactment of national park has also brought the permanent border for the people to continue particular forms of traditional activities such as, cutting bamboo, rattan, log or hunting and gathering food to the forest according to the traditional Dusun practices. In the end of November, 2017, I witnessed one of the most important cultural events for the Dusun people in the Mount Kinabalu area; *Kakapan id Gayo Ngaran* or Return to the Big Name. Gayo Ngaran is the local name of Mount Kinabalu for local people, to express their respect to their sacred mountain. Officially, this event was accepted as the yearly event since 2010 to accommodate the spiritual access of the people toward the mountain. For two days, the Dusun people would be given free access to enter the park area and moreover, conduct a pilgrimage to the summit area of the mountain. Returning from the mountain, the successful pilgrimage climbers would be welcomed with a series of traditional art, dances, sport and culinary festival at Dewan Kinabalu area within the boundary of Kinabalu Park. Before hundreds of pilgrimage climbers coming from various places in Sabah departing to the mountain, the sacred *monolob* ritual lead by a *boboliyan* was conducted at the forest area nearby the Timpohon Gate, the main climbing gate to the mountain to seek safe before climbing.

Picture 1 and 2. The local “pilgrimer” and the *monolob* ritual



The ritual was started by citing “*rinait*”, the sacred Dusun text by the *boboliyan* wearing the black traditional Dusun clothes for almost 20 minutes, continued by slaughtering five chickens one by one, disseminating its blood as the symbol of the effort to ask a permission from the spirit of the forest. After the *boboliyan* gave the last *rinait* citing, the head of Kinabalu Park’s officers, the native chief from Bundu Tuhan and Kiau officially gave the sign for the local climbers start their pilgrimage. Around 400 listed pilgrimage climbers joined for the *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran* 2017 and the majority did not reach the summit. After walking for three to five ours they decided to return back to Timpohon gate. For them, the summit was not the main goal, instead celebrating and having an opportunity to enter their sacred mountains, to re-charge and strengthen their identity as a part of the Dusun community. These people almost everyday witness that “their mountain” visited by domestic and foreign climbers. Therefore, having two days to freely enter the gate during the *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran* the park’s authority is something that too valuable to miss.

These successful climbers stayed overnight at the mountain and will be welcomed at the area nearby the head office of Kinabalu Park in the next day. The second day is the “big day” to welcome the climbers and to celebrate the opportunity given to the people to “going back” to the mountain. In the last few years, the event to welcome the pilgrimage climbers from villages surrounding the mountain has become the regular tourism event namely “*hari komuniti tempatan*”, or the community day within the state’s park. It is also the arena to conduct a party for the community through the festival of traditional games, traditional culinary festival, storytelling about the history of Dusun people and Mount Kinabalu, Dusun singing contest and various traditional dances performances. During these two days, local people would not be charged for MYR. 3.00 to enter the park gate as usual, and the non-local climbers would be only allowed to depart to the mountain after the event has been ended.

The current happiness during *Kakakapan in Gayo Ngaran* cannot be separated from the early struggle done a decade ago, when a group of people from Bundu Tuhan and Kiau have started to re-claim their sacred mountain. Joseph Sariman, the representation of *Kuasa Anak Negeri Bundu Tuhan* emphasize the early struggle in 2010 was started by the community research facilitated by an NGO to identify the “biocultural” resources and traditional knowledge of the community in preserving the environment. It was followed by the official letter from the community to demand the legal access to conduct the ritual namely *Kakakapan in Gayo Ngaran* in Mount Kinabalu. It was accepted in 2010, when the first ritual conducted by local community. Thus, since 2012, the park authority officially has decided that two days in in the early December the mountain will be closed for the visitor, for giving a little time for the local people to conduct *monolob* ritual and make a pilgrimage to the Kinabalu. Moreover, in the last few years, *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran* has been listed as one of the popular cultural tourism events in Kinabalu Park’s calender.

Heterotopic tourism is represented through the effort of strengthening cultural claim over Mount Kinabalu by conducting *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran*. The ritual has been accelerating the re-awakening the spiritual connection with the mountain and revitalizing a deep cultural knowledge of how Mount Kinabalu represents to the people. Thus, conducting *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran* is the strategy to offer an alternative way to deal with homogenization in the term of environmental policy and the dominant role of the world religion: Islam and Christianity. According to Lefebvre, it can be located as the mode of autosuggestion by seeing the state’s policy as a site to struggle. Through reclaiming the mountain for the pilgrimage site, the people have offered three symbolic cultural interpretations over the outsider’s hegemony. *First*, if for the government Mount Kinabalu is the important space for the ecological protection and for its economic role through tourism, local people challenge it by raising the alternative discourse; the mountain is a sacred place from the Dusun’s cosmology. It is the untouchable landscape for “going home” after the people die, the home of the sacred and respected invisible figures. *Secondly*, through *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran*, people has raised the discourse of the utopic figures rooted in *Momolianism* such as Kinoingan and Hominodun, to challenge the other “utopic” figures brought by Christianity and Islam. *Thirdly*, through transforming the ritual to be one of the tourism agendas within Kinabalu Park, it describes the effort to maintain the steady economic access through tourism for the local people, besides intensively engaging climbing activity to the Mount Kinabalu.

Leaving agricultural land to serve visitors

Discussing eco-tourism in Sabah will be closely related to the existence of climbing activity to Mount Kinabalu. Standing as the highest mountain in Southeast Asia, Kinabalu becomes the famous destination for climbers and researchers in the region. I met Afiqah, a local visitor from Selangor in the front of the head office of Kinabalu Park. She interested to explore more about local culture after hearing series myths from her *malim gunung* during her trekking

to the summit. Afiqah also witnessed her guide was seriously citing a prayer using the local Dusun language before entering the summit area of the mountain. Through her guide, she understands that Kinabalu is the sacred and respected landscape for the people. Officially, the main roles of mountain guide are to assist the visitors to reach their aims in the mountains, and secondly to increase the guest's knowledge on the destination visited (Ching, 2009: 83). However, the behavior of local guide represents local worldview to place Mount Kinabalu as both the place to make a living and the sacred place according to their local beliefs, *Momolianism*. Moreover, the area of Akinabalu peak is considered as the stepping stone for the death spirit before leaving to *Libabou*, or the heaven.

Geographically, Bundu Tuhan has a strategic location that brings visitors who want to climb up the mountain will pass the village. The people having a strong root in agricultural, thus the majority of people in Bundu Tuhan are farmers. However, a lot of young men also work as the mountain guide, porter and daily worker at Kinabalu Park, including several restaurants nearby. The number of mountain guide have been significantly increasing from 20 *malim gunung* in 1978 to 171 in 2005, and almost 260 in 2017. Bundu Tuhan has supplied most of the guides and porters for the climbing activity in Bundu Tuhan. In 2017, from 260 *malim gunung* and porter which are legally listed in Kinabalu Park office around 180 are from Bundu Tuhan. The existence of predominantly number of *malim gunung* from Bundu Tuhan is connected to the history of Gunting bin Lagadan, the local legend who became the first officially registered park guide after guiding the British officer to the summit in 1851. Therefore, inspired by Lagadan's, young generation from Bundu Tuhan proudly locate themselves as the real son of the mountain, therefore have the biggest right to work as the *malim gunung*. Moreover, according to the Park Enactment No. 10 of 2002 that regulate all mountain climbers to Mount. Kinabalu should be accompanied by a local mountain guide through the regulation stating the legal proportion is 3: 1, meaning three climbers should be accompanied by one *malim gunung*. It directly gives a lot of new opportunities to the local people especially from Bundu Tuhan and Kiau to involve on the climbing activity.

Living in the hilly area and endowed by important the legacy from Gunting Lagadan, almost all young men in Bundu Tuhan have experienced to be a *malim gunung* or at least porter. After finishing their study at senior high school, local men would go to Timpohon, a climbing gate for working as *malim* or porter. It has been done as the temporary activity while waiting to get another job or continuing their study to the higher level. Roystone Tiam, which is now working as the international relation staff at the head office of Sabah Parks in Kota Kinabalu worked as *malim gunung* for almost 3 years. Having a long and big network to the mountain guide activity in Kinabalu Park has made it is easier for the new generation of Bundu Tuhan to get access for the job. Thus, people from Bundu Tuhan are considered as the first layer, followed by the neighbor village Kiau in the second layer, and the rest are several villages surrounding the mountain. Besides being *malim gunung* or porters, dozens of Bundu Tuhan people also work as the gate keeper, park's office, some restaurants and staff in several lodge along the climbing route to the top of Kinabalu.

Guiding the climbers to the summit of Kinabalu is not only about earning RM 150 for once climbing trip to make a living for family, but it is also the way to prove to that they are the real owner of the mountain. Moreover, it has a cultural purpose; to make regular pilgrimage to the "mecca" of their cultural beliefs, their sacred land, besides merely financial purposes. The mountain itself has long history of external domination neglecting Dusun people from its sacred land. In 1958, it was declared by The British colonial as the nature reserve area, and it was continued by the Malaysian Government by the enactment of Kinabalu National Park in 1964, meaning that the access of local people toward the mountain had been drastically decreased. It explains that becomes the mountain guide is very important to protect their cultural bound with the mountain. Thus, climbing activity is a pilgrimage and job at once. An active *malim gunung* can guide both of local and foreign climber two times in a week, so from the financial perspective

it is a profitable job, compare to be a vegetables farmer. According to Peter Pausai, local young man working at Tahubang Lodge, growing vegetables needs a lot of cost for the land preparation, seeds, growing crops and the un-certain post-harvest vegetables price.

From the cultural point of view, the engagement between local Dusun people in Bundu Tuhan and tourism development, especially through the climbing activity in Kinabalu Park reveals two important things. Firstly, it is aimed to maintain the legacy of legendary Gunting Bin Lagadan as the real sons of the mountain. Furthermore, secondly, it is also guarantying local people to always have the direct access toward the sacred mountain. An active *malim gunung* has the legal access to regularly visit the sacred mountain, different from the common Dusun people who are considered as the common visitor and have an obligation to pay the entrance fee. In this case, climbing activity has provided an opportunity to bridge the need to fulfil the need to maintain the ties with certain cultural identity and, secondly the demand to establish eco-tourism in the area. Therefore, cultural ground has been effectively exercised; when the demand of ecological protection and tourism agendas can effectively be compromised with the need of producing cultural expression.

Departing from the idea of both Foucault and Lefebvre on *heterotopia* as the space to escape and to respond the hegemonic forces, tourism has been taken as the alternative avenue to show the effort of Dusun group in Bundu Tuhan to maintain their cultural identities. Moreover, it is the breakthrough to survive from the hegemonic powers; the Malay (and Islam) politics dominating Dusun groups in the religious and political issue, and the national park that has effectively denied the access of these groups toward their ancestral land. According to the Adam's study on Sherpas community in Nepali Himalaya, authenticity is the very important cultural capital to develop and maintain the identity (Adam, 1996: 40). Thus, in Bundu Tuhan, social and cultural identity are exercised through tourism as the alternative avenue by employing the authenticity rooted in the indigenous religions, to strengthen certain claims over the ancestral land which have been legally taken over the government through the state's park. Contesting cultural authenticity through tourism is a part of the effort to develop new avenue to express resistances with their own ways. Therefore, *heterotopic* tourism rooted in the authenticity plays its important role as the "in between stage" to bridge between the back region, the need to maintain local belief and front region, the involvement to the tourism activity. However, this successful movement through shifting from agricultural to tourism also brings the other consequences; the abandoned agricultural lands, left for the elder and then, foreign migrants from Indonesia.

Crossing the sea to grow vegetables: Indonesian migrants in Ranau

Faridah Dambul is an old Dusun woman who was born in Bundu Tuhan in 1956. She converted to Muslim from *momolianism*-she called it pagan belief in early 1970. Nowadays, she manages a homestay for tourists in Kundasang namely Sunduan Lodge. Having a family house in Bundu Tuhan, Faridah regularly return to Bundu Tuhan to visit the farmland and meet her big family, including Sokuil, the grandson of the local legend: Gunting Lagadan. In the early June 2017, after observing the state level harvest festival, Kaamatan in Penampang, I moved and stayed two nights at Faridah's home stay, before leaving to Bundu Tuhan. I shared a kitchen with a Belgium family from Brussels with two daughters who have spent three days at the lodge. Amazingly, during three days in Faridah's house, I met five Indonesians, three from Tana Toraja, two men are Hendra and Alex, and Nina, a 21 years old woman. The two others are two men from East Nusa Tenggara province, Julius and Agustinus. Nina has worked as a domestic-helpers for two years, and sometimes helps Alex and Hendra to grow vegetables on Faridah's farmland nearby the homestay. Nina decided to move to Ranau after getting divorced with her husband in Toraja, and invited by her cousins Hendra to come. Hendra also sent a lot of pictures through whatsapp describing Kundasang as the alternative promising place to continue her life.

Meanwhile Julius and Agustinus have been living for 5 years in Kundasang, they grow cabbage and tomato after renting a farm land from Faridah's little brother in Kundasang. In the first three years in Sabah, they worked for the land lord to grow vegetables, and at third year the land lord decided to give his land to rent.

In the next day, I was invited to visit the Community Learning Center (CLC) a semi-formal school for the Indonesian children managed by the Indonesian government in Kampung Cinta Mata, Kundasang, Ranau Sub District, and witnessed around 60 Indonesian children in the school. They were children from hundreds of the Indonesian migrant living in especially three villages; Kundasang, Bundu Tuhan and Kinasaraban. Mostly they are from Tana Toraja in South Sulawesi and Flores, East Nusa Tenggara province in Indonesia. These two areas share several similarities to Ranau; situated in the highland and rooted in agricultural, including by cultivating vegetables. The Indonesian predominantly come to Sabah to grow vegetables, as they did in the home country. From the religious issue, the majority of these migrants are Christian, similar to the majority religion in the area. This pattern is different from the biggest numbers of Indonesian migrants living in the coastal areas of Sabah such as Kota Kinabalu, Tawau or Sandakan which are Muslims coming from the coastal areas of Sulawesi in Indonesia. The majority of these "low land" migrants work in various informal sectors; bus/taxi driver, restaurants, industry, domestic helpers and palm oil plantations. Mansur, one of the Indonesian migrants from Majene, West Sulawesi who I met at Tawau Harbor, Sabah explained that the Indonesian migrants both from the coastal of highland would cross the Sulawesi Sea and usually stopped in Nunukan before crossing to Tawau, both illegal or illegally. Then, the "Muslims" migrant scattered to several low land areas such as Lahad Datu, Sandakan, Tawau, Kota Marudu or Kota Kinabalu for several informal jobs, including to the palm oil plantations, meanwhile the Christian from Tana Toraja and Flores directly moved to Ranau to grow vegetables. However, some Muslim families from the coastal areas of Indonesia also join to migrate to the Kinabalu Park area, especially to Kundasang Village that also inhabited by local Muslim community. Mansur who have lived in Tawau for almost ten years emphasized that these migrant paths have existed since the first time he arrived in Tawau.

In the similar vein, Peter Pausai from Bundu Tuhan emphasizes that a great transformation has occurred in the area of Kinabalu Park since two last decades, especially in the term of livelihood system. Having a strong root in agricultural activity through growing paddy and vegetable, things have changed and the declining along with the involvement with tourism sectors connected to the Kinabalu Park. It is also marked by the influx of Indonesian workers, especially those from Toraja and Flores coming to Ranau as workers at *kebun*, the agricultural land, to fill the empty room left by the young generation of Bundu Tuhan who prefer working at tourism sectors; such as to be *malim gunungs*, porters, guides or home stay workers nearby the headquarter of Kinabalu Park. A lot of land owners in Bundu Tuhan take the similar way with Faridah Dambul by developing the mutual partnership with the Indonesian. Faridah has almost one hectare of land in Kundasang and a half hectare more in Bundu Tuhan, and she has been employing three Indonesian workers to cultivate cabbage and potatoes on her land in the last ten years. Faridah emphasizes that besides the fact that local workers are not sufficient anymore, her Indonesian workers are the ones she could rely on both for their skills, affordable payment and their attitude.

Thus, many the other land owners in Bundu Tuhan also prefer to lend their agricultural lands of around MYR 1500 every planting season (around 4 months) to the Indonesian migrants rather than managing the land themselves. The reason is because the significant increase of production cost to grow vegetables involving several fix costs within the agricultural business; buying seeds, paying for workers' salary and buying pesticides. Therefore, conducting agriculture-based business is considered as a dangerous game because when harvesting time, the price of vegetables could be drastically dropped. It was added by the fact that many local people prefer to involve into tourism-based business as mentioned above, such as earning

around MYR 200 to 400 for two days guiding the climbers to Mount Kinabalu or by working at several homestays, hotel or restaurant linked to the Kinabalu Park. Thus, being a *malim gunung* is clearly seen much more profitable rather than facing uncertainty from managing their own land themselves. It then matches with the need of the Indonesian migrant who come to Sabah for earning money relying on their skill and knowledge in growing crops, as the did in their home country.

Picture. 3 & 4 An Indonesian migrant while working and the Indonesian children at CLC



Thus, having paddy as one of the central cultural patterns reflected on the yearly Kaamatan harvest festival, Dusun people in Ranau have been slowly leaving their connection to the land. Leaving their land that in the past was used by their ancestors to grow *padi hutan*; a term for dry paddy cultivation in the mountainous areas nearby Mount Kinabalu, they gave right to cultivate the lands to the people coming from Indonesia who do not have any sense to maintain certain cultural pattern with paddy or Mount Kinabalu. Therefore, only few old farmers in Bundu Tuhan such as Sotoy, Peter's grandmother who go to her own farming land every morning to take care of the vegetables. Meanwhile, the majority of the younger generation will depart to Kinabalu Park or Ranau for working on non-agricultural field. Peter Pausai was smiling when I asked him; "When was the last time you visit your *kebun*?" he then answered, "It might be a year ago, when I should go there to pick up my *nenek* because it was going to rain hard soon". However, for a community that locate paddy and traditional agricultural activity as a central cultural practice, this transformation can be considered as a serious challenge. Having slowly lost paddy as the symbol of authenticity and replaced by the closer relationship to Kinabalu Park for the economic and cultural reasons, the cultural identity of Dusun people especially in Bundu Tuhan is recently symbolized through the pilgrimage to the sacred mountain of Kinabalu.

KadazanDusun community is claimed for its ability to survive within different eras, times and circumstances and nowadays has arrived at the crossroad between traditionalism and modernity (James, 1999). Tourism development in Kinabalu Park is an instrument of globalization coming to undermine various traditional values, symbolized on *Momolianism* and its practices. Tourism has also changed the economic orientation of people in Bundu Tuhan, effectively transformed from land-based activity rooted in paddy as the central pattern, into tourism based economic. It brings the role of tourism becoming bigger and influence the sense of cultural claim toward Mount Kinabalu as it is reflected through the *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran*. Partly claiming the sacred mountain Kinabalu and strengthening the traditional ownership over Winokok community forest while leaving agricultural land have indicated that the community has exercised their Dusunic authenticity to guarantee the access over both cultural identities and a steady livelihood sectors provided by tourism they have today. However, on the other, they could enjoy a steady position to dominate many economic opportunities provided by the increase numbers of visitors coming to Kinabalu Park within last few decades. The success in culturally claiming the mountain trough regularly conducting *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran* can be

considered as the half-hearted revivalism of the *Momolianism*, which is not merely directed by the cultural motives, but also the rational-economic motives to have bigger opportunities in engaging with tourism industry within the park. However, this transformation has paved the way for the development of a new migration path; from hinterland to hinterland marked by the influx of the Indonesian migrant coming to Ranau for growing vegetables on the abandoned fertile agricultural lands.

Conclusion

The encounter between local culture rooted and tourism development in the area of Mount Kinabalu produces several transformations within Dusun people in the nearby villages, including Bundu Tuhan and Kundasang in the term of livelihood orientation. The promising economic role of tourism in providing the economic opportunity has been combined with the need to maintain cultural connection to Mount Kinabalu as the source of cultural identity to produce the *heterotopic* tourism. Realizing that tourism as one key driver for the economic progresses, the effort to strengthen cultural recognition over the ancestral land is conducted without opposing tourism, instead, it is taken through collaborating with tourism. However, the deeper engagement with tourism-based economic sectors has resulted in the abandoned of agricultural lands, and directly attract the influx of foreign migrant especially from Indonesia to replace local farmers in taking care and managing the lands. Thus, the mutual partnership between Dusun people in Kinabalu Park area and the Indonesian migrants especially from Tana Toraja and Flores can be considered as one fruit of the long engagement between local culture and tourism development in the area of Kinabalu Park.

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DENIAL OF THE ROHINGYA GENOCIDE: PROBLEMATIZING DAW AUNG SAN SUU KYI AND THE 'RULE OF LAW' IN POSTCOLONIAL MYANMAR

Wendell Glenn P Cagape, PhD

Centro Escolar University
(wendellglennpcagape@gmail.com)

Abstract

Even as the world condemns it as genocide, the government of the Union of the Republic of Myanmar and democracy icon, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi denied it and refused to accept it as such and mounted a legal defense arguing that what the subsequent response against the attacks as of August 25, 2017 on various police outposts were anchored on the rule of law. This premise is at the center of this paper. What then is the rule of law in Myanmar? What to them was genocide by the standards of the international community? And why do they deny it? These questions are what this paper problematizes. Qualitative in nature, this paper perused pages of transcripts of speeches to find themes, settings and meanings that will be attributed to problematizing Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the rule of law in the postcolonial Myanmar. And her speeches were delivered in public from 2016-2018. In analyzing her speeches, the paper uses Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. The paper concluded that on the part of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, we problematized her actions and silence over the Rohingya genocide. Her military father who remains to be her influence and that her continued claims that her father is the father of Burmese military; Her special relations of the military generals during her incarceration in her house arrest; Her drive/focus on democratic transition as per her electoral promise in 2015; Her context of rule of law is only political dynamics; And on the Rule of Law, the study revealed these: The rule of law remains to be purely political narratives because the generals are not held accountable inside the country using the judiciary; It is subsumed under the ongoing legal reforms in Myanmar.

Keywords: (five keywords) Aung San Suu Kyi, Rohingya, crisis, problematizing, Southeast Asia, Myanmar

Introduction

The present realities

The United Nations Security Council, acting on its report, calls for the prosecution of Myanmar generals for crimes among others, genocide at the International Criminal Court (Mahtani 2018). The Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar bluntly concluded that “The gross human rights violations committed . . . are shocking for their horrifying nature and ubiquity” and “undoubtedly amount to the gravest crimes under international law” says the editorial of The Washington Post (2018).

The Report of the United Nations Independent Fact-finding Mission recommends *in toto* (OHCHR 2018):

- (a) *The international community, through the United Nations, should use all diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means to assist Myanmar in meeting its responsibility to protect its people from genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. It should take collective action in accordance with the United Nations Charter, as necessary;*

- (b) *The Security Council should ensure accountability for crimes under international law committed in Myanmar, preferably by referring the situation to the International Criminal Court or alternatively by creating an ad hoc international criminal tribunal. Further, the Security Council should adopt targeted individual sanctions, including travel bans and asset freezes, against those who appear most responsible for serious crimes under international law. It should also impose an arms embargo on Myanmar;*
- (c) *Until the Security Council acts, the General Assembly, or alternatively the Human Rights Council, should create an independent, impartial mechanism to collect, consolidate, preserve and analyse evidence of violations of international humanitarian law and human rights violations and abuses and to prepare files to facilitate and expedite fair and independent criminal proceedings in national, regional or international courts or tribunals;*
- (d) *The Human Rights Council should continue to support the mandates of the Special Rapporteur on Myanmar and the High Commissioner for Human Rights, and ensure they have adequate resources to maintain a strong focus on the human rights crisis in Myanmar;*
- (e) *The Human Rights Council should specifically request OHCHR to focus on ensuring accountability for human rights violations and abuses in Myanmar, including by enhanced monitoring, documentation, analysis and public reporting on the human rights situation; raising awareness among civil society and other actors engaged in documenting human rights violations about relevant international standards; working with victim communities to raise awareness about justice options; and supporting comprehensive rule of law and security sector reform in Myanmar in line with international human rights norms and standards. Appropriate resources must be allocated;*
- (f) *The Human Rights Council should establish a second fact-finding mission for a limited period to build on the work undertaken by the Mission, until either one of the mechanisms outlined in (b) or (c) are operational, or the reinforced work of OHCHR set out in (e) is in place;*
- (g) *The United Nations should urgently adopt a common strategy to ensure that all engagement with Myanmar takes into account, and addresses, human rights concerns, in line with the Human Rights Up Front Action Plan. This should guide all UN engagement in Myanmar, particularly in relation to Rakhine State, and include policies and public advocacy stances. All United Nations support to Myanmar authorities should undergo a full Human Rights Due Diligence analysis;*
- (h) *As a matter of urgency, there must be a comprehensive, independent inquiry into the United Nation's involvement in Myanmar since 2011, with a view to establishing whether everything possible to prevent or mitigate the unfolding crises was done; identifying lessons learned and good practice; making recommendations as appropriate, including on accountability; and enabling more effective work in future;*
- (i) *The United Nations and international community must ensure that the repatriation of refugees and return of internally displaced persons only occurs when safe, voluntary and dignified, with explicit human rights protections in place, including citizenship. In the current circumstances, returns are not possible;*
- (j) *All Member States should ensure that engagement with Myanmar, and support for aid, development and reform projects, take into account and address human rights concerns, and explicitly conform to the principles of non-discrimination and equality. They should ensure that humanitarian organizations working on Myanmar are appropriately funded. States should cease operational support to the Tatmadaw and other security forces until there is (1) demonstrable commitment to genuine reform, (2) international assistance in implementing reform and (3) acceptance of and cooperation with international mechanisms to hold those responsible accountable for crimes under international law;*
- (k) *Regardless of the imposition of an arms embargo by the Security Council, States should not authorize the transfer of arms to Myanmar, considering the overriding risk that they*

would be used to undermine peace and security and in the commission of serious crimes under international law;

- (l) Relevant regional organizations, including the European Union and ASEAN, should develop strategies to ensure accountability for perpetrators of crimes under international law in Myanmar, including through sustained engagement with Myanmar and support for an international justice mechanism;*
- (m) Member States should exercise jurisdiction to investigate and prosecute alleged perpetrators of serious crimes under international law committed in Myanmar;*
- (n) The United Nations should establish a trust fund for victim support, through which victims can receive psychosocial support, legal aid, livelihood support, and others means of assistance. All trust fund projects should be designed in consultations with victims.*

United Nations Special Rapporteur for Myanmar, Yanghee Lee, in her address to the United Nations Human Rights Council in Geneva, Switzerland in early March 2018 said that “I am becoming more convinced that the crimes committed following 9 October 2016 and 25 August 2017 bear the hallmarks of genocide and call in the strongest terms for accountability,” (Wilkinson 2018). The UN Human Rights Chief Zeid Ra’ad al-Hussein informed the UN Human Rights Council that an “act of genocide” may have taken place in the Rakhine targeting the Rohingya (Nebehay and Lewis 2018). Following this, in July 2018, FortifyRights accused ranking Myanmar military officials of “planned genocide” (Beech 2018).

However, the Myanmar military denied these allegations of genocide against the Rohingya (BBC 2018), and accuses Facebook of undermining them after the social media giant removed pages and accounts after the damning UN report of Rohingya genocide was released (Ellis-Petersen 2018) (Slodkowski 2018) (McLaughlin 2018).

While the Myanmar military denied the Rohingya genocide, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi stayed silent about it (Ellis-Petersen and Hogan 2018). Her critics including the UN Human Rights Chief were calling for her resignation over the Rohingya crisis (Smith 2018) (Baynes 2018).

Following the UN Report on the Rohingya Genocide, Canada also referred to the Rohingya crisis as genocide and accuses Myanmar of committing genocide against the Rohingya people (NYT 2018). The US Government sanctioned the Myanmar military over ethnic cleansing and genocide (Mahtani 2018).

With this backdrop, the Myanmar military establishment as well as Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the State Counselor of Myanmar refused to admit guilt or acknowledge genocide against the Rohingya. They opposed¹ it and evaded accountability as pressures mounting for the United Nations Security Council to discuss it in its meeting and to refer the case of the Rohingya to the International Criminal Court at The Hague.

At the United Nations, the Third Committee aired their deep distressed by the reports of unarmed Rohingya in Rakhine State being subjected to the unlawful use of force by non-State actors and the excessive use of force by the military and security forces, including extrajudicial killings, rape and other forms of sexual violence, arbitrary detention and the unexplained disappearance of Rohingya civilians in Rakhine State, and by reports of large -scale destruction of homes and systematic evictions in northern Rakhine State, including the use of arson and violence (A/C.3/72/L.48 2017).

These are elements of ethnic cleansing and genocide targeting the Rohingya in the northern Rakhine State.

Problem statement, research questions and objectives

Central to the thesis of the study is the stand of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on the issue of the atrocities against the Rohingya since 2017. Her silence is what drives us to ask: Why won't she act?

¹ Letter of the Permanent Representative of Myanmar to the United Nations Security Council dated August 24, 2018 S/2018/596. Letter can be accessed here: https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/S_2018_596.pdf

Specifically, the study looks at the corpus commonly used in her speeches and draw an analysis on what could perhaps explains her silence.

The objective of this study is to problematise certain behaviors of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the concept of the 'rule of law' in Myanmar which has been widely used to reasoned out government's actions against the atrocities on the Rohingya.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

In spite the atrocities against the Rohingya, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi remains non-committal, refused to comment or issue a statement against the military generals for what has happened on August 25, 2017. It was written that as one member of her inner circle put it: "She will never ever be seen to do what Nambiar tells her to do." Nor will she ever concede that the Rohingya Muslims are being subjected to ethnic cleansing, not even when tens of thousands are being burned from their homes amid widespread reports of killing and sexual violence (Keane 2018).

Discourse has been defined as 'a group of ideas or patterned way of thinking which can be identified in textual and verbal communications and can also be located in wider social structures' (Lupton 1992). It is in this manner that speeches become a great source of data because spoken words can be studied to extract meanings that relates to social processes and analyze it in the purview of how language works within power relations. Further, discourse analysis requires a deeply reflexive approach to recognize the rules of formation, and to understand the patterns of power relations, through self-conscious analytical scrutiny (England 1994).

FDA draws its lineage from Critical Discourse Analysis. The CDA is widely used in analyzing speeches of world leaders. CDA provide some approaches to research with the primary aim of uncovering the relationship between language, society, power, ideology, values and opinions (Rahimi and Javad Riasati 2011). In this, discourse played a crucial role in determining the dominant narratives while also acknowledging the marginalized narratives. We better understand this when we go back to the arguments of Michel Foucault in his book *Archaeology of Knowledge*. He quipped that "*I have decided to ignore no form of discontinuity, break, threshold, or limit. I have decided to describe statements in the field of discourse and the relations of which they are capable*" (Foucault 1972). However, in his pursuits to study discourse, he also proposed exclusionary mechanisms which pertains to taboos, rituals and privileges of the speaking subject. These forms of prohibition seem fairly straightforward and Foucault does not spend much time in elaborating them, noting merely that where the (intersecting) grid of prohibition is tightest is in the regions of politics and sexuality (Foucault 1981). So, in studying the speeches of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, we investigate her words under the scalpel of the four hypotheses of Michel Foucault under *Archaeology of Knowledge* and analyze further her exclusionary mechanism since the issue of the Rohingya genocide lands on the lap of political discourse.

Following Foucault, *we must question those ready-made synthesis, those groupings that we normally accept before any examination, those links whose validity is recognized from the outset; we must oust those forms and obscure forces by which we usually link the discourse of one man with that of another; they must be driven out from the darkness in which they reign* (Foucault 1972).

And with the discourse found in her publicly delivered speeches, we take every word and sentences at face value. For in Foucault, he quipped:

"holds that statements are performances which can be taken at face value regardless of both the possible ambiguity of the sentences used in their formulation (such ambiguous sentences are the subject of commentaries on texts) and the causal factors involved in their utterance (such causal factors are studied hermeneutically, for example in the psychoanalysis of everyday life) (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983).

Foucault's theorization of the constitutive and disciplinary properties of discursive practices within socio-political relations of power is a demonstration of the postmodern concern with how language works to not only produce meaning but also particular kinds of objects and subjects upon whom and through which particular relations of power are realized (Luke 1999). It is in this locus that we dissect Aung San Suu Kyi's speeches to find relations between her objects and the subjects

of her narratives, to somehow problematize her position as someone who used to be the darling of the West with a moniker of the “Democracy Icon” of Southeast Asia.

Finally, Foucault said that:

“The quest for the primary designations of language drew out from the silent and innermost heart of words, syllables, and sounds themselves, a dormant representation that formed, as it were, their forgotten soul (which it was necessary to bring back to light, to make speak and sing once more, in order to attain a greater exactitude of thought, a more miraculous power of poetry); in a similar way, for modern thought, the inert density of the unthought is always inhabited in a certain manner by a cogito, and this thought, dormant within what is not thought, must be brought to life again and stretched out in the sovereignty of the ‘I think’” (Foucault 1989)

One crucial presupposition of adequate critical discourse analysis is understanding the nature of social power and dominance. Once we have such an insight, we may begin to formulate ideas about how discourse contributes to their reproduction (van Dijk 1993).

Methodology

This is one of the central theses of this paper. This is why we intend to problematize her actions and her refusal to tackle the issue using the Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA), looking at her speeches delivered at the Nay Pyi Taw and other public fora including the Keynote address on *Development Effectiveness Roundtable*, Speech on the *National Reconciliation and Peace*, Speech on *Democratic Transition in Myanmar: Challenges and the Way Forward*, her Address before His Holiness, Pope Francis in Myanmar as delivered at the Myanmar International Convention Center, her Message on the *Union Peace Conference 21st Century Panglong*, Speech on the *commemorative ceremony of the 50th ASEAN anniversary*, her *Report to the People*, and her Speech at the *71st United Nations General Assembly* in New York.

The study limits only to her public speeches in analyzing meaning using FDA and take only those spoken by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from 2016-2018, respectively. The speeches were sourced from the official website of the State Counselor of Myanmar at www.statecounsellor.gov.mm.

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) evolved from Critical Discourse Analysis as commonly used in analysis of spoken and written speeches of various leaders and their situations. It will be employed to gather meanings from words as spoken by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in her public engagements inside Myanmar and within ASEAN and the United Nations.

We intend to peruse the speeches of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi for relations between discourse, power, dominance, social inequality and positioning. In this paper, we approach these realities by focusing on the role of discourse in the production or challenge of dominance (van Dijk 1993). Dominance, continued van Dijk, is defined as the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality (Ibid pg 250).

Result, Analysis and Findings

The following are the speeches under review in this paper.

Sample 1 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on September 17, 2017 delivered publicly during the National Reconciliation and Peace at Nay Pyi Taw, in Myanmar;

Sample 2 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on September 21, 2016 delivered publicly during the 71st United Nations General Assembly in New York, USA;

Sample 3 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on November 28, 2017 delivered publicly upon the Apostolic Visit of His Holiness Pope Francis to Myanmar, in the Myanmar International Convention Center;

Sample 4 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on August 23, 2018 delivered publicly on the 43rd Singapore Lecture in Singapore;

Sample 5 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on February 26, 2018 delivered publicly at Nay Pyi Taw, in Myanmar on the Development Effectiveness Roundtable;

Sample 6 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on January 27, 2018 delivered publicly at the Union Peace Conference 21st Century Panglong;

Sample 7 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on August 14, 2017 on the Golden Anniversary of the ASEAN at Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar;

Sample 8 is the speech given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on October 12, 2017 as her Report to the People, at Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar.

In the succeeding table, statistical data are presented per speech samples as generated from the MS Word processor.

Statistical Items	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Sample 4	Sample 5	Sample 6	Sample 7	Sample 8
Pages	6	3	2	5	4	2	2	2
Words	3,654	1,641	923	3,489	1,692	1,413	962	1,136
Characters with no spaces	17,219	8,413	4,417	18,154	9,017	6,962	5,197	5,666
Characters with spaces	20,836	10,033	5,335	21,597	10,673	8,466	6,140	6,868
Paragraphs	45	24	13	50	50	20	19	21
Lines	237	120	68	241	146	92	68	79

Part of the analysis of the speeches is also the statistical attributes that are found in each speech sample. Over the span of 3 years, from 2016-2018, on average, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi speak on at least 3.25 pages of prepared narratives.

For Sample 1, hereunder are the corpora.

Top Words	Number of times found in the speech	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times found in the speech
Peace	22		Bangladesh	4
Development	14		Refugees	4
Rakhine	14		Democracy	3
Myanmar	11		Democratic	3
Muslim/s	10		Rule of Law	3
Conflict	9		Right	3
Stability	7		Clearance Operations	2
			Justice	1
			Armed Groups	1
			Terrorist Groups	1
			Armed clashes	1

The top seven most commonly found words in her speech in the National Reconciliation and Peace refers to mostly the “desirables” she envisions Myanmar shall hereafter will achieve after the exodus of the Rohingya on August 26, 2017 to Cox’s Bazar in Bangladesh. She repeatedly speak of ‘peace’ in a string of words such as in “peace and stability”; and in more strings of words such as in “democratic transition, peace and stability and development”. The same goes for “development” and refusing to call the Rohingya, Rohingya, she mentioned them as “Muslim/Muslims” 11 times in her speech. The same manner that she referred to the northern Rakhine State (nRS) as “Rakhine” to subsume the entire swath of land that includes the Buddhist-majority southern Rakhine State, mindful that the international community, as of 2017, is looking at the atrocities that has happened in the northern Rakhine State in particular.

In this speech, she mentioned “rule of law” only three times. She used it to commit her government “to the restoration of peace, stability and rule of law, throughout the State”. State in this statement, in her discourse refers to the northern Rakhine State (nRS) which she aptly referred to as the “Rakhine”, providing a wrong representation of the state because there were no “clearance

operations” ever undertaken in the “southern Rakhine State”, only in the “northern Rakhine State” where most of the Rohingya population settles.

“Clearance Operations” as a reference to the response of the Myanmar Tatmadaw on the Rohingya population following the August 25, 2017 attacks on thirty police outposts, was mentioned only twice. This, to my analysis, was intentional.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi framed her discourse to shield the Myanmar Tatmadaw and the ranking military officials in her country by narrowly referring in her speech, “clearance operations”, in the same vein as she refused to refer to the Rohingya on their ethnic group’s name but rather as “Muslim or Muslims”.

On sample 2, hereunder are the corpora.

Top Words	Number of times found in the speech	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times found in the speech
Peace	10		National Reconciliation	4
Development	9		Rakhine	3
Myanmar	5		Stability	3
			Migration	3
			Extremism	3
			Corruption	3
			Right	3
			Fear	2
			Hatred	2
			Human rights	1
			Citizenship	1
			Rule of Law	1
			Ignorance	1

This speech is Daw Aung San Su Kyi’s United Nations General Assembly first address after her party’s National League for Democracy won an impressive win in parliamentary elections in 2015.

She repeatedly used ‘peace’ at 10 times, ‘development’ at 9 times and followed by Myanmar at 5 times. in her UNGA speech, it can be inferred that she was appealing to another international audience which listens to her ‘promising democracy’ discourse position over ‘rule of law’, ‘human rights’, and “citizenship” when it pertains to the Rohingya issue.

It is noteworthy to also understand that in this speech, there were no massive atrocities against the Rohingya groups by the Tatmadaw as the unfortunate events would have to happen on October 6, 2016, roughly 18 days after she delivered this address.

Sample 3, hereunder are the corpora.

Top Words	Number of times found in the speech	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times found in the speech
Peace	7		Independence	2
			Myanmar	2
			National Reconciliation	2
			Founded on Laws	1
			Rights	1
			Rakhine	1
			Development	1

This Address was before His Holiness Pope Francis and understandably, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s repeated word is “peace” for seven times throughout her brief speech.

On the other hand, she also used “independence” twice and “Myanmar” twice in her speech. This visit of Pope Francis happened on November 28, 2017, roughly around three months after the exodus of the Rohingya to Bangladesh after clearance operations were implemented by the Tatmadaw. Anticipating perhaps a statement by His Holiness the Pope, echoing international criticism on Myanmar on its handling of the human disaster, she subtly reminded her audience and the officials of the Holy See that indeed, Myanmar is an independent state, which will not be interfered.

“Founded on Laws” which we supposed to refer to “rule of law” was used only once in her address, along with the reference of “Rakhine” uttered only once, “rights” and “development”.

On Sample 4, hereunder are the corpora

Top Words	Number of times found in the speech	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times found in the speech
Myanmar	22		Bangladesh	4
Transition	16		Rule of Law	3
Peace	13		Dictatorship	2
Rakhine	12		Freedom	2
ASEAN	9		National Reconciliation	2
Democracy	7			
Development	6			
Democratic Transition	5			

Her speech before her audience at the Grand Hyatt Singapore is her 43rd Singapore Lecture as sponsored by the ISEAS. Her audience are mostly businesspeople, enterprise leaders, global leaders, government officials and economists.

For this speech, she pitched “Myanmar” for twenty-two times while maintaining “transition” by sixteen times. She also used the word “peace” for thirteen times, ASEAN for nine times, “democracy” for seven times.

Her direct discourse reference on the Tatmadaw and its dictatorship registered only the use of the word “dictatorship” twice while using the word “rule of law” for three times.

On sample 5, hereunder are the corpora.

Top Words	Number of times found in the speech	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times found in the speech
Development	22		Rakhine	4
Myanmar	15		Peace	3
			International community	3
			National Reconciliation	2

This speech is addressed to an audience of businesspeople in Myanmar.

In this speech, she used “development” twenty-two times and “Myanmar” for fifteen times. she was pitching development effectiveness in this roundtable with key industry leaders and businessmen.

She discussed on the issued which has unfolded in “Rakhine” by using the word for four times, batted for “peace” for three times, “international community” for three times and “national reconciliation” for two times.

On sample 6, hereunder are the corpora.

Top Words	Number of times	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times
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	found in the speech			found in the speech
Peace	13		Myanmar	3
People	11		Conflict	3
Union	10		Potential	2
Country	5		Development	1
			Federalism	1
			Nation	1
			National reconciliation	1
			Democratic	1

This speech was delivered by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on the *Union Peace Conference- 21st Century Panglong* attended by representatives of the government, members of Parliament, the Armed Forces, ethnic armed groups, political parties and civil society organizations.

Again, “peace” is repeated 13 times throughout her speech and “people” for eleven times, which refers to majority and minority ethnic groups in Myanmar, with the exception of the Rohingya. “Union” which refers to Myanmar’s republic was used ten times and country, which refers again to Myanmar was used five times.

It is noteworthy to observe too that national reconciliation was only used once so with “democratic”, “federalism”, “nation” and “development”. She however cited “conflict” three times in this speech.

On sample 7, hereunder are the corpora:

Top Words	Number of times found in the speech	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times found in the speech
ASEAN	42		Rule-based	2
Community	9		interest	2
			Development	2
			Diversity	2
			Myanmar	1
			Non-interference	1
			Cooperation	1
			Trust	1
			Dialogue	1

This speech was delivered at Nay Pyi Taw on the golden commemorative ceremony marking the 50th Anniversary of ASEAN.

She appeared to her audience in this speech without much concern on the Rohingya since the latest atrocities done unto them happened a year earlier. This was delivered 11 days prior to the attacks at the police outposts in the northern Rakhine State and more than 11 days prior to the clearing operations done by the Tatmadaw against the Rohingya.

“ASEAN” was used forty-two times and community was used nine times. She was affectionately referring to the historic past of the ASEAN as a community and placed her narratives of its future as a close-knit community of nations.

Subtly again, she mentioned “non-interference”, “trust”, dialogue” and “cooperation” once while “rule-based” which is related to “rule of law” argument was used twice.

On sample 8, hereunder are the corpora:

Top Words	Number of times found in the speech	Versus	Bottom Words	Number of times found in the speech
People	11		Peace	4
Rakhine	7		Resettlement	4
Development	5		Unity	3

Bangladesh	5		Rehabilitation	2
			Repatriation	1
			International community	1

This speech by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was delivered as her Report to the People months after the exodus of the Rohingya towards Bangladesh.

She used the word “people” eleven times and mentioned “Rakhine” seven times while “development” was used five times along with “Bangladesh” for five times.

She mentioned “peace” for four times, “resettlement” for four times, “unity” for three times, “rehabilitation” twice and “repatriation” once and “international community” once.

It is noteworthy that in all her speeches, we didn't find “Rohingya” but Muslim/s and we didn't find northern Rakhine State but “Rakhine State” instead. We found “rule of law” used only ten times across all eight speeches.

Number the corpus “rule of law” used	Sample	Alternative corpus used
3	1	
1	2	
1	3	“Founded on Laws”
3	4	
-	5	
-	6	
2	7	“rule-based”
1	8	
Total corpus “rule of law” used		Total corpora in all eight (8) speeches
10		14,910

We shall, henceforth, analyze the discourse using the four-hypothesis test of Michel Foucault.

1st Hypothesis – Statements different in form, and dispersed in time, form a group if they refer to one and the same object;

Under this hypothesis, we come up with a group we infer hereinafter as themes. These are *avoidance, excuse, resolved, acknowledgment and rejecting international pressures*.

Under *avoidance theme*, the discourse revealed in this passage of her speech at the *Union Peace Conference- 21st Century Panglong*, we quote:

“We will not resort to exerting pressure through populist politics, or coercing others through political means to achieve our goals” (Suu Kyi 2017). Though not directly attributed to the August 2017 exodus of the Rohingya as a result of the ‘clearing operations’ of the Tatmadaw against them, this refers to efforts of her government to sustain national reconciliation among ethnic groups, however, excluding the Rohingya.

Resting under the umbrella of the ASEAN, she avoided the issue of the Rohingya atrocities including ethnic cleansing and genocide by citing:

“ASEAN provides a model for peaceful borders, and wider regional harmony. ASEAN’s recipe for success is consultation and more consultation until consensus is reached and cooperation made possible” (Suu Kyi, Speech 2017). Here, this passage infer to the October 2016 atrocities which resulted to the dispersal of the Rohingya to Bangladesh after ‘clearing operations’ were done by the Tatmadaw.

She also said that “since 5 September, there have been no armed clashes and there have been no clearance operations” (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2017). Clearance operations are being undertaken by the Tatmadaw and a steady of exodus of Rohingya towards Bangladesh even past this date will attest otherwise.

Under *excuse theme*, she said and we quote:

“I think it is only fitting that I should remind you today that our government has not yet been in power for even eighteen months. It will be eighteen months at the end of this month. Eighteen months is a very short time in which to expect us to meet and overcome all of the challenges that have been expected to do” (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2017).

Through this passage in her speech, it was an apparent excuse in response to the growing international pressure that demands her to do more for the Rohingya issue and the atrocities used against them. She has laid down the premise that she can't address the issue of the Rohingya exactly because her government has just been in office for barely eighteen months, that she can not be dispose of to respond to the challenge by condemning the Tatmadaw for its crimes against the Rohingya.

Under *resolved theme*, we found important passages in her speeches.

Speaking before the 71st United Nations General Assembly the Rohingya on September 21, 2016, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said:

“Over the last few years, the world has focused its attention on the situation in the Rakhine State of the country. As a responsible member of the community of nations, we do not fear international scrutiny” (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2016).

In assuaging international condemnation against Myanmar by international NGOs, key influential people, from Nobel Peace Laureates to the UN officials led by the former UN Human Rights Council chief and the UN Special Rapporteur on Myanmar, Ms. Yanghee Lee, she spoke that *“as part of our Government’s commitment to finding lasting stability and harmony, and supporting broad-based, inclusive socio-economic development in Rakhine State, and indeed, throughout the nation, we have established the Union Enterprise for Humanitarian Assistance, Resettlement and Development in Rakhine State, the Rakhine Advisory Commission Implementation Committee and the Rakhine Advisory Board.”* (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2018). This was what she said addressing business leaders and industry leaders during the Development Effectiveness Roundtable held on February 26, 2018 in Nay Pyi Taw.

In her most recent speaking engagement in Singapore, she said that:

“Addressing destabilizing issues in Rakhine State was a fundamental part of building our Pillar 1. Within two months of taking on the responsibilities of government, we have established the Central Committee for Rule of Law and Development in Rakhine and soon after, we approached Dr. Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations, to head an Advisory Commission that would help us to find lasting solutions to the problems that were jeopardizing peace and progress in a region so bountifully blessed by nature” (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2018).

And;

“On their recommendation, an Independent Commission of Enquiry, led by Ambassador Rosario Manalo, an eminent diplomat from ASEAN, has been established. The Commission met for the first time in Nay Pyi Taw on 15 August and will be commencing their work next week” (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2018).

These statements were in anticipation of the passage and voting of the draft UN Resolution recommending endorsement by the United Nations Security Council of Myanmar to the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC).

Under *acknowledgement theme*, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said:

“Of the many challenges that our government has been facing, the situation in the Rakhine has most strongly captured the attention of the world” (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2017). This acknowledgment that the issue of the atrocities against the Rohingya has reached the international radar and scale was at the central of her address to visiting Pope Francis in Nay Pyi Taw. She also acknowledged that the *compassion* and *encouragement* that His Holiness Pope Francis left in his message at the Fiftieth World Day of Peace on January 1, 2017 has been treasured and taken into heart.

Under *rejection of international pressure theme*, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said:

“There has been a lot of criticism against our country. We need to understand international opinion. However, just as no one can fully understand the situation of our country the way we do, no one can desire peace and development for our country than us. That is why we need to tackle these problems based on the strength of our unity” (Suu Kyi, Speeches 2017). This passage was spoken after the world have seen the traumatized Rohingya as they walked towards to border between

Myanmar and Bangladesh, in hordes, leaving the dead and bringing with them the stories of survival and pain.

This passage in her *Report to the People* speech has made her detached to the realities of the Rohingya, calculating and cruel. It should her continued denial of the crimes against the Rohingya to have existed, crimes such as rape, arson, ethnic cleansing, and genocide.

2nd Hypothesis – Form and Type of *connexion*;

For this hypothesis, Foucault was talking about his attempts at studying descriptions as a form and type of connection in the study of nineteenth century medical science. He rested in his analysis that medicine was organized in a series of descriptions.

He said.

“I had to abandon this hypothesis at the outset and recognize that clinical discourse was just as much a group of hypothesis about life and death, of ethical choices, of therapeutic decisions, of institutional regulations, of teaching models, as a group of descriptions; that the descriptions could not, in any case, be abstracted from the hypotheses, and that the descriptive statement was only one of the formulations present in medical discourse” (Foucault 1972).

Following his stand on descriptive statements and culling out from series of form and type of statements, we have chosen the form of *ethical choices* in analyzing the discourse presented to the public by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Through it, we elevate the analysis by asking more questions, for now and future research endeavors in this area.

It is because the person asking the questions is merely exercising the right that has been given him; to remain unconvinced, to perceive a contradiction, to require more information, to emphasize different postulates, to point out faulty reasoning, and so on (Foucault 1997). This was what Foucault replied when interviewed by Paul Rabinow. He continued that on the part of the one answering the questions raised, “as for the person answering the questions, he too exercise a right that does not go beyond the discussion itself; by the logic of his own discourse, he is tied tow hat he has said earlier, and by the acceptance of dialogue he is tied to the questioning of the other” (Ibid pg. 111).

In sample 1, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said “*This does not mean that we are not ready to go on with our task of overcoming these challenges. Because I believe in the community of nations, I am prepared to share with all our friends who wish us well and who understand our problems and sympathize with us, what we have been doing to achieve democratic transition, peace and stability, and development.*”

In this description, she has an ethical choice of inclusively including the Rohingya and she and her party, the NLD plotted to spur the country towards full democratic transition but she did not. Why did she leave the Rohingya in her narratives of democratic transition towards peace, stability and development in all of Myanmar?

Why did she not bat for the amendment of the 1982 citizenship law that stripped the Rohingya of their birthright in Myanmar? This is very much part of the amendment the world wanted to see in Myanmar, not only its questionable 2008 Constitution.

Why did she not recognize the Rohingya by their name and historicity? Because doing so will augur meaningful national reconciliation and peace as well as unity in the country.

In sample 2, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi have said “*The people of Myanmar have long been deprived of their inherent right to live in peace and security, to fundamental freedom and to development, in the context of our 2030 goals, sustainable development.*”

Are the Rohingya not part of the people of Myanmar? Those who were apparently deprived of their right to a name and a nationality after 1982 citizenship law? Is it not their inherent right to live in peace and security too?

Why did she not include the Rohingya in her appeal to the United Nations about her own people being deprived of fundamental freedom and development?

In sample 3, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi have said, in front of Pope Francis: “*This is also a programme and a challenge for political and religious leaders, the heads of international institutions and business and media executives: to apply the Beatitudes in the exercise of their respective responsibilities.*”

It was in the same Address that she defined what beatitudes mean.

To continue with her Address, she said to the Pope: *“Jesus himself offers a “manual” for this strategy of peacemaking in the Sermon on the Mount. The eight Beatitudes (cf Mt. 5:3-10) provide a portrait of the person we could describe as blessed, good and authentic. Blessed are the meek, Jesus tells us, the merciful and the peacemakers, those who are pure in heart, and those who hunger and thirst for justice.”*

Did she, in her Address, intently leave the Rohingya and the atrocities they faced as a narrative devoid of meaning in the passage she mentioned to the Pope? Who are, in Myanmar, more in hunger and in thirst for justice? Is it not the Rohingya above anybody else?

Who needs peacekeeping in Myanmar? Is it not the Rohingya communities, after a crackdown and clearance operations done by the Tatmadaw?

Who needs to exercise beatitudes the most? Is she not, as the leader of the Union of the Republic of Myanmar?

In sample 4, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi have said: *“When I speak of democratic transition, I mean a democratic way towards a democratic goal, following a path laid down in accordance with the wishes of the people and maintained with their consent and cooperation”.*

Is it the desire of the majority to deprive the Rohingya their birthright? Was it their qualified wish to deprive the Rohingya of their freedom and democratic way of life?

Is it not despotic to deprive the Rohingya these basic freedoms and right?

In sample 5, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said: *“the second and thirs on the list of tasks for the DACU are the identification of priorities for development assistance, and the organization of a new set of refreshed sector and thematic coordination groups.”*

She heads the *Development Assistance Coordination Unit* of the government.

Why has there been no tangible development assistance extended to the Rohingya communities in the northern Rakhine State?

Why were they left out of development?

In sample 6, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said: *“As we negotiate to reach common agreements on issues where our views differ, we must recognize that courtesy is not weakness, negotiation not concession. Honesty, trust, awareness, and wisdom are necessary for negotiations to succeed.”*

Why does her government did not negotiate to end the atrocities against the Rohingya? Why is the civilian government not openly and truthfully asking the Tatmadaw to stop the atrocities and encourage accountability to be imposed?

Why did she remain silent than engaging on the realities of the Rohingya genocide?

In sample 7, she said that *“ASEAN is now entering a wider area of regional integration as new and diverse challenges to sustainable development emerge: poverty, rising inequalities within and among Member States, terrorism based on religious ideology, natural resource depletion. We must meet these challenges together, developing further our capacity for united endeavor.”*

In this, why did she not address the high poverty levels in the northern Rakhine State? Why did her government not able to negotiate with the Rohingya to help them, not drive them away, from their homes?

Why did her government not embrace the Rohingya as an ethnic group in Myanmar so as to discourage the recruitment of ISIS in the poverty-stricken, neglected northern Rakhine State?

In sample 8, she said: *“we are now negotiating with the Government of Bangladesh on the matter of accepting those who are now in Bangladesh.”*

Did she mean that the Rohingya in Cox’s Bazar will not be able to return to their homes in the northern Rakhine State?

Did she just officially give away the Rohingya over to Bangladesh?

3rd Hypothesis – Not possible to establish groups of statements, by determining the system of permanent and coherent concepts involve;

In this, we seek to analyze her speeches *in the interplay of their appearances and dispersion* (Foucault 1989).

The discontinuity in all these eight speeches manifested on her selected occasion and audience. As observed, she skipped directly mentioning Rohingya and the genocide.

4th Hypothesis – describes their interconnexion and account for the unitary forms under which they are presented: the identity and persistence of themes.

In all her speeches, the forms remain to be strictly formal and uptight. Her revolving themes focus on peace and development and in promoting Myanmar which is understandable in the light of her title of State Counsellor but she was not able to rally strong response against the military officials on the way the Rohingya were treated after August 25, 2017.

Myanmar's Rule of Law

Like any civilized nations on earth, Myanmar is a rules-based society, whatever its design or mechanism is – in civilian or military contexts. A study of the rule of law in Myanmar brings us back to the history of Burma at the height of the incarceration of Aung San Suu Kyi, then a prominent opposition leader.

The government of Myanmar has responded to worldwide dismay over the May 2009 criminal trial of democracy icon Daw Aung San Suu Kyi for allegedly violating the terms of her house arrest by characterizing it as a simple and unavoidable matter of law. State-run media outlets have rebutted arguments that the charges are baseless, erroneous and politically motivated. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs responded to criticism from the United Nations Security Council by saying that the case would “not have any political impact” and that it was being “considered and carried out as the task [sic] relating to the rule of law (Cheesman 2010).

In this, Aung San Suu Kyi was being criminally indicted using the “rule of law” which is the same “rule of law” her government is borrowing as narratives against international pressures as a result of the Rohingya genocide.

Aung San Suu Kyi and the ‘rule of law’ has a symbiotic relationship, at her time of house arrest and now, as the State Counsellor of the Union.

But what does the “rule of law” mean?

The answer is important, because if Suu Kyi cannot articulate, communicate and get general agreement on what the “rule of law” means to the Burmese people, it threatens to become just a political slogan rather than a tangible goal towards which objective progress can be measured (Bloom 2012).

Efforts to strengthen social, economic and civil rights within the country further require policies and actions that educate people about their rights and furnish practical assistance to anyone whose rights have been breached. This should be accompanied by the revision or repeal of criminal statutes and decrees that have in the past validated repressive activity by the state, and a review of prison conditions and detentions to complement the amnesty process begun by President Thein Sein in May 2011. Steps should also be taken to broaden the country's narrow definitions of citizenship, which currently operate to deny at least 800,000 members of the Rohingya community and an unknown number of other people equal protection under statutory law and the 2008 Constitution (IBA 2012).

Going back to its origins, what most laws in Myanmar today are importations from Great Britain and India as they were a colony for so many years.

On January 1, 1886, Myanmar became one of the provinces of British India. The statutory laws, which were designed in the English common law model for use in India, were extended to Myanmar (then known as Burma) as well. These statutory laws included the Contract Act, the Negotiable Instruments Act, the Sale of Goods Act, the Companies Act, the Arbitration Act, and the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes. The Indian Penal Code, drafted and adopted in 1860, was also imported from India. By the early 1920s, when judicial administration had become well organized in the country, the wholesale adoption of codes made for India on British common law principles was just about completed. However, Myanmar has enacted numerous laws amending pre-independence laws, such as the Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Act in 1956, the Criminal Law Amending Law in 1963, the Code of Criminal Procedure Amending Law in 1973, the Law Amending the Myanmar Companies Act in 1989 and 1991, the Law Amending the Civil Procedure Code in 2000 and 2008 (Kham 2014).

In the study of the ‘rule of law’ in Myanmar, one has to go back in 2012 when the Constitutional Tribunal's nine judges ‘voluntarily’ resigned after impeachment proceedings against

them prospered. While it was hailed a triumph of parliamentary democracy, it has also impinged on the judicial independence of the Constitutional Tribunal.

The resignation of the members of the Constitutional Tribunal on 6 September 2012 went back to a decision issued by the Tribunal on 28 March 2012 in the case *President of the Union v. Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, et al.*, which was only the fourth decision since the establishment of the Tribunal in February 2011. On 2 February 2012, the Attorney General of the Union had submitted Submission No. 1/2012 to the Constitutional Tribunal on behalf of the President, asking the Tribunal to resolve the issue of whether the committees, commissions and bodies formed by the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, the Pyithu Hluttaw, and the Amyotha Hluttaw could be defined as Union level organizations. The Tribunal decided that the bodies formed by each Hluttaw were not Union level organizations (Marti 2015).

Fast forward to 2018, the international community's shock at violations of international law in Myanmar, evidenced by the exodus of hundreds of thousands of Rohingya into Bangladesh and the plight of thousands more displaced people in the Shan and Kachin States, overlooks a crucial national failing in prevention: Myanmar's legal system is unable to prevent human rights abuses or hold violators accountable. The result is a culture of impunity in which the State, in this case the military and those close to it, rule by law (Aguirre 2018).

Without the rule of law and human rights, upheld by an independent national legal system capable of balancing the power of the executive and military, there can be no safe return for displaced people. Recent government promises to assist returnees to access justice are therefore hollow (Ibid).

This is the reality that even Aung San Suu Kyi has to rally her people to institutionalized. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said for the justice system to be strong, courts must be firm, particularly when tackling graft, as corrupt elements tend to take advantage of law for personal gain, while unbiased legal services remain a challenge in this country (Lin 2018). "If you keep very beautiful laws confined to the books and do not apply them in a way that would benefit the public, then we can't say there is rule of law," said the State Counsellor (Ibid).

Discussion

Problematizing Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the Rule of Law

In our effort to better understand the issues surrounding the response of Myanmar of the accusations of genocide against the Rohingya, we will dwell on problematizing her as the defector leader of the government as well as the principle of the rule of law in Myanmar.

First, the notion of the rule of law is perhaps the most powerful and often repeated political ideal in contemporary global discourse. Everyone, it seems, is for the rule of law. The rule of law is a major source of legitimation for governments in the modern world. A government that abides by the rule of law is seen as good and worthy of respect. In recent decades, billions of dollars have been spent by the World Bank and other development agencies on developing the rule of law around the world—with limited success (Tamanaha 2012).

Second, that it is a principle that is elusive.

Quite a direct descendant, the rule of law in Myanmar as well as majority of the world's nations, emanated from the Magna Carta of 1215, signed by England's King John, specifically under article 39, viz:

"No freemen shall be taken or imprisoned or disseised or exiled or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor send upon him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land."

Aptly stated, a rule of law is enshrined to govern the governed, to set limits to what is under the aegis of a rules-based society and what is not.

A rule of law is very difficult to maintain in any nation, if the citizens do not follow the rule of law adopted.

The American Bar Association suggested that a 'rule of law' cannot ever be entirely separate from the people who make up our government and our society. The rule of law is more of an ideal that we strive to achieve, but sometimes fail to live up to.

In the case of Myanmar, is the rule of law followed by its citizens, from ordinary folks from all walks of life to the military generals, who for many decades ruled Myanmar and its citizens under a military dictatorship?

According to the 2011 Rule of Law Handbook of the United States Army, a rule of law (ROL) used the description of Dr. Richard Fallon in which it cited in toto (Cole 2011):

"First the ROL should protect against anarchy and the Hobbesian war of all against all. Second, the ROL should allow people to plan their affairs with reasonable confidence that they can know in advance the legal consequences of various actions. Third, the ROL should guarantee against at least some types of official arbitrariness.

Demands for the rule of law in response to violence in Myanmar's west correspond with this usage. Whereas in established democracies the rule of law as equality complements the rule of law as security, in a democratizing state the two are not necessarily compatible. The rule of law as an idea associated with substantive legal equality contributes to Myanmar's democratization, whereas when associated with public and state security it potentially undermines that democratization (Cheesman 2014).

As for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, her narratives today is linked to her past, in her childhood years surrounded by military generals who are loyal to his late father, Aung San, the prominent father of the Burmese military.

Born in 1945 in Rangoon, Burma. Aung San Suu Kyi spent her early years in Burma. She was just two years old when, on July 19, 1947, armed men burst in on a meeting convened to oversee Burma's transition to independence and killed her father and eight others. Growing up in the shadow of her father's legend, she was largely shielded from the turmoil of the post-independence years. At the Methodist English High School, in Rangoon, she took classes in morality and geography. Sao Haymar Thaike, a childhood friend and the daughter of Burma's first post-independence President, told me that Suu Kyi was a serious, bookish girl, raised by a "very strong, kindhearted" mother, Khin Kyi. In 1960, Khin Kyi was appointed Ambassador to India and took her daughter with her. Two years later, Burma's coup installed a socialist military regime (Beech 2017). She later joined her mother, who was appointed as Burmese ambassador (representative) to India in 1960. She was partly educated in secondary school in India and then attended St. Hugh's College, Oxford University, in England. While there, she studied politics, economics (the production, distribution, and use of goods and services), and philosophy (the study of ideas) and received her bachelor's and master's degrees. From her father she developed a sense of duty to her country, and from her mother, who never spoke of hatred for her husband's killers, she learned forgiveness. She also became influenced by the teachings of Indian leader Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948), who was a believer in nonviolent civil disobedience.

Fast forward to 2007, the United States Institute of Peace paper on "Building Democracy in Burma" made the case that the country "falls more into the pattern of post-colonial Africa than it does Asia". Nearly a century of British rule left the foundations for democracy but Myanmar "like many countries in Africa, wasn't able to translate these into an enduring foundation for sustainable democratic governance" (Grant 2018). Along with it is Aung San Suu Kyi and her vision of rule of law under democratic reforms and its ongoing transition.

A democracy icon who fell from grace, international leaders were outraged by the exodus of hundreds of thousands of Rohingya Muslims from Myanmar into neighbouring Bangladesh due to an army crackdown, they have accused her of doing nothing to stop rape, murder and possible genocide by refusing to condemn the powerful military or acknowledge accounts of atrocities (BBC 2018).

Conclusion

On the part of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, we problematized her actions and silence over the Rohingya genocide.

- Her military father who remains to be her influence and that her continued claims that her father is the father of Burmese military;

- Her special relations of the military generals during her incarceration in her house arrest;
- Her drive/focus on democratic transition as per her electoral promise in 2015;
- Her effort to strong and relevant democratic discourse by obscuring the issue of the Rohingya;
- Her context of rule of law is only political dynamics;
- Her detached attitude towards the Rohingya genocide for the fear that the military generals will take back her freedom and liberty;
- In all her speeches, she only uttered 10 times the words 'rule of law' against 14,910 words she uttered in all her separate eight speeches.

On the rule of law,

- The rule of law remains to be purely political narratives because the generals are not held accountable inside the country using the judiciary;
- It is subsumed under the ongoing legal reforms in Myanmar.
- It is a commonly-used word to infer legality to justify the clearance operations against the Rohingya communities.

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CLEANER PRODUCTION EFFORTS WITH EMPHASIS OF BUSINESS PROCESS IN AEROSPACE INDUSTRY AND ITS IMPACT TO LOCAL COMMUNITY: DIRGANTARA INDONESIA (PERSERO)

Dewi Permatasari⁷, Arini Sedawati¹, Handoko Subawi², Iwan Triana³, Yustiono Dwi Arianto⁴, Eko Daryono⁵, and Sukatwikanto⁶

¹Corporate HSE Department Head – Indonesian Aerospace

²Department Head of Detail Part Manufacturing - Indonesian Aerospace

³HSE Department Head of Operational Engineering – Indonesian Aerospace

⁴Division Head of Detail Part Manufacturing - Indonesian Aerospace

⁵Division Head Corporate HR & GA - Indonesian Aerospace

⁶Director of Human Resources - Indonesian Aerospace

⁷Environmental Professional – Renewable and Non-Renewable Energy

Abstract

Cleaner Production and Life Cycle Assessment for nowadays are becoming environmental trends and concern in most manufacturing industry in Indonesia. Indonesian Aerospace, as one of leading metal processing and manufacturing industry in Asia, has begun their initiative in starting cleaner production based on life cycle thinking. Therefore in this paper, process towards preliminary life cycle impact assessment on 10 (ten) impact categories have been assessed, resulting climate change (74.9%) and freshwater toxicity (24.45%) as the most contributed potential impacts. To interpretation part, some effort on strategic environmental beyond compliance aspect will also take into account, such as 3R principal of waste management, energy and emission reduction, water efficiency and wastewater management, which looping into one life cycle in business process. There is also positive impact on other non-business process aspect which focused on socio-environment perspective, such as on crops cultivation and local West Java community development. As an impact of cost saving on cleaner production effort, one program has been survived to be maintained throughout a year of implementation, resulting economic improvement up to 15% per annum. It is conclude that industry can maintain their efficiency and effectiveness to the technical operation, the as their care to surrounding environment, including local community.

Keywords: Cleaner Production, Environmental Beyond Compliance, Life Cycle Assessment, and Local Community Development

Introduction

Manufacturing Industries are now in trends of starting their life cycle thinking to supports cleaner production efforts. Indonesian Aerospace Industry (Dirgantara Indonesia), is one of metal processing and manufacturing industry in Indonesia, situated in Bandung City, West Java Province (see Figure 1), has begun their life cycle initiative since early of 2019. Aerospace industrial manufacturing concentrated in production area of KP-II and KP-IV, occupying area about 125.4 ha; consist of 79.3 ha of green space and 46.1 ha of buildings.

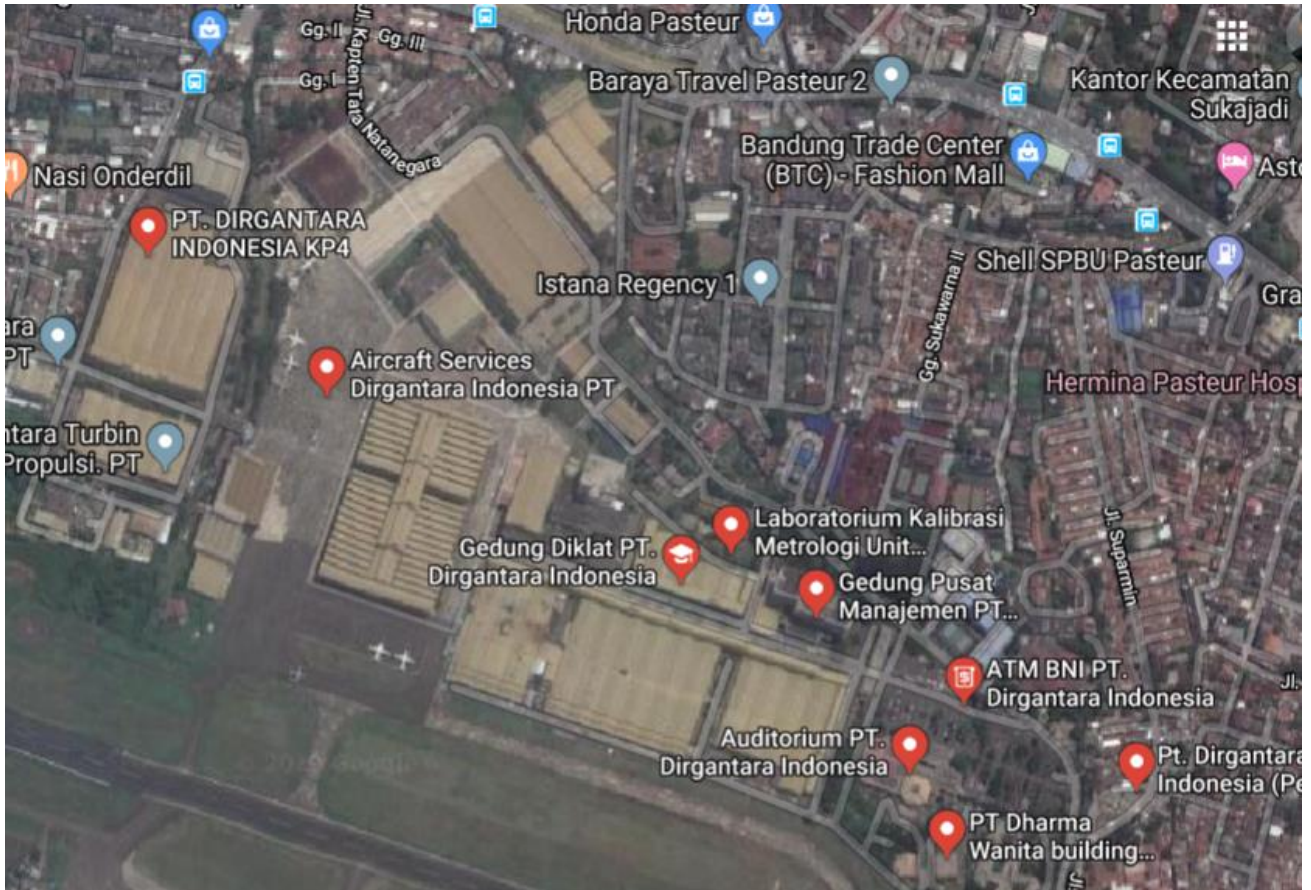


Figure 1. Location of Indonesian Aerospace Manufacturing (Achmad, *et al.*, 2019)

This paper discussed about preliminary life cycle assessment (LCA) hierarchy of Indonesian Aerospace, with energy efficiency and environmental aspects consideration. As part towards implementing cleaner production based on sustainability assessment approaches, LCA become one of methodology to achieve quantification on environmental life cycle around manufacturing process. Analysis and reporting process of LCA in Indonesian Aerospace were conducted by multi-division team member, based on ISO 14040-2016 (Anonymous, 2016) and ISO 14044-2017 (Anonymous, 2017). Scopes of LCA used in this paper is gate-to-gate analysis, including detail part production, aircraft components and the airplane manufacture (Achmad, *et al.*, 2019). However, LCA team also is in pursuing to analyze cradle-to-gate based on secondary raw material documentation.

This preliminary LCA study has deliver important issues for continuous improvement program, particularly in management of energy consumption for KFX (Korean Factor Experiment) Composite and application of process technology of Tartaric Sulfuric Acid Anodizing (TSAA). Besides focus on technological process and its improvement, this paper also discussed positive impacts on cleaner production. Biodiversity conservation and community development somehow is un-direct impact of cost efficiency based on LCA thinking.

Overview of Cleaner Production and Life Cycle Assessment in Indonesian Aerospace

Cleaner production effort in Indonesian Aerospace has been implemented for several years, focusing only to main process and its waste after-process. LCA, in other hand, is in a nowadays trend for manufacturing industry, within main focus to environmental quantification from raw material, the usage in main and supporting process, and delivers as an impact per

product. Therefore we believe that LCA can be a tool to measure effectiveness of cleaner production and its continuous improvement.

This activity has started with assignment of qualified team member, within multi-division related (mainly production, manufacturing, and technology division), divided into assessment team and reporting team. Based on international standards of LCA, LCA has to be started by defining goals and scopes of assessment. The main goals are to identify Indonesian Aerospace positioning based upon environmental conservation issue, so the source of pollution can be determined and be improved. LCA scopes are focusing on gate-to-gate analysis, conducting activity and process of detail part production, aircraft components, and the airplane itself (Lewis, 2013). Functional unit analyzed per m² of certain aircraft component/product/by-product, clustered into activity of imported main raw material, which is aluminum (and some of titanium, stainless steel, glass, aramid, and carbon); machining detail part process, sheet metal forming, surface treatment, and adhesive bonding; component assembly process (delivers aircraft components), final assembly process (delivers final product of airplane); and some supporting process, as depicted in Figure 2.

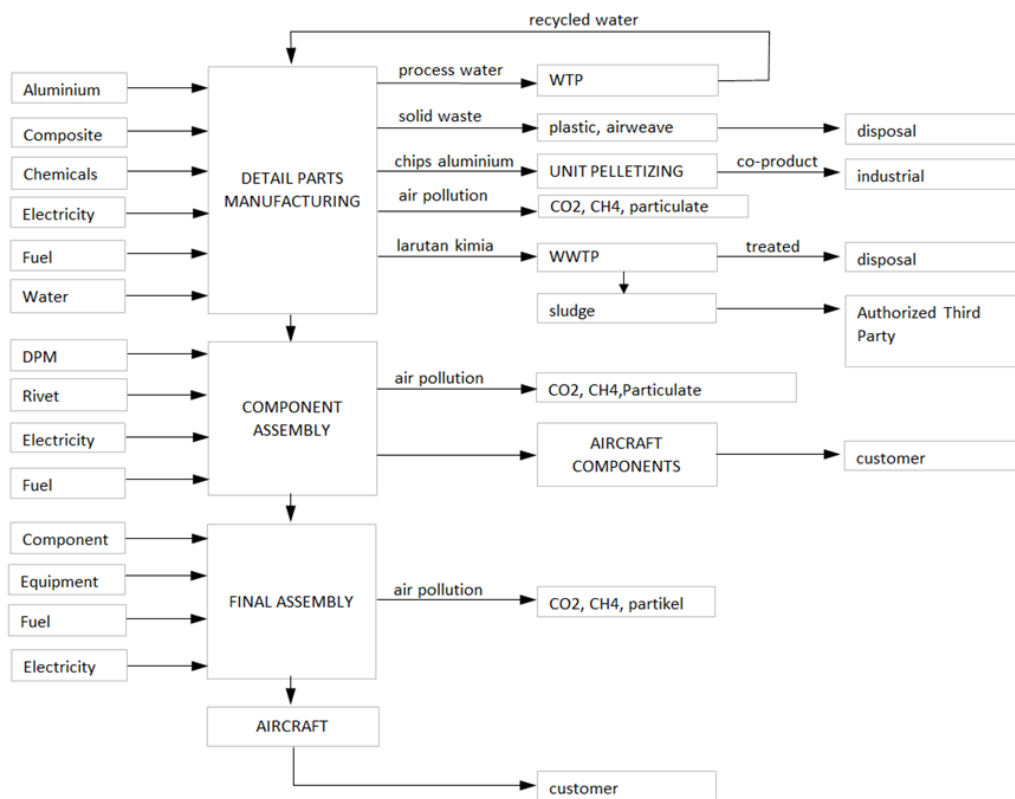


Figure 2. Schematic of Preliminary Life Cycle Assessment in Indonesian Aerospace (Achmad, et al., 2019)

System boundary of analysis divided into two analyses separately, consist of holistic assessment using cradle-to-gate life cycle analysis from raw material purchasing and usage to the gate before process of airplane operation and testing. The other system boundary is gate-to-gate partial analysis, conducting on functional unit of detail parts, components assembly, and final assembly. Machining process, sheet metal forming, and surface treatment are taken into account on functional unit of detail parts manufacturing. Additional concern is also being considered in the assessment such as energy consumption of boiler using industrial diesel oil fuel for chemical heating on surface treatment unit. Since company not generates its own electricity, there is usage of electricity from national electricity company, with assumption of supply composition came from Cirata sub-system, consist of Saguling Hydro-Power (50%) and Muara Tawar Steam-Power Plant 1-2 (50%), all operates under Jawa-Madura-Bali interconnection grid system.

Cut-off criteria of the assessment consider some logical assumption, such as non-aluminum material usage considered are not significant, whereas the co-product remain to be utilized as smaller scale product. Overall chips produced are categorized as co-product, which still have potential to be reused (to date, aluminum chips also reuse under hazardous waste management program) (Arini, *et.al.*, 2019).

Life Cycle Inventory Analysis

Data inventory of LCA begin with data collection, consist of primary and secondary data, whereas interview of related stakeholders are also taking into account. Unit process of the assessment investigated process of cradle-to-gate and gate-to-gate inventory.

Cradle to Gate

LCA analysis in Indonesian Aerospace begin with raw material purchasing, aircraft detail parts production process, detail parts assembly to aircraft components, and final assembly to the aircraft. The first step, which is raw material procurement, controlled under software with detail of amount and delivery time. For the second step, detail parts manufacturing, is clustered into 3 technological processes, they are machining process (20% of production capacity), sheet metal forming process (70% of production capacity), and composite process (10% of production capacity). Diagram flow from material to the final aircraft assembly is depicted in Figure 3.

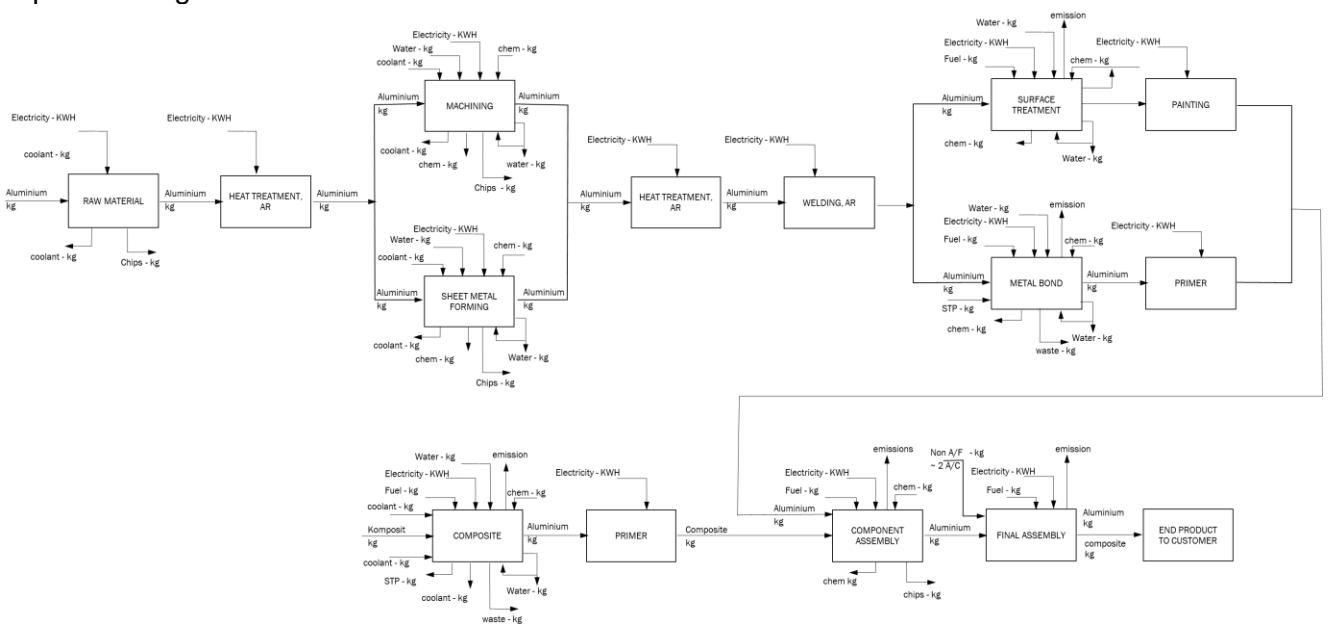


Figure 3. Schematic of Cradle to Gate in Indonesian Aerospace Preliminary LCI (Achmad, *et al.*, 2019)

Gate to Gate

Manufacturing process of Indonesian Aerospace partially simplified into some gate-to-gate conception, such as activity of raw material importation of aluminum, titanium, stainless steel, prepreg glass, aramid, and carbon; detail parts manufacturing process of machining, sheet metal forming, and adhesive bonding (see Figure 4); assembly component stage (see Figure 5); aircraft final assembly stage (see Figure 6); supporting process of production tool manufacturing (see Figure 7); supporting process of process water and wastewater

treatment (see Figure 8-9); and supporting process of pelletizing aluminum chips for industrial needs (see Figure 10).

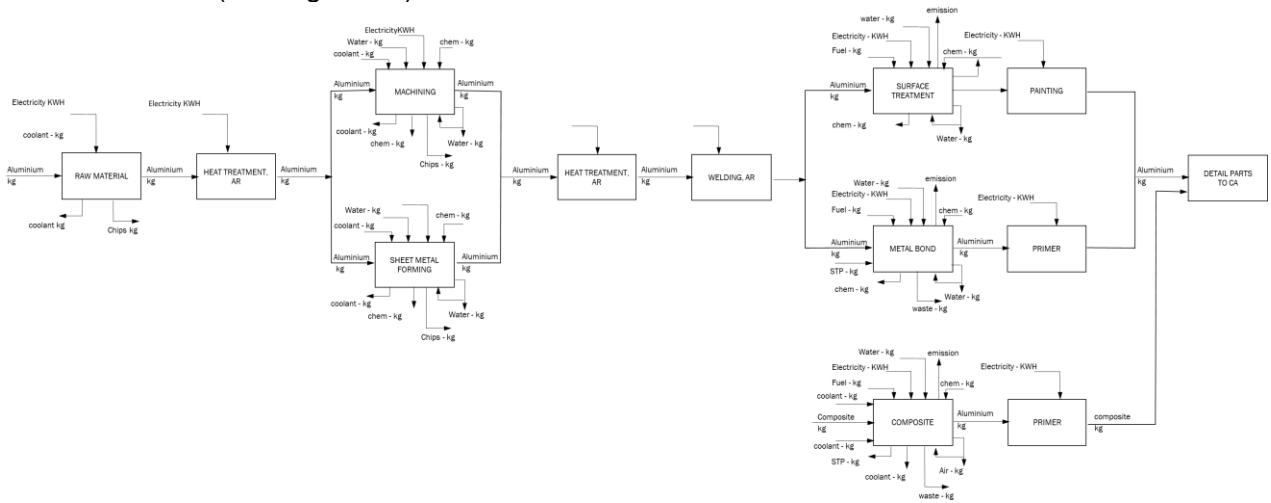


Figure 4. Schematic of Gate to Gate Detail Parts Manufacturing (Achmad, et al., 2019)

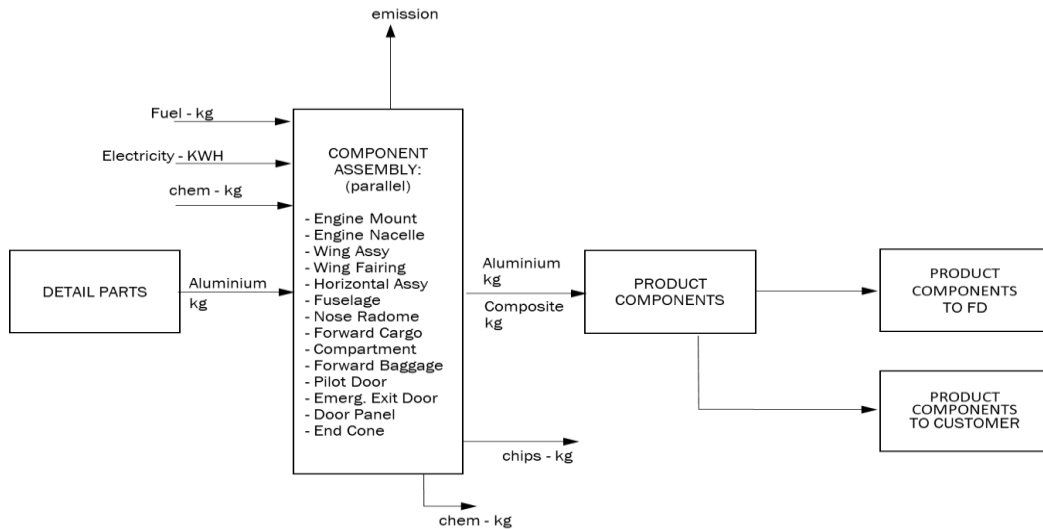


Figure 5. Schematic of Gate to Gate of Component Assembly (Achmad, et al., 2019)

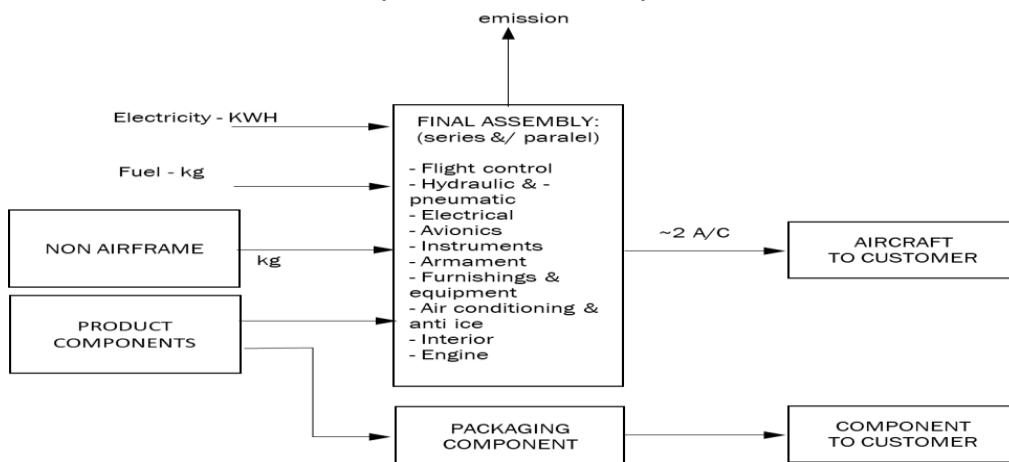


Figure 6. Schematic of Gate to Gate of Final Assembly (Achmad, et al., 2019)

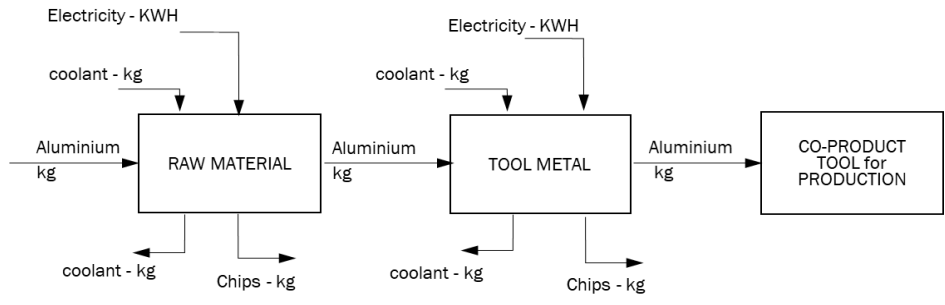


Figure 7. Schematic of Gate to Gate of Production Support (Achmad, et al., 2019)

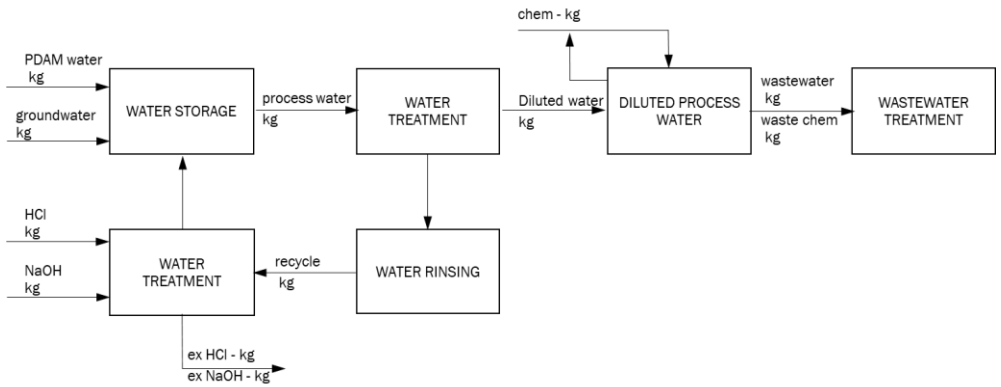


Figure 8. Schematic of Gate to Gate of Water Treatment Support (Achmad, et al., 2019)

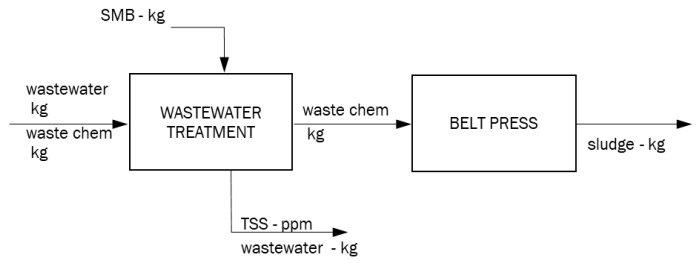


Figure 9. Schematic of Gate to Gate of Wastewater Treatment Support (Achmad, et al., 2019)

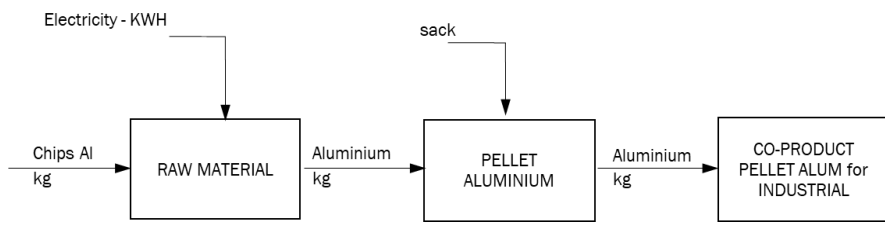


Figure 10. Schematic of Gate to Gate of Industrial Needs Support (Achmad, et al., 2019)

Based on system boundaries described above, life cycle inventory of the natural resources usage divided into 3 stages, consist of material input, waste, product and co-product. Material input using Characterization Factor (CF) as purchased goods, while waste using CF

Table 2 shows that the highest potential impact among the categories is *climate change* and *fresh water toxicity*. Impact category of climate change was marked by fossil energy consumption for chemical solution heating in surface treatment shop. Besides that, impact category of fresh water eco-toxicity was an impact of chemical usage, although there has been advanced treatment which meet the quality standard of wastewater. Previous study from Airbus [7] shows that emission caused by aerospace manufacturing are not significant compared to another activity in cradle-to-cradle scheme, such as fossil energy production and transportation. Climate change impact for aircraft manufacturing then compared in Table 3.

Table 3. Comparison of Climate Change Impact

CLIMATE CHANGE (CC) IMPACT FOR MANUFACTURING					
Program Aircraft	kt CO2 eq produk	kg CO2 eq produk	produk, kg	kg CO2 eq / kg	REF
PTDI	8.393	8.393.413	64.391	130	iLCAN (2019)
A320	21.000	21.000.000	37.230	564	Lewis (2013)*
A330	50.800	50.800.000	109.400	464	Lewis (2013)*
A380	82.800	82.800.000	277.000	299	Lewis (2013)*

* Tyler Lewis, 2013, LCA of the Passenger Air Transport System Using 3 Flight Scenarios, NUST, p.65

(Achmad, *et al.*, 2019)

Table 3 shows that Indonesian Aerospace product caused less emission than Airbus aircraft product (Lewis, 2013). Nevertheless the aircraft manufacturing impact in emission to the atmosphere are still less than transportation sector, such as the operation of aircraft itself. Preventive action to minimize emission released from the source of activity is then a key factor of cleaner production.

Interpretation and Discussion:

Preliminary of Life Cycle Assessment in Indonesian Aerospace manufacturing has shown some potential environmental impacts based on industrial process. Some hotspot that has been identified which will be discussed based on Indonesian environmental beyond compliance criteria (Anonymous, 2014).

3R of Waste Management

- a. Application of CMS Router to Improve Utilization of Sheet Metal Material.

Sheet metal material, mostly dominated by aluminum, will go through preliminary cutting by manual or using CMS Router equipment. Automation CMS usage effectively improved up to 30% of metal usage, compared to manual process. This program also accelerates production time, since cutting process able to be done simultaneously. Flow process diagram of CMS router application is shown in Figure 11.

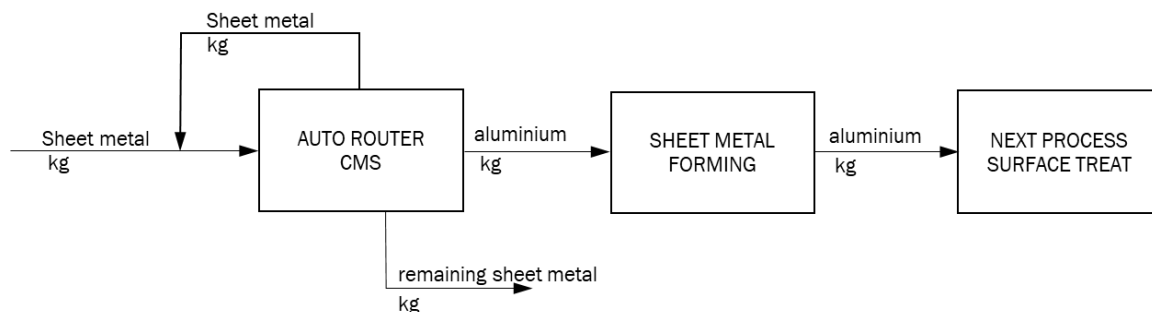


Figure 11. Flow Process Diagram of CMS Router Application (Deni & Arief, 2019)

About 30,000 kg of sheet metal raw material has been used annually, which deliver metal sheet product about 22 kg. CMS router program has advantage to recycle sheet metal into process for about 9,5 kg. This sheet metal forming processed through stretch forming, rubber press, folding, acentric and hydraulic press. This process resulted detail parts to be delivered in shop of surface treatment and shop of metal bonding (Deni & Arief, 2019)

b. Reuse of Ex-Machining Aluminum Block for Small Scale Aircraft Part

Machining process using aluminum block applied throughout conventional and modern system supported by numeric control operation document (NCOD). As a common practice that machining process of bigger material will remain metal pieces which able to be reused to formed smaller part. Process flow diagram of the program is shown in Figure 12.

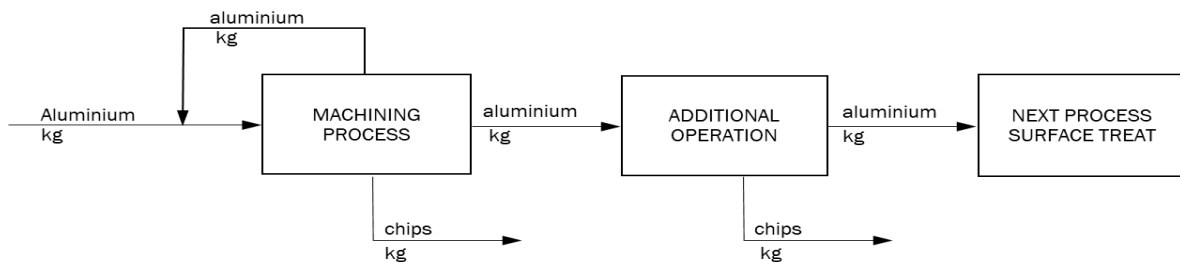


Figure 12. Flow Process Diagram of Reuse of Ex-Machining Aluminum Block (Nunuk *et al.*, 2019)

Energy source of the machining operation were using electricity to drive milling machines. Aluminum block raw material for the operation has been used about 190,000 kg, where 34 kg delivered as product. By the reuse of the metal, this program has been saved material usage about 9.6 kg annually(Nunuk *et al.*, 2019). After machining process, detail parts then delivered into shop of surface treatment.

c. Pelletizing Recycled Waste of Ex-Machining for Industrial Sector

Machining process also deliver by product as chips material, this has similar physical character with the parent material contained high pureness of aluminum. Thus, pelletizing unit aimed to reduce chips volume and simplified transport by pressing chips into 1 ton of bag capacity (Viola & Asep, 2019). Process flow diagram of the program is then shown in Figure 13.

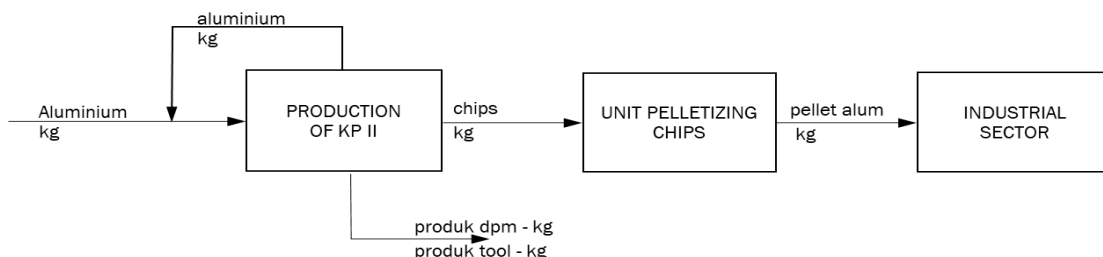


Figure 13. Flow Process Diagram of Pelletizing Process of Ex-Machining Recycled Material (Viola & Asep, 2019)

d. Sludge Management

Sludge in this case was a by-product of wastewater that has been treated in WWTP unit. The sludge itself contained Cr^{6+} (toxic and carcinogenic) which has been reduced into Cr^{3+} (benign and less harmful, sometimes required as micronutrient for living environment). The

sludge then packed into pressed form before it's transported to the licensed and authorized hazardous transporter (Nellyza & Nurlyta, 2019). The process flow diagram of the program shows in Figure 15.

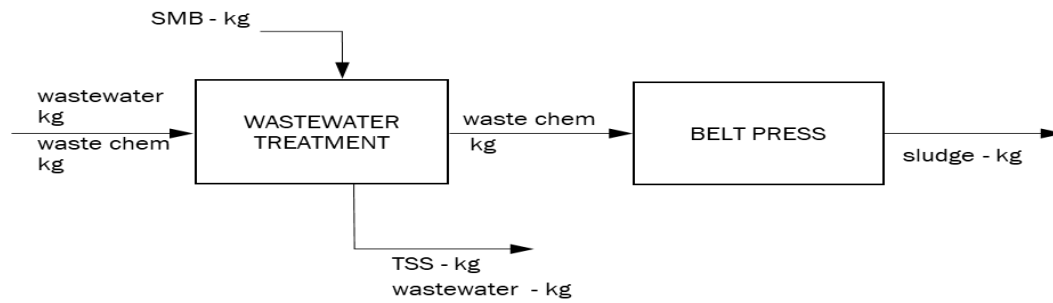


Figure 14. Flow Process Diagram of Sludge Management (Nellyza & Nurlyta, 2019)

Energy Efficiency and Emission Reduction

a. Fuel Consumption Management for Production Activity of KP-2

Fuel, consumed as High Speed Diesel (HSD) required for boiler operation in order to supply the heat for chemical solutions in surface treatment shop. There is also separated boiler unit to support autoclave operation (Dhimas *et al.*, 2019). The autoclave boiler operates within lubricant as media, which aims to heat up the air on it. Schematic diagram of fuel consumption in Production Activity of KP-2 is then shown in Figure 16.

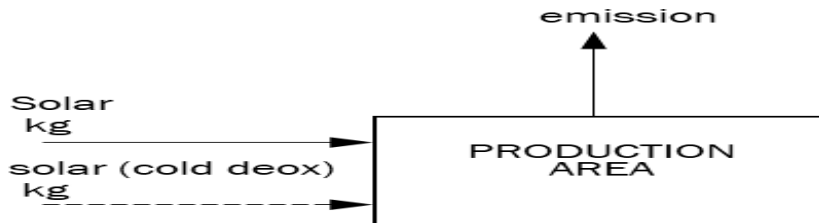


Figure 16. Process Flow Diagram of Production Activity of KP-2 Area (Dhimas *et al.*, 2019)

b. Electricity Consumption Management in Production Area of KP-2 (MACH, SMF, ST)

Besides the application of fuel consumption management, electricity consumption management also conducted in production area of KP-2 (Achmad & Budhi, 2019). The schematic diagram of program management is then shown in Figure 17.

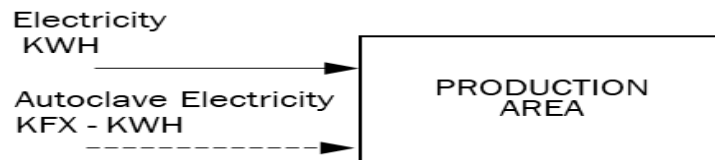


Figure 17. Process Flow Diagram of Electricity Usage of KP-2 Area (Achmad & Budhi, 2019)

Water Efficiency and Wastewater Management

a. Recycling of Rinsing Water

Process water for surface treatment of detail parts were supplied by groundwater and local water company. As one of water resource efficiency, all water supplied has been reused and recycled as shown in Figure 18.

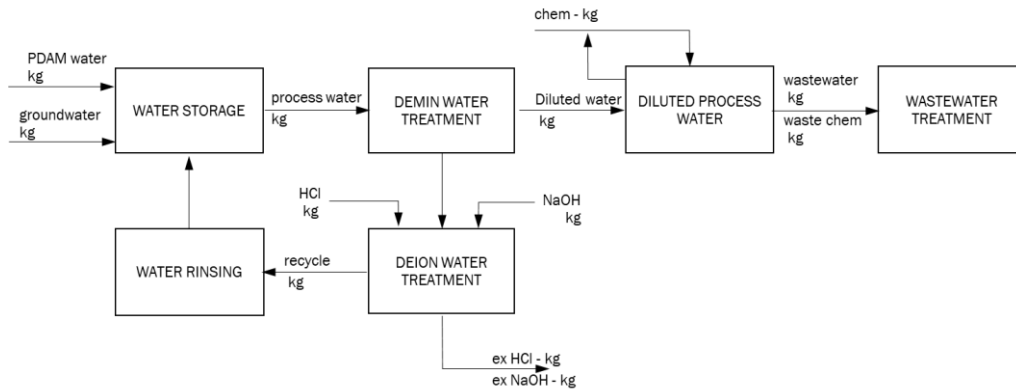


Figure 18. Process Flow Diagram of Recycle of Rinsing Water (Hardiyanto & Said, 2019)

Local water processing company supplied water for make-up purpose and has been utilized about 130,000 kg per year. Groundwater consumption per year is about 130,000 kg, both stored in water tank which also covered the recyclable rinsing water. About 153,000 kg amount of water were used as chemical solvent, while the remaining water used for rinsing process (Hardiyanto & Said, 2019).

b. Pollution Load Reduction of WWTP Effluent

In aircraft manufacturing process, wastewater produced after the use of chemicals and solvents has been reached saturation point. It is then treated under wastewater treatment plant (WWTP) unit before discharged to the stream (see Figure 19) within batch system. Effluent resulted from WWTP has to fulfill regional environmental standard; therefore reduction of pollutant concentration will increase degree of compliance.

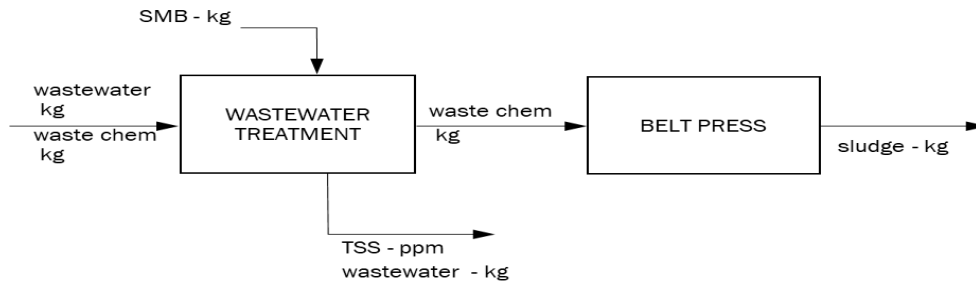


Figure 19. Process Flow Diagram of Reduction of Pollutant Concentration in Effluent WWTP (Novie et al., 2019)

Wastewater contained in stabilization and neutralization chamber prior to be treated to the next unit. There is a process of metal wastewater reduction by adding sodium-meta-bisulfide solution (SMB). Besides produced effluent WWTP also resulting by product of sludge which go through belt press unit (Novie et al., 2019).

c. Application of Process Technology of TSAA

Technology of Tartaric Sulfuric Acid Anodizing (TSAA) is a new technology in aluminum anodizing field. It has also been applied by Airbus as one of Indonesian Aerospace customer. Conventional technology of Chromic Acid Anodizing (CAA) required chrome compound solution (Anonymous, 2005), while TSAA used tartaric acid and sulfide acid with no heavy metal content which more environmental friendly (Agussalim & Mughni, 2019). The flow of the program described in Figure 20.

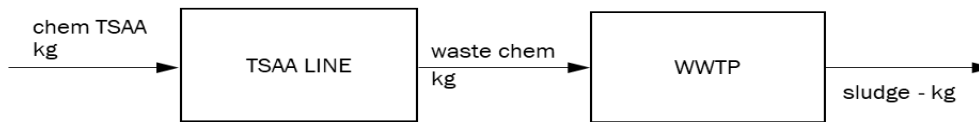


Figure 20. Process Flow Diagram of TSAA Application (Agussalim & Mughni, 2019)

As for update, this technology is ongoing in qualification and certification process and the infrastructure with last trial in some specimens has been passed. Further improvement of the program has planned for qualification and certification of TSAA technology itself.

Positive Impact on Cleaner Production:

Cleaner production effort somehow drives industry to set their environmental management pathway. Besides deliver a whole effective and environmental friendly business process, it also has positive impacts economic aspect. Continuous improvement on cleaner production in Indonesian Aerospace does positively impacted to the cost reallocation for another living environment aspect, in this case is biodiversity conservation and for further socio-environmental improvement program possibly integrated to community development.

Progress on Biodiversity Improvement

Biodiversity conservation that discussed in this paper is a development program based in local community of Bandung area. This program inspired by cooperation to community in utilizing wood of post-packaging materials. Thus, skilled community, located in Jayagiri District, Bandung – West Java, transform the waste-wood into valuable product, such as home furniture, jardinière, vase, etc. Products of jardinière are then becoming media for succulent plants that also cultivated in the same area. Progress of the program is also depicted in Figure 21.



Figure 21. Utilization of Wood of Post-Packaging into Wood Handicraft (Desi *et al.*, 2018)

Implementation of this program has been awarded internally by top leader as pioneer in decorative plants cultivation within community approach. About 150 species of succulent plants has cultivated in the area, and ongoing for further market in the future (Desi *et al.*, 2018).

Road to Community Development

Community development is a new paradigm in Indonesian Aerospace under Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) program. It is also a very challenging for non-charity paradigm that has been implemented for years. Thus, the team has initiated fundamental program of community empowerment as part of extended implementation of past charity program (Novika *et al.*, 2018). By involving some adaptability concept, at least three years of Bio-digester technology has implemented in Kertawangi Village, Cisarua, Lembang – West Java. Activity of the program is depicted in Figure 22.



Figure 22. Bio-digester Program Towards Supporting Community Development (Novika et al., 2018)

The program basically is a charity program of supporting energy independency to the community, but has been modified in the implementation part to be community empowerment concept. Main difference of charity and empowerment program is that charity not monitored progress of the program, while empowerment also focus to the society as an actor and the progress of the program is monitored and evaluated periodically. Empowerment program also supported with exit strategy where the local community should be able to be independent, either economically and/or socially, in the future.

To date, this program has driven independency towards urban sustainable energy development by utilizing waste-manure from at least 15 cattle's into biogas energy. Economic advantage for community obtained from saving of LPG (non-renewable urban gas fuel) expenses, which has been improved community income up to 15% per year.

Conclusions and Recommendations

We conclude that aircraft manufacturing dominated impact on global warming potential and fresh water toxicity. Though emission released from aircraft industry is lower than oil and transportation in aviation sector itself. Cleaner production effort on optimizing resource consumption plays very important role in manufacturing industry, particularly in this case on aircraft manufacturing sector. This effort has impacted on economic point of view which can support other living environment aspect, such as biodiversity and for further improvement; community empowerment also should be taking into account.

We wish for continuous improvement and sustainable thinking on developing cleaner production so that the product is effectively and efficiently processed throughout better environmental point of view. Therefore we recommend that further and detailed Life Cycle Assessment in the future to analyze every impact categories. This will help cleaner production applied effectively and also as part of continuous improvement.

Acknowledgement

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THE EFFECT OF PARTICIPATION, MOTIVATION, INTEREST AND ABILITY OF COMMUNITY IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF FOREST AREAS WITH SPECIAL PURPOSE (KHDTK) AT FOREST HOUSE SIMALUNGUN DISTRICT

Robert Tua Siregar¹, Demita Natalita Perangin-angin²,

¹STIE Sultan Agung Pematangsiantar, tuasir@gmail.com

²Hery Pandapotan Silitonga STIE Sultan Agung Pematangsiantar
(herysilitonga@gmail.com)

Abstract

KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh is a forest area which is an infrastructure support forestry education and training activities as well as a natural laboratory for science and technological development practice from all series of activities in the field of forestry. Forest Training serves as supporting infrastructure in training and human resource development process, as well as a tool for socializing forest and forestry development. Related with the time, in 2015 based on the Minister Decree of Environment and Forestry in SK no. 1030 / Menhut-VII / KUH / 2015 about the Establishment of Forest Training Area Pondok Buluh become Forest Areas With Special Purpose (KHDTK) of Forest Training Pondok Buluh, with the total area of 1,272.80 Ha. The problems faced by KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh is protected forest areas and production forests where in the area there are people and timber industry that began to penetrate the forest area. On the other hand KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh is rich in biodiversity and landscapes that can be used as tourist attraction, such as KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh that offers the potential of natural and cultural tourism attraction because KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh has characteristic with the life of the community. The main objective of the study was to analyze the influence of participation, motivation, interest and ability of the community in developing ecotourism in KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh. The objectives of this study, are: (a) the influence of participation on ecotourism development (b) the influence of motivation on ecotourism development, (c) the influence of interest on ecotourism development (d) the influence of ability on ecotourism development and (e) participation, motivation, interest and community's ability to develop ecotourism in KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh. This research is descriptive quantitative research with the population is Pondok Buluh Village as many as 50 people. The data were collected by interview and questionnaire method which then processed and analyzed with SPSS 23. Ecotourism resource located in KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh in the form of Outbound, Climbing, Tracking, Bird Watching and other types of nature tourism activities. The role of the community in the activity program is seen by the form of community participation in planning, decision-making, implementation and sharing of economic benefits.

Robert Tua Siregar , Demita Natalita Perangin-angin

Keywords: KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh, Ecotourism, Community

1. Introduction

The existence of ecotourism activities in KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh will have a positive impact on forest sustainability and the flora and fauna contained inside. As well as increased the community's income around the forest in KHDTK Pondok Buluh, Pondok Buluh Village, Dolok Panribuan Subdistrict, Simalungun Regency, North Sumatra. The status of the area as protected forest and production forest requires continuity of

management so that abiotic, biotic and socio-cultural potentials are maintained. In addition to improving the quality of life in local communities, ecotourism also provides economic benefits for KHDTK. Community participation is a process of activities undertaken by individuals and groups in the community, to declare their interests or links to environmental sustainability, in which they are located or join in order to achieve the goals of the self-reliant community.

2. Literature Review

Forest is a unity of ecosystem in the form of expanse of land containing biological natural resources dominated by trees and environmental alliance of its environment, one with the other can not be separated. Forest is a collection of plants as well as plants, especially trees or other woody plants, which occupy a large area (Law No. 41 in 1999)

Ecotourism is a form of tourism that is managed with a conservation approach. If ecotourism is the management of nature and the culture of the community that guarantees sustainability and prosperity, while conservation is an effort to sustain the utilization of natural resources for the present and the future. This is in line with the definition made by The International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (1980), that conservation is a human endeavor to harness the biosphere by striving to deliver substantial and lasting results for present and future generations. Development of ecotourism within forest areas can ensure the integrity and sustainability of forest ecosystems. Community-based ecotourism is a pattern of ecotourism development that supports and enables the full involvement of local communities in the planning, implementation and management of ecotourism businesses and any benefits gained. Community-based ecotourism is an ecotourism effort that focuses on the active role of the community.

It is based on the fact that the community has the knowledge of nature and culture that become the potential and selling value as a tourist attraction, so that the involvement of the community becomes absolute. Kilby (2002) stated that social capital exists within levels or scales as one feels belonging to family, community, profession, country, etc, simultaneously. Community-based ecotourism recognizes the right of local people to manage tourism activities in the area that they have custom or as a manager.

Community-based ecotourism can create employment opportunities for local communities, and reduce poverty, where ecotourism income is from tourist services to tourists: guide fees; transportation costs; homestay; sell handicrafts, etc. Coleman's work represents an important shift from Bourdieu's individual outcomes (as well as in network-based approaches) to outcomes for groups, organizations, institutions or societies which represents atentative shift from egocentric to sociocentric (refer to table 1) (Adam and Roncevic 2003; Cusack 1999; McClenaghan 2000). Coleman extended the scope of the concept from Bourdieu's analysis of the elite to encompass the social relationships of non-elite groups

(Schuller et al. 2000).

Ecotourism brings a positive impact on the preservation of the local environment and indigenous cultures which ultimately hopefully will be able to foster the identity and pride of the locals that are growing as a result of the increase of ecotourism activities. With the pattern of community-based ecotourism does not mean that people will run their own ecotourism business.

The commonalities of most definitions of social capital are that they focus on social relations that have productive benefits. The variety of definitions identified in the literature stem from the highly context specific nature of social capital and the complexity of its conceptualization and operationalization. There is no commonly agreed definition of social capital and the definition adopted

by any given study seems to depend on the discipline and level of investigation (Robison et al. 2002).

3. Methodology Of The Research

The approach used in this research is descriptive quantitative research. The subject to be studied is Pondok Buluh Village community which is directly related to the existence of KHDTK of Forest Training Pondok Buluh by 50 people. The object of this research was conducted in Pondok Buluh Village, Dolok Panribuan Subdistrict, Simalungun Regency, North Sumatera Province. This study was conducted for ± two months from January 2018 to February 2018.

The data were collected by interview method and questionnaire. To facilitate data analysis, SPSS 23 software tools are used to test:

1. Partial Test t, used to determine whether the independent variables are partially significant or not to the dependent variable

(a) The influence of participation (x1) on ecotourism development (Y)

(b) The influence of motivation relationship (x2) on ecotourism development (Y)

(c) The influence of interest relations (x3) on ecotourism development (Y)

(d) Effect of ability relationship (x4) on ecotourism development (Y)

2. Simultaneous Test (Test F)

F test is used to determine whether the independent variables simultaneously have a significant effect on the dependent variable.

3. Coefficient of Determination Test (R²)

The coefficient of determination will explain how much change or variation of a variable can be explained by changes or variations in other variables

4. Multiple Linear Regression Equations

Multiple linear regression analysis is used to determine whether there is influence of independent variables on the dependent variable. This study describes that the influence of independent variable (independent variable) is Participation (X1), Motivation (X2), Interest (X3) and Community Capacity (X4) to dependent variable of development of ecotourism (dependent variable) that is Beta (Y).

$$Y = a + a_1.X_1 + a_2.X_2 + a_3.X_3 + a_4.X_4$$

4. Results And Discussion

Geographically KHDTK Forest Training is located between 99 ° 56 'east to 99 ° 00' east longitude and 2 ° 43 'LU to 2 ° 47' LU. Administratively government, KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh area is located in Pondok Buluh Village Dolok Panribuan Sub-district of Simalungun Regency of North Sumatera Province. KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh is

the upstream part of Watershed (DAS) with rivers flowing in this region including Bah Panomburan, Bah Pogos, Bah Kasindir and Bah Lintong.

Pondok Buluh Village is a village that borders directly with KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh, the location of Pondok Buluh Village is at the entrance to KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh. The original tribe of the people who live in Pondok Buluh village is Batak Toba with the religion of the community are Moslem, Protestant and Catholic. The main job of the community is farming. People in general have part time jobs to supplement their income including trade, and work as farm laborers.

Agricultural commodities of Pondok Buluh Village include Coffee, Corn, Petai, Jengkol, Sweet Skin, Durian, Bamboo and Kincung. The harvest is usually taken directly by the middlemen to the community farm, but some are sold directly to the market. Pondok Buluh community utilizes timber forest products for their own purposes such as firewood and for additional building houses. Meanwhile, non-timber forest products such as palm sugar, kaling, palm fiber, fern roots, bamboo and cinnamon are taken from the forest to be traded.

5. The Result Of Hypothesis

5.1. Partial Test (Uji t)

5.1.1. Regression Coefficient Test (Test t) Influence of Participation (X1) on Ecotourism Development (Y). Based on the output of SPSS, the significance value of $0.907 > 0.05$ then concluded participation has no significant effect on the development of ecotourism at 95% confidence level.

5.1.2 Regression Coefficient Test (t test) Influence Motivation (X2) Against Ecotourism Development (Y). Significant value of the motivation variable of 0.000 at the significance level ($0,000 < 0.05$) This means that motivation has a significant influence on the development of ecotourism at 95% confidence level.

5.1.3 Regression Coefficient Test (t test) Influence of Interest (X3) on Ecotourism Development (Y). The significance value of the interest variable of 0.000 at the significance level ($0,000 < 0.05$) means that interest has a significant influence on the development of ecotourism at 95% confidence level.

5.1.4 Regression Coefficient Test (t test) Effect of Ability on Ecotourism Development. The significance value of the ability variable is 0.034 at the significance level ($0.034 < 0.05$) This

means that ability has a significant influence on the development of ecotourism at 95% confidence level.

5.2 Simultaneous Test (Test F)

The value of prob of F arithmetic (sig) in the table above is 0.000 smaller than the 0.05 significance level so it can be concluded that participation (X1), motivation (X2), interest (X3) and community ability (X4) influence on ecotourism development (Y) at KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh.

5.3 Coefficient of Determination (R-Square)

R-Square value of magnitude 0.870 indicates that the proportion of the influence of variables participation (X1), motivation (X2), interest (X3) the ability of community (X4) to the development of ecotourism (Y) is 87%. This means that the participation, interest, motivation and ability of the community has a proportion of influence on ecotourism development in 87% while the remaining 13% is influenced by other variables that are not examined.

5.4 Multiple Linear Regeresi Equations

The result of the SPSS output explains that the Beta value consists of a constant value (the price of Y if x1, x2, x3 and x4 = 0) and the regression coefficient showing the increase or decrease of the Y variable based on the variables xi, x2, x3 and x4. These values are incorporated to obtain the linear regression equation as follows:

$$Y = 0.135 + 0,007.x1 + 0,432.x2 + 0,421.x3 + 0,106.x4$$

6. Conclusion And Suggestions

6.1 Conclusion

6.1.1. The participation of Pondok Buluh Village community on ecotourism development in KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh has positive but insignificant influence on ecotourism development, it can be because people have not been involved in other activities so that people do not understand how to start a process activity well.

6.1.2. The motivation of Pondok Buluh Village community has a positive and significant influence on the development of ecotourism. People's motivation in developing ecotourism in the KHDTK of Pondok Buluh Forest Training can be caused, among others, to improve their standard of living, and increase the knowledge of the community itself.

6.1.3. The interest of Pondok Buluh Village community has a positive and significant influence on the development of ecotourism. Public interest in exploiting transportation service opportunity, trade opportunity, opportunity to become tour guide, opportunity of job opening, homestay opportunity to open big ecotourism development.

6.1.4. The ability of Pondok Buluh Village community has a positive and significant influence on the development of ecotourism. This is supported by the ability that has been owned by the community such as the ability to be a good host, financial management skills, marketing

skills and attitude of openness to visitors is high enough. But for abilities such as the ability of people in English and the ability of the community to operate the computer is still low.

6.1.5. Participation, motivation, interest and ability of the community together have an influence on the development of ecotourism in KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh. It is hoped that the objectives of ecotourism development itself, such as the ability of the people of Pondok Buluh village can be increased through the procurement of various technical and managerial training, the community's dependence on the potential of natural resources in the area of KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh become the utilization of environmental services, a more diverse source of community income is created.

6.2 Suggestions

6.2.1. Due to the fact community has not been directly involved in the activities of the government program, so people feel not able to participate in the process of ecotourism development, then in the future that the government is also ready to provide opportunities and space for community participation in all aspects and dimensions of the implementation of forest ecotourism, whether it starts from planning, implementation, monitoring to the evaluation stage. It is expected that all stakeholders should support each other and provide understanding that this program is a joint program to build the region.

6.2.2. Provide the widest opportunity for forest communities in their efforts to improve their capacity and skills, especially in the provision of computer skills and English through education and training so that the development of forest ecotourism is expected to be realized.

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FakultasKehutanan.Insistitut Pertanian Bogor.

INDONESIA GOVERNMENT'S EFFORT TO FACE EU DIRECTIVE REGULATION CONCERNING PALM OIL IN EUROPE

Dini Tiara Sasmi

International Relation Study Department / Faculty of Social and Political Sciences / Islamic University of Riau
(dinitiarasasmi@soc.uir.ac.id)

Abstract

This article describes the Indonesian Government effort dealing with the new regulation in the European Union, namely EU Directive which prohibits palm oil used for biodiesel. The European Commission has concluded in regulation that palm oil use in biofuels will be reduced to zero by 2030. This regulation is based on allegations against oil palm plantation that causes excessive environmental damage, such as deforestation, climate change and extinction of local mammal orangutan in Borneo Islands. Environmental issues that arise as a result of the growing awareness of the international community in preserving the earth are often contrary to the wishes of a country in developing its economy. Campaigns of environmental activists such as Greenpeace, Walhi, Kumacaya in Indonesia highlight a lot about the palm oil industry which is often considered not to apply sustainable principles and causes environmental damage. On the other hand, this campaign caused a negative reputation followed by the decline of Indonesia's palm oil exports to Europe. One of the regulations that arose was the EU Directive which was considered by the Indonesian government as discrimination against oil palm products and their derivatives. This article uses a qualitative analysis method. This article uses a qualitative analysis method with descriptive as a technic of the research. The author uses data collected from books, journals, and websites in analyzing this research. This study aims to analyze how the Indonesian government responds to and confronts the EU Directive regulation on Palm Oil which is considered detrimental to Indonesia's palm oil exports to Europe.

Keywords: (Indonesian Government Effort, Policy, Palm Oil, EU Directive, Biofuels)

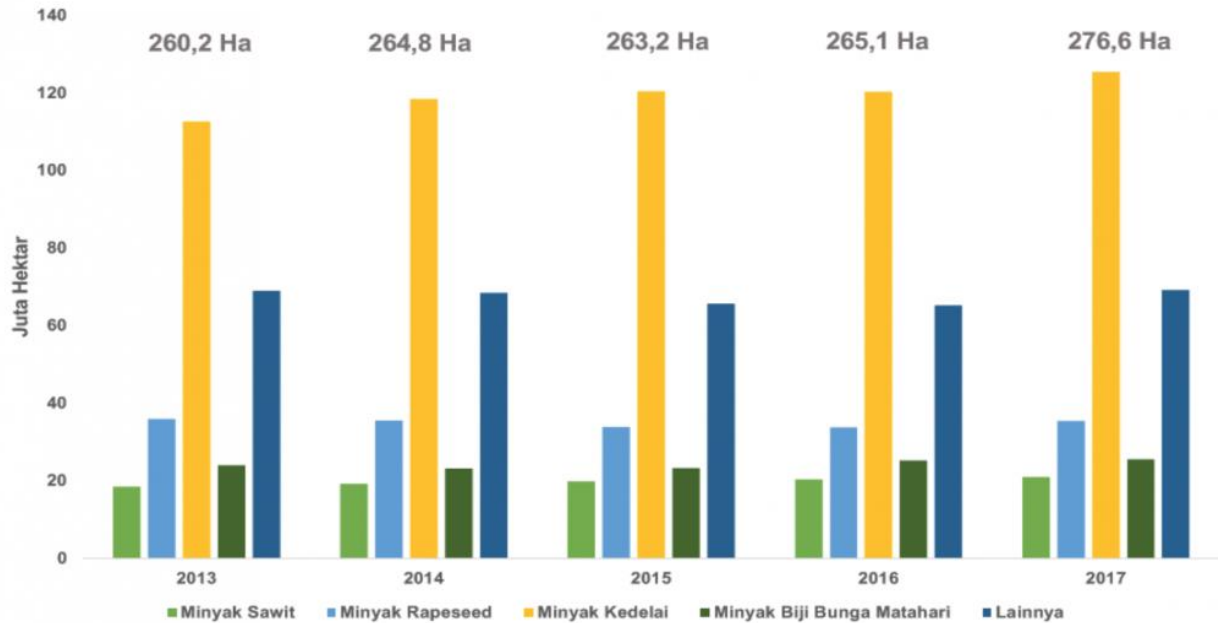
Introduction

In 2018 a new regulation was issued by the European Union commission, namely Renewable Energy Directives II or RED II. This new regulation could threaten export of Indonesia's palm oil to Europe because in this new regulation, listed EU countries must use RED II at least 32 percent of their country's total energy consumption until 2020. Problems arising from RED regulations II is that in the policy, some rules exclude the use of palm oil as an allowable material in biofuel production. This new regulation is crucial for Indonesia because the European Union is the second-largest export destination for Indonesia's crude palm oil (CPO) and its derivatives. Quoting data from the Indonesian Palm Oil Association (GAPKI), it was mentioned that the volume of CPO oil exports and derivatives throughout 2018 reached 32.02 million tons. Indonesia's largest CPO export market is India with 6.7 million tons. While the European Union took second place at 4.7 million tons. Then followed by China 4.4 million tons, Africa 2.5 million tons, Pakistan 2.4 million tons, the Middle East 1.9 million tons, Bangladesh 1.4 million tons, the United States 1.2 million tons, and other countries 6.4 million tons. Thus it can be seen clearly how important the European Union is as a palm oil export destination for Indonesia. (Sitanggang, 2017)

In the world vegetable oil market, there are various types of vegetable oil sources such as soybean, sunflower seed oil, rapeseed oil, and finally palm oil. From all of the various sources of vegetable oil, oil produced from palm is the most effective and efficient way to produce. This is

because, in one hectare of land area, oil palm plantations are able to produce oil many times compared to the results of oil production from other vegetable sources. For example, in 1 hectare, soybean oil can only produce up to 0.4 tons, 0.6 tons of sunflower oil, 0.7 tons of rapeseed oil. Whereas oil palm is capable of producing palm oil up to 4 tons per hectare. Superior palm oil productivity is 6-10 times that of other vegetable oils (Oil World, 2012)

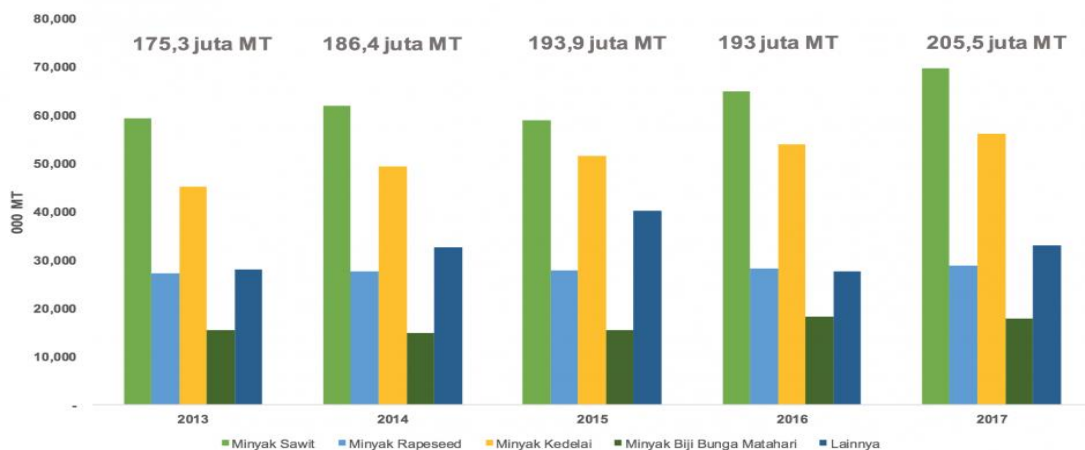
Figure 1. Comparison of Land Use Area in World Vegetable Oil Production in 2013-2017



Source: fas.USDA.gov.us

Based on data from fas.USDA.gov.us from 2013 to 2017 vegetable oil that uses the most land is soybean oil compared to land use by other vegetable oils. In 2017 the total land area of vegetable oil plants in the world was 276.6 million hectares. The area is dominated by soybean plants by 45%, followed by other oil crops by 25%, rapeseed oil, 13%, sunflower 9% and palm oil 8%. Data from the United States Department of Agriculture has shown clearly how the productivity of palm oil is far superior to other vegetable oils when planted on land that has the same area. In other words, palm oil requires far less land than other vegetable oils. (USDA, 2018)

Figure 2. Comparison of 2013-2017 World Vegetable Oil Production Results



Source: fas.USDA.gov.us

In terms of palm oil production, it is also superior to other vegetable oils. When viewed from the world vegetable oil production in 2013-2017, with the smallest land area, palm oil became the highest oil producer. In 2017 palm oil production reached 69.8 million tons (34%), only followed by

soybean oil at 56.2 million tons (27%). Higher palm oil production and lower palm oil production costs cause palm oil prices to be consistently lower than other vegetable oils. The cheaper price of palm oil and its availability on the international market has caused an increase in world consumption of palm oil. So it can be concluded that palm oil is the most efficient and effective vegetable oil to be cultivated and processed in the world, beating other vegetable oils such as soybean oil and sunflower seed oil (Thahar, 2018).

The demand for crude palm oil began in the 18th century. Entering the 20th century, demand for palm oil products continues to increase. The many uses of palm oil, ranging from food ingredients, ingredients for cleaning products, basic ingredients for cosmetics, to the use of palm oil as an alternative fuel (biodiesel) that can replace fossil oil that will soon run out, is a factor why oil demand world palm oil continues to increase. Palm trees themselves cannot grow in all parts of the world, new palm trees can flourish in areas that have certain geographical conditions. These conditions include having a tropical climate where the sun can shine 5-7 hours a day, has an average temperature of 25-27°C, has a rainfall of 2,500-3000mm per year, and has the character of latosol soil, red yellow podsol, hydro morph gray, alluvial, and organosols or thin peat. Geographically, Indonesia is located between two major countries namely China and Australia and along the equator. Indonesia's geographical conditions which are in line with good conditions for oil palm cultivation make the country of Indonesia the largest palm oil producer in the world. Oil palm plantations in Indonesia can be seen from Sumatra, such as Medan, Riau, Jambi, Palembang Province, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and, Papua.

Until now, world palm oil production is dominated by Indonesia and Malaysia. These two countries dominate the world oil palm plantation industry by 85-90%. When compared between Malaysia and Indonesia, Indonesia has more extensive oil palm plantations compared to Malaysia. Now, oil palm is the leading plantation commodity sector that has contributed the largest foreign exchange to Indonesia. Palm exports and derivatives are carried out in several countries. Indeed, the European Union is not the main destination country for palm oil exports from Indonesia, but the European Union is often used as a reference for decision making from countries from other parts of the world. So it is feared that if the European Union rejects palm oil as a product that is not environmentally friendly, other countries will soon follow suit. For example, in Japan there is now a similar restriction on palm oil products, besides that in Pakistan, there has also begun a negative campaign about health issues regarding the use of palm oil as food cooking oil.

Indonesia's Minister of coordinating for Economic Affairs, Mr. Darmin Nasution said EU policy through RED II had discriminated against palm oil products from other vegetable oil products such as soybeans and sunflower seeds. Therefore, Indonesia together with Malaysia and Colombia which are members of the Council of Palm Oil Producing Countries (CPOPC) agreed to send a joint mission to oppose the enforcement of the RED II policy. After issuing RED II regulations, the EU gives Indonesia until March 2019 to submit a response from the RED II policy. In response to this regulation, the ministers in Indonesia agreed to oppose the draft regulation (RED II) through bilateral consultations, among others through ASEAN, the WTO, and other forums.

Problem statement, research questions and objectives

This research is aimed at finding out what efforts the Indonesian government has made in dealing with RED II regulations in European Union countries. Seeing the importance of the benefits provided by the palm oil industry for Indonesia, starting from the country's foreign exchange, opening jobs, and economic growth, then the Indonesian government should be expected to give a big effort in defending Indonesia's leading commodities. The research question of this paper is: what are the efforts that have been or will be undertaken by the Indonesian government in handling the issuance of RED II regulations relating to the expenditure of palm oil as a permissible material for biofuels, in Europe? In addition, the object of this research is the efforts made by the Indonesian government in dealing with RED II in Europe. This effort is seen starting from the smallest form of direct diplomacy of Indonesian officials to Europe and a larger form of restoring the reputation of Indonesian palm oil in the eyes of the world.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia issued several strategies in the face of new virtues called the Renewable Energy Directive (RED II) issued by the European Union. These steps were issued in Indonesia's efforts to change discrimination against oil palm products and their derivatives and save the reputation of palm oil in the eyes of the world. The study of what efforts have been made by the Indonesian government in dealing with RED II regulations from the European Union has never been done before. So this encourages researchers to examine what strategic steps are taken by the government in dealing with RED II from the European Union. This study uses a structuralist perspective and the concept of role in explaining the phenomenon under study. Structuralism is a perspective that emphasizes economic motives in explaining international relations. The structuralism perspective provides answers to questions such as why renewable energy regulations (RED II) exclude palm oil from biofuels that are allowed to produce biofuels, or why the Indonesian government is desperately fighting for Indonesian palm oil in Europe and other international markets. Also, the concept of role can explain how the power of a government in conducting diplomacy to fight for the economic interests of the country. Moreover, as explained earlier, oil palm is a plantation sector that has contributed a lot of foreign exchange to Indonesia and is growing the economy of a region in Indonesia.

Furthermore, International Trade Theory can also be used in explaining this research. International trade theory is a theory that discusses the factors of global trade and the benefits arising from such trade. Before the trade, the relative prices of various commodities in each country were a reflection or reflection of their comparative advantage. After trading, the relative prices will then adjust and balance one another so that a balanced price will be formed. Salvatore explained that a country's comparative advantage will only occur if the country exports more than imports. (Salvatore, 1997)

In this study, the strategies carried out by the Indonesian government are a form of efforts made to increase Indonesian exports. As Salvatore explained about the theory of international trade, it can be seen here that the trade-in oil palm between Indonesia and Europe, which began in the 18th century, initially occurred because of the need of the European Union for palm oil which can be processed into various other processed products. and has many benefits and tends to have a relatively lower price compared to other vegetable oils. However, with the increase in Indonesian palm oil consumption by the European community, several internal and external problems began to emerge. For example, the loss of vegetable oil production from Europe compared to palm oil from Indonesia and the emergence of negative environmental issues related to palm production in Indonesia. Economic motives are the beginning of the demand and supply relationship for Indonesian palm oil from Indonesia. Also, the production of Indonesian palm oil which exceeds the need for domestic consumption of palm oil makes this commodity a commodity with a comparative advantage in Indonesia. This is following the theory of comparative advantage by Salvatore.

In line with the theory explained by Salvatore, David Ricardo also mentioned that the theory of comparative advantage can be achieved if a country can specialize in producing and exporting one superior commodity product that has smaller absolute losses and importing commodities that have a greater absolute loss in the country. This shows that labor productivity for all products can be produced in certain countries. Besides, the concept of influence and role by KJ Holsti can also explain the phenomena in this study. This concept explains that influence and role is the ability of political actors to influence people's behavior in the way desired by these actors (KJ Holsti, 1988). Government policies both directly such as tax or indirectly, for example, regulations, the presence, and absence of market perfection is closely related to the influence and role that is raised by the government in a country, in this case, the export of Indonesian palm oil to Europe.

The next theory still comes from Salvatore namely, the theory of export demand. This theory explains what factors cause a country's demand. These factors are price, GDP per capita, real exchange rate, and finally population. The first factor is price, stating that the price offered is negatively related to the amount of demand for the commodity. In other words, the more expensive the price of the commodity offered, the smaller the demand for the commodity. Palm oil is the lowest priced vegetable oil compared to other vegetable oils, so it is not surprising the demand for this oil

has increased from year to year. The cheap price of palm oil even made the United States accuse Indonesia of implementing subsidies for the Indonesian oil palm plantation sector. The second factor is the GDP per capita. GDP per capita is the ability of a country to buy goods and services. GDP per capita is directly proportional to the import demand of a commodity. Then the greater the GDP per capita of a country, the greater the country's demand for goods and services. The third factor of the real exchange rate explains that if the real exchange rate is high, the prices of foreign goods are relatively cheap, and domestic goods are relatively expensive. Conversely, if the real exchange rate is low, the prices of domestic goods are relatively cheap, while the prices of foreign goods are expensive (Putri, 2013). The last factor is population, explaining that population size influences both demand and supply. When the population increases, the production of goods and services increases so that the supply of exports will also increase. Besides, the increasing population also increases domestic demand for commodities so that demand for goods and services from outside will also increase.

Methodology

This study used qualitative research methods. But this research also uses quantitative data such as statistical data, tables, graphs, and diagrams. The data used are secondary data and primary data. Secondary data is data obtained or collected by researchers through a variety of reliable literature sources, while primary data is data obtained or collected directly by researchers through observation, interviews, and FGD (Focus Group Discussion). Secondary data was obtained from the Association of Indonesian Palm Oil Producers such as GAPKI (Indonesian Palm Oil Business Association), Oilworld, UN Comtrade, Worldbank, Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Trade, Central Statistics Agency (BPS), Ministry of Finance, Bank Indonesia, PPKS (Center for Palm Oil Research), GIMNI (Indonesian Vegetable Oil Industry Association), and from international trade data publishing institutions (ITC) as well as from various other relevant agencies or associations. While primary data obtained through surveys, expert interviews and FGD (Focus Group Discussion) involving palm oil industry practitioners. To answer the research questions, data analysis is carried out simultaneously with the observation process in conducting research. So during the research process, the data obtained can be directly analyzed. Following the research methods and data collection techniques used in this study, then to analyze the data that has been collected from the field, the analysis technique used is descriptive analysis. Descriptive analysis techniques will facilitate researchers in describing all data or facts obtained by developing categories that are relevant to the purpose of research and interpretation of the results of descriptive analysis based on appropriate theories in research on the Indonesian Government's Efforts in Facing the Renewable Energy Policy (RED II) European Union.

Result

Analysis and Findings

All forms of the country's economy in the world at this time, cannot rule out 100% the role of government in the economic field. Even countries with a capitalist system that wants the role of the private sector to be more dominant still need the role of the government in managing its economy. Adam Smith with the theory of "The Invisible Hand" revealed that the market will only reach a balance when there is no government interference in it. In other words, there will be invisible hands or demand and supply that will create market equilibrium by itself. But, even, the United States as a pioneer of the Capitalist State initiated by Adam Smith is still implementing a protectionist system in protecting the country's economy. So we can conclude, no country in this world implements a pure capitalist system.

Indonesia as a developing country is a large market with a population ranked 4th in the world after China, India and the United States. In the past decade, Indonesia has grown to become the strength of the world economy. This marked the entry of Indonesia in the G20 economic forum group. G20 or the group of twenty is an organization whose members are the countries with the

largest economy in the world in terms of a large amount of GDP (gross national product) of a country. So it is clear that Indonesia's economy has a large share not only for its citizens but also for other countries. This large economy, if not managed properly can bring Indonesia to a slowing economy or even worse poverty. Indonesia's Natural Resources and Human Resources need to be managed in an integrated and structured manner to achieve Indonesia's maximum economic growth. In addition, Deputy for Food and Agriculture Coordination in the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs, Musdhalifah Machmud, in the Coordination Meeting on the Position of the Indonesian Government towards the EU Delegated Act and the Organization of the Council of Palm Oil Producing Countries (CPOPC), said palm oil disturbance and discrimination would certainly have a negative impact on palm oil. poverty alleviation programs and hindering Indonesia's achievement in Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) established by the United Nations (UN). For this reason, the government is currently conducting a litigation process through the World Trade Organization (WTO) forum.

So when there is a threat to Indonesia's primary commodities, in this case, palm oil, it is appropriate for the Indonesian government to intervene in saving the discriminatory treatment of superior commodities that have provided jobs to nearly 16 million people. Data obtained by Sumarjono Saragih as the Chair of the Indonesian Palm Oil Employers Association (GAPKI) as of 2019 reached 42 percent of Indonesian palm oil plantations owned by the people, while the remaining 58 percent was owned by the private sector. From the percentage of 58 percent of privately owned oil palm plantations, there are 3500 companies, which in total have employed up to 16 million people in Indonesia. The oil palm plantation industry has also contributed to the country's foreign exchange to Rp 300 trillion in 2018 (GAPKI, 2018). Plus to this day, there are no countries in the world that have implemented a system of pure liberalism. The United States as the first country to initiate a free market even still intervenes in its market when it is considered to threaten its international trade.

Impact of RED II for Indonesia

The results of the meeting of members of the palm oil-producing countries that are members of the CPOPC (Council of Palm Oil Producing Countries) suspect that the RED II regulation made in Europe is a form of trade protectionism against European native vegetable oils such as soybean oil, sunflower seeds, rapeseed from oil palm oil is far superior in terms of productivity. Palm oil-producing countries such as Indonesia and Malaysia assess this proposed regulation to limit and effectively ban all palm oil biofuels in the European Union, which deliberately assess palm oil that causes deforestation. This is not very basic, because based on data from the Ministry of Forestry during the period 1950-2014, the conversion of forest areas into non-forest areas in Indonesia accumulated at 99.6 million ha. Meanwhile, the expansion of oil palm plantations for the same period is 10.8 million ha. Thus, the expansion of oil palm plantations is not the main driver of the conversion of forest areas to non-forest in Indonesia.

The government and the Indonesian palm oil industry react strongly to the European Parliament's proposal. Biofuel is seen as important as a renewable energy source to replace fossil fuels and reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions to combat climate change because burning is considered to produce fewer emissions than fossil fuels. The European Union (as well as Indonesia) has a legal obligation to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, one of which is through the use of renewable energy. From the results of research and investigations conducted by the European Union, it was found that the use of biofuel (not only oil palm) has the potential to encourage indirect land-use change (ILUC). ILUC is an increase in land use/conversion in other places, including in forests and peatlands and lands that have high biodiversity. (Indra Nugraha dan Sapariah Saturi, 2019)

Indonesia's palm oil exports are dominated by the Indian, European Union, Singapore, Malaysia, and Kenya markets. This shows that the European Union is a potential market even though it still has a market share below India. RED II's policy which limits the use of CPO-based biodiesel has both internal and external impacts. From an internal perspective, it has an impact on the fate of ± 20 million oil palm farmers in Indonesia. Increasing partnership programs with oil palm

farmers can be done to increase productivity. In addition to the problem of oil palm farmers, the existence of environmental issues is also contained in RED II, which states that oil palm is a contributor to high carbon emissions. Palm oil is an appropriate alternative, but if the development of oil palm as a source of the material is disrupted, the government will find it difficult to find more efficient replacement crops. From an external perspective, the value of Indonesia's palm oil exports to the European Union has declined to billions of dollars (CNBC, 2019)

This will certainly affect international trade especially Indonesia's trade balance which has always been experiencing a surplus. If this is not immediately addressed, it does not rule out the possibility of the palm oil industry in the case of the Indonesian coffee plantation industry. Expansion of new markets for palm oil exports needs to be done, this can be through the promotion of Indonesian palm oil to other countries.

Coordinating Minister for the Economy Darmin Nasution said the government had prepared several strategic steps in dealing with the European Union's plan to implement the Renewable Energy Directive (RED II). According to Darmin, this is not the first time the European Union has tried to limit the amount of Indonesian palm oil imports to the European Union. Previously, in 2017 the European Union issued accusations that Indonesia had carried out subsidy practices on palm oil commodities so that the price of palm oil became very cheap. A 4-fold increase in palm oil exports in several years to Europe is said to be the result of Indonesia's dumping politics. But in the lawsuit filed to the WTO, Indonesia was not proven to carry out subsidies as alleged by the European Union. At that time, the BPDP (Palm Oil Plantation Fund Management Agency) was formed to fend off the allegations of subsidies from the European Union. Furthermore, the European Union imposed a Provisional Import Duty (BMIS) on biodiesel imports from Indonesia related to alleged subsidies on palm products. The rates set are around 8-18 percent, and these rates are scheduled to take effect on September 6, 2019.

Discussion

The European Parliament then issued a Delegated Act Renewable Energy Directive (RED) II in 2018. This policy itself has come into force on March 13, 2019. The Government of Indonesia will prepare several measured and targeted steps to deal with the EU RED II policy. Through the issuance of the Delegated Regulation which is a derivative of the Renewable Energy Directive II (RED II), palm oil is placed as a high-risk commodity for forest destruction (deforestation) / indirect land-use change (ILUC) compared to other vegetable oils. This is stated in the Delegated Regulation / DR Article 3 and Annex. The number of losses incurred by RED II made the Indonesian government together with the governments of other countries joined in the council of palm producing countries (CPOC) visit the European Union on 8-9 April 2019. The Joint Mission led by the Coordinating Minister for the Economy Darmin Nasution proposed 3 options in combating European Union discrimination against national palm products, namely:

1. Bring a lawsuit to court,
2. Complain to the International Trade Organization (WTO),
3. Threatening to leave the Paris Agreement (Media Indonesia, 9 April 2019).

Furthermore, addressing the RED II policy issued by the European Union and considering the environmental problems that have hit the Indonesian palm oil industry for a long time, the solution efforts issued by the Indonesian government are several, the following is an explanation:

1. First, improving governance and the downstream sector (downstream). Improving governance and developing the palm oil downstream sector is an alternative solution that must be prioritized. When compared between Indonesia and Malaysia in terms of developing palm oil and its derivatives, so far Indonesia has only been able to develop 40 types of CPO derivative products while Malaysia has succeeded in developing 100 types of CPO derivative products. Thus, the potential of the Indonesian oil palm plantation industry to develop downstream industries is huge and is more needed than focusing on the land expansion that risks increasing conflict and environmental damage to oil palm plantations.
2. Second, in the face of a decline in demand for palm oil in the European market, the Indonesian government needs to expand the scope of the export market for palm oil besides Europe,

namely Asia and Africa. Cooperation between regions can begin, besides of course continuing to grow the use of palm oil in the country.

3. Third, concerning environmental aspects, it is planned that in the next five years PTPN V will carry out rejuvenation on 28 thousand ha of land in five regencies in Riau Province. Rejuvenation of oil palm land is carried out as a manifestation of the development of the national oil industry. In addition to rejuvenation, the thing that has been done is the moratorium. The moratorium is valid for a maximum of three years since the Inpres was issued and was carried out in the context of evaluating and reorganizing licenses for oil palm plantations and increasing productivity. This regulation is stated in Presidential Decree No. 8 of 2018 concerning Delays and Evaluation of Licensing and Increased Productivity of Palm Oil Plantations, signed by President Joko Widodo on September 19, 2018.
4. Fourth, the positive reputation for the palm oil industry must continue to be carried out and best sought by the government in many ways. One of them is through direct diplomacy by the Indonesian government and the governments of the European Union (G to G) countries. The Indonesian government must focus on proving that all accusations and prejudices about Indonesian palm oil by the European Commission are untrue and groundless. The path of trade negotiations and diplomacy must be strengthened taking into account all aspects of the costs.
5. Fifth, biodiesel programs such as B-20, B-30 as well as the final goal of B-100 using palm oil as biofuel must receive serious attention and be well managed by the government (Mangeswuri, 2019). If the target of using palm oil as B-100 fuel is achieved, then the absorption of Indonesian palm oil plantations will increase many times, which will then impact on improving the economy of Indonesian citizens.
6. Sixth, research on the palm oil industry that focuses on the benefits and advantages must be done more by not only the government but also the private sector and all components of society both directly and indirectly related to the palm oil industry. More research funds must be spent on research related to the palm oil industry. This is very necessary to improve the reputation of palm oil in the international market.

Conclusion

The new regulation called Renewable Energy Directive II, which appeared in Europe, is a regulation that excludes palm oil from materials that are permitted as the basis for biofuel. This regulation is based on findings that say that the palm oil industry is not sustainable, so that in the course of doing a lot of damage to the environment, such as deforestation, greenhouse gas emissions, death of protected orangutan species in Kalimantan to allegations of subsidies to the industry palm oil in order to get a cheap price of palm oil.

RED II's policy resulted in a decline in demand for palm oil imports by European countries. In this policy alone the use of palm oil will be gradually reduced from the European vegetable market to zero percent of use in 2030. The emergence of this policy can be a threat to the Indonesian palm oil industry because Europe is the second-largest destination for Indonesia's palm oil export destinations. Also, Europe is often used as a reference by other countries, so it is feared that other countries will follow Europe's footsteps to implement the same regulations. To deal with the RED II policy, the Indonesian government has made several efforts and strategies. These efforts were delivered directly by the Coordinating Minister for the Economy Darmin Nasution at a meeting of the palm oil-producing countries (CPOC) council in April 2019. These efforts include making a lawsuit to the WTO (World Trade Organization) and threatening to get out of the Paris Agreement (Paris Agreement). The Indonesian government continues to negotiate with the European Union through the G to G (Government to Government) diplomacy. To anticipate the decline in the palm oil market in the European Union, the Indonesian government diversifies its export market to other countries such as China and India.

In addition to diplomacy, the Government of Indonesia also has internal efforts in dealing with the RED II regulation. These efforts include improving governance and the downstream sector (downstream), and continue to increase the use of palm oil in the country. The development of palm oil derivative products needs to be prioritized and also related to environmental issues, so the

rejuvenation of oil palm lands should be done. The role of the DPR in the RED II policy in carrying out its regulatory and supervisory functions is also very much needed, especially in terms of encouraging the government and stakeholders to develop the national oil palm business. The DPR must also protect oil palm farmers for the sake of the sustainability of the Indonesian palm industry which is fair and friendly to the environment. Furthermore, selective state plantations are encouraged to continue to rejuvenate existing plantations rather than opening up new land for oil palm plantations. The government must also be serious in developing biodiesel products from palm oil through the B-20, and B-30, and B-100 programs. Finally, in the face of RED II's policies that originate from environmental issues that arise, the Indonesian government and all components of society must conduct more research and publish publications on the results of research relating to Indonesia's sustainable palm oil industry.

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THE IMPACT OF CORPORATE GOVERNANCE ATTRIBUTES ON TAX PLANNING OF LISTED MANUFACTURING COMPANIES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN NIGERIA AND MALAYSIA

Sule Ba'ba^{1*} and Mahmud Bashiru²

¹ Department of Accounting, Federal University Gashua-Nigeria

² Graduate School of Business, Universiti Sains Malaysia
(baabasule2014@gmail.com, basheermahmud01@gmail.com)

Abstract

The serious decline in the price of crude oil in recent years has led the state government to look for new sources of revenue and becomes strict and aggressive to the assessment and collection of revenue from the existing sources. This study examines the impact of Corporate Governance Attributes on Tax planning of listed manufacturing companies in Nigeria and Malaysia. The corporate governance parameters include board size and CEO tenure while tax planning is proxied by the effective tax rate and firm size as control variable. The objective is to determine if there is a relationship between corporate governance attributes and tax planning which in turn may improve firm performance. The study adopts comparative and ex-post facto research design and will utilise panel data from annual reports and accounts of the listed companies for the period of five years (2014-2018). The Data were analysed using a panel regression technique to assess the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variable. Hausman specification test was conducted to choose between fixed and random effect estimation and the p-value is 0.9863 which insignificant. The results from random effect estimation model indicates a negative and significant relationship between CEOT, FSIZE and ETR and a positive relationship between BSIZE and ETR. Therefore, the study concludes that corporate governance plays a significant role in tax planning and Nigerian manufacturing companies pays high tax charges as compare to Malaysian food and beverages companies.

Keywords: Corporate Governance Attributes, Tax planning, Listed companies, Nigeria, Malaysia.

1.0 Introduction

The serious decline in the price of crude oil in recent years has led the federal government (FG) to look for new sources of revenue and becomes very strict and aggressive to the mode of assessment and collection of revenue from the existing sources (Dennis & Emmanuel, 2014). Tax is one of the major sources of revenue to the government because of its certainty, consistency and the power government has to impose taxes. Taxes on corporate profits are mandatory and usually constitute a large outflow for firms in Nigeria and if not planned properly could lead to disproportionate and unwilling transfer of corporate resources to the government which may negatively impact the operating capacity and value of the firm.

Given the ambitious revenue target from non-oil sources by FG. The tax authorities are becoming more aggressive in their efforts to shore up tax revenue (KPMG, 2018). Following that series of tax cases (Companies Income Tax) have generated a significant debate over the last few years e.g Citibank vs FIRS, TSKJ Construcoes Internacional Sociadede Unipersonal LDA vs FIRS, CNOOC & SAPETRO vs NNPC & FIRS (KPMG, 2018) among others. The Tax Appeal Tribunal (TAT) jurisdiction on matters pertaining to the revenue of the FG and the taxation of companies

has created lot of arguments among the stakeholders. One of the major challenges of corporate entities is high tax rate and multiple taxes that lead to high tax burden.

Tax planning is part of financial plans that offer an opportunity to mitigate the tax liability and improve the income of an organization. Firms that maximize the loopholes in the tax law tend to lower its tax burden. Taxes are deductions from the cash flow of a firm and the income distributable to the shareholders. The benefit of increased cash flow from tax avoidance practices will be accomplished but with certain associated cost (Annuar, Salihu, & Obid, 2014).

Although tax planning can increase earnings but there are actual and potential cost that restrain firms from maximizing profits through tax planning. In addition to direct cost in the form of salaries and fees, indirect cost can arise, for instance when corporate restructuring is a necessary condition for obtaining the desired tax benefits. Potential costs can exist to the extent that tax planning can be challenged by tax administration which can then lead to reputational cost.

Tax planning has been viewed as benefiting shareholders via increased after-tax earnings. It is argued that when an information asymmetry exists between managers and shareholders with respect to tax planning, it facilitates managers to act in their own interests and that will result to a negative association between tax planning and firm value (Abdul Wahab & Holland, 2012).

Problem statement, research questions and objectives

There is still a considerable debate over whether corporate governance attributes impact on the tax planning of corporate entities. For instance, in the United State Păunescu, Vintilă and Gherghina, (2016), explored the relationship between corporate governance characteristics and effective tax rate of the US listed firms. Using a sample of 50 companies, mainly from the technology area, listed on NASDAQ over the period 2000- 2013 and panel data regression. They found that board independence and board size have a statistically negative and significant impact on the corporate tax rate while CEO ownership and CEO tenure have mixed association with corporate tax. On the other hand, in Malaysia Annuar et al., (2014), empirically investigates the relationship between corporate ownership structure and corporate tax avoidance. They concluded that based on cost and benefit of tax avoidance that family, foreign and government ownership are associated with corporate tax avoidance among Malaysian listed companies.

Prior studies have investigated the effects of various firm-specific characteristics on tax planning (Annuar et al., 2014; Appolos, Kwarbai, & Ogundajo, 2016; Ogundajo & Onakoya, 2016; Păunescu et al., 2016). However, the literature provides insufficient evidence on whether corporate governance attributes affects tax planning. An important aspect of corporate governance that may influence tax planning is top management financial expert. Board of directors and managers accumulates knowledge through professional experience and continuous training, which can help them understand the opportunities available within the tax law. The financial expertise and tax knowledge of the directors and CEO may increase the likelihood of tax planning in an organization.

To mitigate the effect of tax on firm profitability and value, tax planning becomes imperative. But unfortunately, many organisations are unaware of these strategies. A good tax strategy increases company's financial performance by utilizing all the tax incentives within law. The incentives comprise of pioneer status, investment allowance, double taxation allowance, export allowances and exemptions among others. Therefore, the objective of this study is to examine the relationship between corporate governance attributes and tax planning of listed manufacturing companies and compare the ETR and tax paid between Nigeria and Malaysia listed companies.

Based on the objective we hypothesize that there is no significant relationship between corporate governance attributes and tax planning of listed manufacturing companies.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 sets out a review of the literature on the issues around tax planning. Section 3 explains the research design and methodology employed. Section

4 present analysis and discussion of result. Finally, section 5 provides conclusion and recommendations.

2.0 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Conceptual Clarification

Tax planning is an integral part of financial planning and the decisions offers a tax manager and the company opportunity to mitigate the company's tax liability and improve on the financial performance of the firm (Ogundajo & Onakoya, 2016).

Morien (2008) opined that in well-organized economies, paying taxes in business is unavoidable. Effective tax planning strategies can produce benefits in terms of wealth creation for the company. Hence, tax planning is a subset of the overall financial plan that comprise investment, financing and wealth creation strategies of the company. Tax planning involves the application of relevant incentive provisions for corporate tax payers based on enabling laws such as the CITA, PITA, VAT and other enactments. An in-depth understanding of the tax policies and other regulations as stated in the nation's government fiscal policies is required for effective tax planning. According to Yusof, Noor and Mat Dangi, (2014) tax planning refers to how taxpayers manage and strategize to reduce their income tax burdens by utilizing the tax incentives given by the government within the boundaries of legal tax law.

Hanlon & Heitzman, (2010) defined tax avoidance as the reduction of explicit taxes per dollar of pre-tax accounting earnings. However, there is no universally accepted definition of tax avoidance in the accounting literature. Under this broad definition, tax avoidance represents a continuum of tax planning strategies, encompassing activities that are perfectly legal (for instance, bond investments, capital allowances, use of debt financing) and more aggressive transactions that fall into the grey area such as abusive tax shelters, transfer pricing (TP), treaty shopping among others. Choog, (2007)opined that tax planning is crucial to achieve the objective of minimizing or deferring the income tax to a later year of assessment within the ambit of the law. Taxes take away greater proportion of the firms' earnings and subsequently reduce their distributable profit; this could be the reason why companies strive to engage in tax avoidance. Ayers, Call and Schwab (2018) documented that managers focus on tax avoidance that reduces financial statement tax expense, with a secondary motive in tax avoidance that enhances cash flows.

Mucui, Kinya, Noor and James (2014), opined that in order to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of activities, and compliance with applicable laws, corporate enterprise need to have adequate tax controls. Corporate governance as internal monitoring mechanism will assist management in devising an effective tax planning that will improve the performance of the organization

Theoretical Framework

Tax planning incorporates more dimensions of the agency conflict between managers and investors. Tax avoidance also creates another form of agency problem; managerial opportunism or resource diversion. Desai and Dharmapala (2006) argues that complex tax avoidance transactions can provide management with the tools and justifications for opportunistic managerial behaviors such as earnings manipulations, related party transactions and other resource-diverting activities. Tax planning has also been viewed as benefiting shareholders via increased after-tax earnings. It can be argued that tax planning can create information asymmetry between managers and shareholders. Therefore, agency theory underpinned this study.

Empirical Review

Taxes on corporate profits are mandatory and usually constitute a large outflow for firms in Nigeria and if not planned properly could lead to disproportionate and unwilling transfer of corporate resources to the government which may negatively impact on the operating capacity and value of the firms. Tax planning refers to how taxpayers manage and strategize to reduce their income tax burdens by utilizing the tax incentives given by the government within the boundaries of legal tax law (Yusof et al., 2014).

Ogundajo & Onakoya (2016), empirically examined the influence of corporate tax planning on the financial performance of manufacturing firms quoted on NSE. They employed Generalized Least Square (GLS) method of regression and based on the outcome of Hausman model estimation test. They concluded that aggressive tax planning such as thin capitalization, tax law incentives and other benefits of loopholes in Nigerian tax laws have not been fully utilized by the Nigerian firms.

Appolos et al., (2016), examines the effect of tax planning on firm value of Nigerian Consumer Goods Industry. The study covered 50 firms for the period 2010-2014. Data were drawn from the published financial statements of the sampled companies and analyzed using descriptive and panel regression model. Their result reveals that Effective tax rate (ETR), Dividend (DIV) and Firm age (FAG) are positively and significantly related to firm value while firm size, leverage and tangibility exert negative effect on firm value. The study concluded that holistic approach to tax planning and optimal mix of tax planning strategies are important determinants of firm value.

In Kenya Mucai et al., (2014) investigates the relationship between tax planning and financial performance of small-scale enterprises. They found an influence of tax planning on performance of small-scale enterprise through capital structure, advertisement expenditure and investment in capital asset but found insignificant relationship between the legal forms of small-scale enterprises and tax planning.

Similarly, Yusof et al., (2014) examines corporate tax burden and financial attributes of Fraud Firms and Non-Fraud Firms in Malaysia. Their study examined the level of corporate ETR, the variation of corporate ETR from Statutory Tax Rate (STR) and the association between companies' financial attributes and ETR. Five financial attributes examined were firm size, leverage, returns on assets, capital intensity and inventory intensity. The statistical results revealed that fraud firms paid higher tax expense than the non-fraud firms. Further, the findings also indicate that return on assets and capital intensity were significantly associated with the variability of the corporate ETR.

Annuar et al., (2014), empirically investigates the relationship between corporate ownership structure and corporate tax avoidance in Malaysia. Two econometrics dynamic panel data models are proposed for the investigation and GMM estimation method was used. They argued based on cost and benefits consideration of tax avoidance that family, foreign and government ownerships could be associated with corporate tax avoidance among Malaysian listed companies. The study further proposes that strong governance mechanism could mitigate such association.

In the same vein Noor, Fadzillah and Mastuki, (2010), studied corporate effective tax rates (ETRs) of public companies listed on Bursa Malaysia during official assessment system and self-assessment system tax regimes. This study uses pooled sample data of 316 companies for the years 1993 to 2006. They found that corporate ETRs are below the statutory tax rate (STR) in both tax regimes. Furthermore, the study also examines the determinants of corporate ETRs during both tax regimes. The result supports political cost theory which suggests that larger companies endure higher ETRs and lower ETRs are significantly related to highly leverage companies, greater investment in fixed assets and lower investment in inventory. Their study also finds that companies with higher return on assets face lower ETRs.

Păunescu et al., (2016) explored the relationship between corporate governance characteristics and effective tax rate of US listed companies. Using a sample of 50 companies, mainly from the

technology area, listed at NASDAQ over the period 2000- 2013 and panel data regression, as well as robustness checks by means of estimated generalized least squares and generalized method of moments. They found that board independence and board size have a statistically significant negative impact on effective corporate tax rate.

Abdul Wahab and Holland (2012), from a sample of UK quoted firms from 2005 to 2007 concludes a negative relationship between tax planning and firm value. Further, the relationship is robust to the inclusion of corporate governance measures which moderate the potential implications of a tax related shareholder–manager information asymmetry.

Bonu & Pedro (2009) explored the impact of income tax rates on the economic development of Botswana. In their studies various parameters were considered including income tax rates, income tax revenue, total revenue and GDP of the country in the nominal and real value of money. They concluded that low income tax rates boost the economic growth of Botswana.

Alan, Michael, Michael and John (2017), opined that the tax planning practices of companies, including U.S. multinational companies have been a source of considerable political and public concern worldwide. Gauging the extent of these practices is extremely difficult. Auerbach, Devereux, Keen and Vella (2017), documented a revenue loss from base erosion and profit shifting by multinationals of around 1 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) in OECD economies and more in others.

Miller (2017), argued that tax planning under an income tax system is based upon maximizing deductions and avoiding or deferring income. He concludes that many of the planning opportunities under the Destination Based Cash Flow Tax (DBCFT) arise because of its hybrid nature. The Blueprint promises a simpler tax code but a DBCFT won't be simpler than income tax. The new tax planning strategies will include generating deductions by making capital investments, exporting goods, using the earnings and profits rules to effectively deduct interest expense among others.

Gupta (2017), investigates multinational enterprises tax planning in relation to cross-border transactions and risk allocation practices in the light of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)'s recent development and implementation of the base erosion and profit shifting (BEPS) action. His findings suggest that MNEs reduce or defer their tax liability by systematically moving intangibles within the MNE group and shifting income between related entities established in zero or low tax jurisdictions in the form of royalty payment.

Ayers et al. (2018), examined whether analysts cash flow forecasts encourage managers to enhance the firm's cash flow position through tax avoidance activities. They found a negative association between tax payments and analysts cash flow coverage. Further analysis suggests that the association is driven primarily by strategies to permanently avoid rather than to temporarily defer tax payments and that increased tax avoidance activity represents a nontrivial component of the overall increase in reported operating cash flows.

3.0 Research Methodology

This study employed ex-post facto and comparative research design. The population of this study comprises all the listed firms in the Nigerian Conglomerates sector which include AG Leventis Nig Plc, Chellarams Plc, John Holt Plc, Scoa Nig Plc, Transnational Corporation of Nig Plc and UAC of Nigeria Plc. The data for the study were obtained from the audited annual reports and accounts of these firms for the period of 5years from 2014- 2018. In addition, data were collected from the annual report and account of Bursa Malaysia Food and Beverages companies for the purpose of comparative analysis. The variables of the study comprised of dependent and independent variables. The independent variable is governance attributes proxied by board size (BSIZE) and CEO tenure (CEOTN), the dependent variable is tax planning proxied by effective tax rate (ETR) while firm size (FSIZE) was use as control variables.

Descriptive statistics and Panel regression technique were used to analyze the data. The model specification of the study used to examine the relationship between corporate governance attributes and tax planning is stated as

$$ETR_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 BSIZE_{it} + \beta_2 CEOT_{it} + \beta_3 FSIZE_{it} + \mu_{it}$$

Where; ETR is the effective tax rate, β_0 represent the fixed intercept, β_1 -3 is the coefficient of the independent variables, BSIZE denotes board size, CEOT denotes CEO tenure and FSIZE denotes firm size while i represents the number of firms in the panel data, t represents the time period of the panel data and μ is the error term.

4.0 Result and Discussion

Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics is presented in Table 4.1 where minimum, maximum, mean and standard deviation of the data for the variables used in the study were described.

Table 4.1: Descriptive Statistics

Var	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Dev
ETR	11.9	69.3	42.316	14.529
BSIZE	6	10	8	1.118
CEOTN	2	18	8.72	5.311
FSIZE	15.391	17.132	16.348	0.581

Source: Author's Compilation, generated using STATA.

Table 4.1 provides a summary of the descriptive statistics of the dependent and explanatory variables. The mean effective tax rate of the firms is 42.3%, the maximum rate is 69.3% while the minimum tax rate is 11.9% which indicate that on average tax expense account for about 42% of the operating profit of listed firms in the Nigerian conglomerate industry. The result also reveals that the average size of the board of listed Nigerian conglomerate companies is 8 directors with largest board having 10 directors and minimum board size of 6 directors. The average tenure of CEOs of listed Nigerian conglomerates companies is 9 years while the maximum tenure is 18 years within the study period. Table 4.2 shows the results of panel regression analysis on the relationship between corporate governance attributes and tax planning of listed Nigerian conglomerate companies.

Regression Results

This section presents the regression results of the dependent variables (ETR) and the independent variables of the study. The interpretation of the association between the variables individually and jointly was in the section.

Table 4.2: Regression Results

	Random effect	Fixed effect
Constant	3.110*** (316.98) 0.005	0.970 (2.790) 0.347
BSIZE	0.760 (2.084) 0.454	0.880 (3.792) 0.392
CEOTN	-2.220**	-1.480

	(-1.639) 0.037	(-1.619) 0.157
FSIZE	-2.740** (-16.97) 0.012	-0.910 (-13.04) 0.377
R-square	0.273	0.236
F- value	2.620*	2.100
P- value	0.0774	0.1385

Source: Author's Compilation, generated using STATA

***** and ** indicate 1% and 5% significant levels respectively while in parenthesis is the coefficient, on top is the t- stat. and under is the p- value.**

The table above shows the results from the panel regression model which predict the relationship between BSIZE, CEOT, FSIZE and ETR. Hausman specification test was conducted to determine the best fitted model between the random effect and fixed effect estimation. The Chi-square value from the test is 0.14 and P-value of 0.9863 which is insignificant. Therefore, we interpret the random effect estimation model. The result indicates a negative and significant relationship between CEOT, FSIZE and ETR and a positive relationship between BSIZE and ETR. The R-square is 27.2% which indicates the variation in tax planning that is explained by the board size and CEO tenure while 72.8% of the variation is attributable to factors outside the study model. The hypothesis of the study predicts that there is no significant relationship between corporate governance and tax planning of listed firms in the Nigerian conglomerate Industry. From the result of the regression analysis the F-statistics is 2.620 while the P-value is 0.0774 which is significant at 10 percent. Therefore, this provides an evidence for rejecting the null hypothesis and concluding that there is a significant relationship between corporate governance attribute and tax panning of listed companies in the Nigeria conglomerate Industry. The findings of this study are consistent among others.

Comparative Analysis

Table 4.3 present the comparative analysis of the effective tax rate and the tax paid by the listed companies from both Nigeria and Malaysia.

Table 4.3: Comparative results

Var	Nigeria		Malaysia	
	ETRn	TAXn	ETRm	TAXm
Min	11.9	2797	5.1	4200
Max	69.3	543000	33.8	24500
Mean	42.316	172130.3	23	11924
Std. Dev	14.529	194318.1	6.915	5035.398

**Source: Author's Compilation, generated using STATA.
Effective tax rate in % and Tax paid in Millions**

From the comparative statistics in table 4.3, the minimum tax rate of listed Nigeria conglomerate companies is 11.9% while the maximum tax rate is 69.3% and the maximum amount of tax liability is N543000000. In comparism the minimum tax rate of Bursa Malaysia food and beverages companies is 5.1% while the maximum tax rate is 33.8% and the maximum amount that is paid

as tax expense is Rm 24500000. Further the above result shows Nigerian listed companies are paying higher amount of tax charges from their operating income as compared with their Malaysian counterpart. The results is in line with the study of (Noor et al., 2010), that revealed that Malaysian corporate tax system provide a substantial amount of tax incentives to companies, thus encouraging the companies to engage in aggressive tax planning. Therefore, the board of directors and the chief executive officers of public companies need to pay more attention to tax planning to be able to minimize their tax burden and increase their net income.

5.0 Conclusion

This study examines the relationship between corporate governance attributes and tax planning and the comparative analysis between Nigeria and Malaysia. The result indicates a negative and significant relationship between CEOT, FSIZE and ETR and a positive relationship between BSIZE and ETR. Our overall conclusion is that corporate governance plays a key role in tax planning and Nigerian manufacturing companies pays high tax charges as compare to Malaysian food and beverages companies. Although, tax reduction can increase net profit, but companies need to also consider the actual and potential cost associated with tax planning. Tax authorities should also undertake tax audit and investigation to trace illegal tax activities that may lead to tax evasion.

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DISINFORMATION TRENDS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES ON INDONESIA, MYANMAR, AND THE PHILIPPINES

Emy Ruth D. Gianan, Instructor

Polytechnic University of the Philippines (website: <https://www.pup.edu.ph>)

(erdgianan@pup.edu.ph)

Abstract

The past decade saw a changing political landscape in Southeast Asia. From a promising turn towards democracy, marked by episodes of backsliding and authoritarian tendencies, and recently threats of democratic regression and political decay in most parts of the region, have dominated current discourse. Central to these changes is the evolution of information and communications technology, and the ubiquity of social media platforms as sources of news and information, as well as shaping public opinion. The paper looks into three cases in Southeast Asia: online hate along ethnic lines in Myanmar; Duterte populism and broad forms of disinformation in the Philippines; and increasing fake news and online radical Islamism in Indonesia. Trends, common areas of concern, and possible patterns would be gleaned from the case studies; and from there, distil prospects for engagement and better approaches against the growing concern for disinformation in the region. The paper believes that a more concerted and inclusive regional approach would help turn the tide against an increasingly deceived public.

Keywords: Southeast Asia, disinformation, social media, democracy

Introduction

Broad access to information, free speech, and expression are cornerstones of strong and functioning democracies. It goes beyond the procedural definition of the presence of regular, free and fair elections, moving towards the more substantive needs of participation, expression, accountability and transparency, and responsible governance. In Southeast Asia, we saw an evolving political landscape for the past decade, with particular concerns on the terrains of public discourse for socio-political issues due to the emergence of new information and communications technologies (NICT). Three Southeast Asian countries had the highest internet and social media penetration rate across the globe in 2015 (Revesencio 2015); and continues to be top users today. The internet, social media platforms, and smartphones are said to have “democratizing features”: free access, user-friendly interface, and broader means for communication. These platforms enabled people to transcend distance, space, time, and hierarchies to establish networks and nodes of engagement among themselves; and as such have been considered essential elements to pursue more democratic societies (Shirky 2011). However, alongside progressive actions are equally powerful forces that seek to undermine

the culture of democracy in the region. In particular, nefarious plots are advanced against free speech, freedom of assembly and expression, and political dissent (Patten 2013; Unwin 2012; Lengauer 2016; Woolley and Gorbis 2017; Paladino 2018).

Problem Statement and Research Objectives

This paper asks the question: what are the factors that promote a culture of democracy in Southeast Asia amid an increasing reliance to NICT for information and shaping public opinion? Using the cases of the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Myanmar, I intend to outline trends, common areas of concern, and possible patterns; and from there, distil prospects for engagement and better approaches against the growing concern for disinformation in the region. The paper believes that a more concerted and inclusive regional approach would help turn the tide against an increasingly deceived public.

Literature Review

A culture of democracy

Democracies are generally defined by the presence of regular, free and fair elections: “a system for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people’s vote (Schumpeter 1940).” But for several others, this extends beyond competitive elections: other political institutions should be working to ensure that such a process isn’t rigged in favour of a singular ruler or captured interests. The unbridled access to information, freedom of expression and dissent, along with associational freedoms of assembly and demonstration are also significant for a functioning liberal democracy (Dahl 1995; Diamond 2008; Kane, Patapan, and Wong 2008; IDEA). Without these, people grapple in the dark while powerful interests take on the reins and prey upon the citizens and their resources. Democracy begins to regress once these foundations crumble.

Southeast Asia has a distinct culture of democracy. They believe in its tenets: the people demand free and fair elections, accountable and responsive governments, and push the envelope for greater rooms for dissent and expression. Civil society organizations (CSOs) are allies, and together they have become strong pillars of democracy in the sub-region. They were able to topple dictators and military juntas, while bureaucratic authoritarianisms are overcome by broader participation and dissent from the public. In 1989, only the Philippines was ranked “partly free” by Freedom House, while the rest are “not free.” Two decades later, Indonesia is “free” and five out of eleven countries are “partly free,” a strong evidence for the sub-region’s commitment towards democratization.

But while Southeast Asian countries continue to hold regular, free and fair elections, and allow the presence of certain CSOs, there remains elements that undermine its democratization process. Often, dissenting opinion and street protests lead to state crackdown as seen in the

Red Shirt-Yellow Shirt demonstrations in Thailand, eventually leading to the reinstatement of military junta. In several parts of Cambodia, Indonesia, and the Philippines, journalists who expose corrupt practices and military leaders who decry various forms of inequalities are either jailed or fatally wounded. Strong governments see these forms of dissent as direct challenges to their leadership and authority; and as such, sowing fear through large-scale show of force to restore order and legitimacy of the regime (Kane et al 2008). Free expression is assailed and dissent which should be a “natural feature of democracy” is taken away from the agency of the people.

From the streets to online avenues

The advent of technology allowed for seamless communication and connectivity through the internet and social media platforms. For positivists and technological determinists, these platforms are manna from heaven. If the goal is to strengthen democracies, remove further barriers where authoritarian leaders thrive, and broaden spaces for public participation in decision-making and collective action, then the confluence of high-speed internet, numerous social media platforms, and the ubiquity of smartphones are the answers needed. Compared in the 1990s, the sub-region is clearly more connected than ever. Today, millions of Southeast Asians turn to social media platforms for news, entertainment and recently providing spaces for socio-political discourse—penetration in the region is at 44% in 2015, and Filipinos spend more hours everyday versus the average (Revesencio 2015, Barredo and Ardevilla 2017).

Social media platforms are easy to use as it basically requires a user for a working email address, along with personal details such as name, age, birthday, location, and gender. A password is required to gain continued access to accounts on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, to name a few. People who casually watch videos, stream audio/podcasts, or read online stories without intention of creating or curating content may access certain online media platforms without a personal account. Advanced features may be obtained by users willing to pay subscription fees. A user may also choose to create multiple accounts in a single social media platform, usually for selected networks (i.e. to separate private contacts from work-related contacts) or for personal entertainment (i.e. parody accounts or image-building).

These platforms broke away from its initial purpose of becoming a private social network, exclusive to family, friends and colleagues. At the onset, they are virtual networks for people separated by distance and time zones to exchange life updates; share photos, audio or videos of food, cute animals and social events; and ensure people are greeted during their birthdays, anniversaries or milestones. The private is separate from the public. But its growing proximity to human lives and its recent developments on allowing news and editorial articles to be easily read and shared across networks, started to blur the lines between the private and public spheres of human living. Opening social media for greater access and connectivity trumped this traditional structure. Now people can talk and formulate an opinion online, share it with friends, or even debate about it. Boeder (2009) says that such a feature serves as a virtual reincarnation of Jurgen Habermas’ public sphere as people are cultivating a culture of exchange and articulates public opinion, which in turn is a valuable component of a democratic society (1989).

True enough, in Indonesia, social media platforms became vital to the political process and thinking of the younger generation primarily because it complemented and at certain times substituted for traditional media links (Johansson 2016; Molaei 2018a); with Twitter becoming a primary tool to react immediately on a certain issue or interact with politicians who have online accounts (Susanti 2015). The authors note that these tools were essential for Joko Widodo, previously Jakarta Governor and currently Indonesian President, to secure popular support and win the national elections (Susanti 2015; Nugroho and Syarief 2012). Singaporeans turn to online memes and pop culture references to wittily comment on pressing domestic socio-political issues (Sreekumar and Vadrevu 2013; Vadrevu and Lim 2012). This has since contributed to a “surge of interest in using new media platforms for political engagement.” Malaysian public officials, on the other hand, took advantage of the internet as a means to connect with their constituents (Leong 2015). And while Malaysian officials took their agenda online, leading political party *Barisan Nasional* (BN) also saw its political power wane with popular vote rising in 2013 to 51% (Clarke 2004 as cited in Leong 2015).

Kushin and Kitchener (2009) already saw the potential of social media platforms to launch socio-political discussions, engage in political debates, and even work together on certain common advocacies or causes. Their study highlighted that while socio-political discussions have already been happening in the internet, social media platforms created greater spaces for these discourses to flourish given the “decreasing cost of internet access... larger populations and new participants into the foray of online political discussion.” Its existence pushed the boundaries of setting socio-political agenda, influencing behaviour of voters and constituents, created spaces for participation by demanding greater accountability from the government (Dutton 2009; Newman, Dutton & Blank 2012, as cited in Leong 2015: 50). There is greater information available to different people located in various places and situated in different times. Such differences are overwhelmed by the ease of connectivity, bringing them together online to discuss, debate and collaborate or even negate one another. It is said to be a “new form of egalitarian democratic ideal (50).” All of these are hallmarks of democracy, vital for its cultivation and continued evolution. Recently, the United Nations considered internet freedom and access a form of human right (2011).

The previous discussions point to the ability of NICT to positively affect socio-political discourses by amplifying discussions among people from all walks of life, and eventually generating substantive public opinion for feedback and exchange. But literature also shows an equally compelling picture that affects democracies in Southeast Asia today. Monsters that may hijack and utilize these platforms are created to advance nefarious plots: the deliberate distortion of established truths, massive manipulation of data, and online shaming, which if consolidated in larger volumes could undermine the seeds of democracy, and prevent positive collective action from taking place. The succeeding discussions flesh these out further. First, digital divide remains a mounting challenge to harbouring the democratizing features of the internet and social media platforms towards elevating political discourse and generating concrete political action from the public. Second, powerful vested interests are taking advantage of the internet and social media to skew public opinion towards their benefit and willful creation of ignorance that directly attacks democracy.

Digital divides and bad ideas

New forms of technology promise free and open access to their platforms. But as much as it promises a “flat world,” it falls short on the concept of fairness and equality as it does not effectively level the playing field for everyone. Several groups of peoples “are disadvantaged due to their inability to get online.” According to Thornton (2005 as cited in Boeder 2009), these modern platforms are highly accessible to people with higher educational attainment and those living in large, urban areas (corroborated in the 2014 Ericsson Mobility Report). Such a situation heightens digital divides among countries; and within societies, it draws the line across socio-economic classes, as it remains an “impediment to a more equitable access to the new media” (Pertierra 2012:32). Paradoxically, the groups of people who are in dire need of information and access to online resources, usually those who are far from government centres or market hubs, are the ones deprived of internet and social media access. In the 2017 Freedom of the Net Report, the issue of internet access is further compounded by concerns over the degree of internet freedom people enjoy. Wealth generally translates to greater access, but it is not a decisive indicator of free expression, privacy, or increased access to information online.

The internet and social media highlight an essential human need: to interact and collaborate to come up with new ideas and areas for innovation (Taylor 2014). Modern technology should serve as a virtual highway that connects people and ideas together, but it cannot fully take advantage of this because access is either too costly or limited to urban centres with already available technology for connections. Further, as shown in the previous illustration, internet freedom is restricted. What could have been tools to strengthen democracies became instruments to retain oppressive governments and perpetuate resources in the hands of the few. This then creates more problems: limited access is further skewed by recent technological tweaks done in social media platforms; and powerful vested interests take advantage of both limited access and their seemingly unlimited resources to further skew online discussions towards their benefit.

Recent algorithms launched in social media platforms create new filters. A certain individual would now mostly be exposed to posts, pages, news, and information based on one’s personal preferences. These “filter bubbles” stems from new media companies’ efforts to “track the things we like and try to give us more of the same (Taylor 2008: 131).” Examples include predictive texts and engines, as well as recommended sites or pages. These should be harmless, after all they intend to ease our internet use; but in the long-run, it poses dangers on how people think and generate public opinion as they are formulated on the basis of things and ideas a person prefers alone, and not through a more astute process that involves debate and criticism. A person who already prefers a certain idea or subscribes to specific worldview would tend not to overthink his/her position on an issue; so when an unpopular opinion or an insight opposite his/her current stance would suddenly be presented, individuals would see them on a negative light (Kushin and Kitchener 2009; Taylor 2008) or they would wait for a majority opinion to surface and express the same for fear of possible isolation (Leong 2015).

Limited access and filters set on personal preferences may also be factors that contribute to a culture of online shaming and cyber-bullying (Ronson 2015, Raicu 2016, Sison 2015, Madrazo-Sta. Romana 2015). These circumstances are exacerbated by a mob mentality—the sheer volume of bashers or online attackers would force an individual or groups of people to either shut down their page or become subjects of virtual threats. As much as there are critical thinkers

then, they are drowned out by the number of supporters who push for the more popular or most liked stance on issue. Literature and studies have not fully explored how this could be measured and further investigated, but suffice to say that these may pose serious threats to free speech and democracy in the long-run.

Following this line of thinking, people become lazy engaging in discussions for possible fear of missing out or being singled out; they also fail to validate the materials they read or the information they obtained thinking that if it comes from the internet and shared by many it is true and verifiable. This brings forth the second level of discussion: powerful vested interests are on the move towards skewing online access in their favour. Limited access breeds pockets of information asymmetry, and powerful forces take advantage of these blind spots to fill in the gap and create new information to the detriment of the public. The internet is a powerful tool to validate information, but oftentimes people choose not to use it to their advantage (Kenyon 2016).

Ignorance may be observed on the proliferation of “clickbait” stories—materials with catchy titles and creative writing which can easily convince people that the information shared is true (Gardiner 2015, Taylor 2008; Morozov 2009 and Leong 2015 discuss how “clickbait” relate with “slactivism”). But more recent studies have shown how clickbait stories utilized ignorance to sow disinformation among the people—“fake news” as they call it. Key trends on internet unfreedom now include state-sponsored censors on mobile connectivity and internet discussion, technical attacks against news outlets or opposition leaders, restrictions on virtual private networks (VPNs), and on certain cases there are physical attacks stemming online (Freedom House 2017). The mass appeal of distorted truths coupled with the volume through which it is shared pose serious threats to democracy. Powerful interests, usually governments, employ “architects of networked disinformation” to manipulate online discussions, move them away from controversial topics, or deliberately create propaganda. Some of the strategies used are “astroturfing” or feigning support for the government, bashing or mud-slinging to smear government opponents, hacking and spamming through bots, “hashtag poisoning” or flooding anti-government hashtags with irrelevant posts to bury useful information, and mobile connection shutdown (Freedom House 2017).

Case Studies

Myanmar: Facebook’s contribution to disinformation, hate speech, and ethnic cleansing. Years under the military junta prevented the people of Myanmar from accessing the internet. It was only in 2013 when the Thein Sein administration broke the state monopoly on the telecommunications industry that people were able to hold mobile phones and surf the web. Prices of SIM card fell from a hundred to a dollar, stores offered cheap China-made smartphones, and the new telecommunications companies offered Facebook use free of data charges. The result is a surge in internet penetration in Myanmar to 18 million users today, and an increase in Facebook accounts made in matter of days. Facebook served as the new source of information and news for the giddy public—38% of users get their daily news from the social media site (McPherson 2016; Gowan and Bearak 2017).

But alongside the flowering of online activity in Myanmar is the parallel increase on hate speech and disinformation against the Rohingya minority in Facebook newsfeeds. The situation is especially alarming as online hate already transitioned towards offline violence (Young, Swamy, and Danks 2018). Hundreds of thousands of Rohingya Muslims have been fleeing to the borders to escape state-led ethnic cleansing and other violent operations launched by angry Buddhist mobs (*n.b.* Even before the Facebook word wars, there are already tensions between the Buddhist majority and Muslim minority in Myanmar—the government contributes to the conflict as it does not recognize Rohingyas as part of their country despite years of settlement in Rakhine State). Adding fuel to fire, ultranationalist religious leaders spoke of hate on their regular preaching to mobilize people against the Rohingyas—an example of which is Buddhist monk Ashin Wirathu. He has since been banned from public preaching, and has now turned to Facebook to spread the word against Rohingyas (Gomez and Rafanan 2018).

Several investigative reports were launched by foreign media companies, and they found out that hate speech and disinformation had been brewing as early as 2013. Several civil society groups warned Facebook that their platform could be used to foment ethno-religious tensions between Buddhists and Rohingyas, but the social media company did not budge. On 2017, after Rohingya militants attacked government forces, the state launched clearance operations that saw 25,000 Rohingyas killed and 700,000 more were displaced (Stecklow 2018; Safi and Hogan 2018). A large part of genocide was attributed to hate posts and disinformation campaigns in Facebook, Messenger, and Twitter: Rohingyas were stockpiling arms to destroy pagodas, the minorities were burning their own homes, and news of fabricated jihad were shared at least 9,500 times and received an estimated 3,400 reactions, inciting the aforementioned violence (Young et al 2018; Safi and Hogan 2018; Specia and Mozur 2018; Gomez and Rafanan 2018).

An assortment of government, civil society groups, and Facebook attempted several mechanisms to mitigate harm and prevent disinformation from further disintegrating into chaos and violence. Facebook increased its Myanmar language experts from two to a hundred, and even opened up a confidential project with Accenture “Honey Badger” to monitor hate speech and disinformation in Myanmar and across Southeast Asia (Stecklow 2018). They also deactivated accounts of several known inflammatory offenders, while government pushed for internet shutdown during peak violence (Young et al 2018; Goldberg and Diamond 2019). The measures undertaken were mitigating, but does not fully address root causes of the problem. If for anything, it pushed some offending users to find other ways of spreading hate speech—some migrated platforms, while others used multiple accounts. There are no specific undertakings to fully understand hate speech and disinformation phenomenon in Myanmar, and the recent investigative reports have yet to prove if these online operations were supported by more powerful forces aside from some being government-sponsored.

The Philippines: Innovative and “insidious” ways to spread disinformation.

As early as the 2000s, the Philippines took advantage of communications technology to organize protests and movements. Initial evidence point to the use of SMS to launch People Power 2 in EDSA to oust former President Joseph Estrada due to allegations of corruption and moral ineptitude (Pertierra 2012). This would soon become the template for other rallies organized in Manila and other centers across the archipelago (Kurlantzick 2014). By 2012,

social media platforms are starting to gain popularity among Filipinos; but it would only be in 2016 when it was weaponized for election campaigns. President Rodrigo Duterte's popularity and consequent successful bid to the highest position in the land was largely attributed to his savvy social media presence. His team organized groups of grassroots supporters, dubbed as DDS (Diehard Duterte Supporters), across various social media platforms to ensure maximum exposure for their candidate; this even with a meagre social media campaign budget. They were characterized for their crass language and vulgarity—akin to the President's gutter speech and "say it like it is" attitude. Soon enough, news reports would show that a number of these supporters were part of a "keyboard army" paid at least 10 dollars per day to operate fake accounts to show support to Duterte or malign his detractors even after the elections (Freedom House 2017).

In a seminal ethnographic study done by Ong and Cabanes (2018), keyboard armies are not only confined to Duterte supporters. A number of them were indirectly hired by several other politicians and PR agencies intent on delivering messages skewed towards certain vested interests (Ressa 2016; Hofilena 2016; Inquirer 2016; Almario-Gonzalez 2017; Inquirer 2018; Reyes and Mallari 2018; Ressa 2018). As there are no concrete accountability frameworks for political consultancies, politicians and agencies involved in these digital black operations can raise "plausible deniability" for their actions (Ong, Tapsell, and Curato 2019). The strategies they employ do not only involve operating fake accounts to drum up support or attack dissenters. There were also deliberate efforts to manipulate public opinion, create propaganda, and "harbour moral compromises: from seeding revisionist history narratives to silencing opponents to hijacking news media attention through artificially trending hashtags." They are called "architects of networked disinformation." Specifically, they are defined as:

"Professionalized and hierarchized group of political operators who design disinformation campaigns, mobilize click armies, and execute 'digital black ops' and 'signal scrambling' techniques for any interested political clients... regardless of party and ideology... come from advertising and PR industry, which takes advantage of the unregulated and highly profitable industry of digital political campaigning (Ong and Cabanes 2018)."

ANDs are a mix of precarious middle class individuals and professional elites with varying motivations for involvement, but are sure to be "complicit with an exploitative system for as long as they gain or maintain power for themselves." A recent study commissioned by New Mandala (Ong et al 2019) shows how the AND industry expanded to include micro and nano-influencers, alternative news sites, and closed Facebook groups with niche topics or hobbies (page). They compartmentalize their work from moral rationalities and personal stances on issues—engagements are project-based and side-jobs, hence they are not fully responsible for the impact of their political actions. Disinformation tactics in the Philippines have become more creative, insidious, and more difficult to detect: less explicit, more aligned with organic content giving the audience an air of authenticity and spontaneity, and intent on affirming current biases or pre-existing dispositions over several socio-political issues (page).

The Philippines has a relatively good grasp of ANDs' existence, its political economy, and their impact on socio-political discourse. Journalists and civil society leaders claim that the main source of fake news and disinformation is the government (Yi-Chen Wang 2018). While all these

true, the studies also note how disinformation are products of deep-seated frustrations of ordinary Filipinos from democratic institutions and their reliance to social media for news and information. This has prompted several agencies particularly mainstream media companies, online news platforms, and several academic institutions to work towards improving media literacy, fact-checking daily news and government statements, and urging social media companies to take decisive action against disinformation. There is also a general agreement that blacklisting and exposition of fake accounts do not address the underlying causes of disinformation, and so would laws seeking to takedown controversial content and penalize social media companies akin to what Germany did (Ong and Cabanes 2018). Taking in the Philippine context, these actions could just easily be converted into class warfare (e.g. educational backgrounds of influencers, “disente” narrative) or a witch hunt.

Indonesia: Exploitation through “berita hoax” and fake Twitter account factories.

For Indonesia’s first-time NICT users, Facebook is the internet. People turn to the social media platform for the latest news and information. When news broke out of fake news factories during the 2017 gubernatorial race in Jakarta, the government scrambled for mechanisms to mitigate the onslaught of disinformation. Offenders were caught, but the fight has yet to be won.

Saracen is an online syndicate paid to undertake covert content creation operations clearly for profit. They charge at least 10 million rupiah to publish fake news against an individual or a group of people. According to reports, “buzzer teams” or “pasukan khusus (special forces)” are required to post content 60 to 120 times per day, fed with hashtags to promote, uses Google-generated display photos, and some of them create at least five accounts each for Facebook and Twitter, and one Instagram account. They were paid 280 US dollars per month, and are even housed in luxury homes to make sure they complete the job. They also hire “journalists” tasked to write malicious articles as directed by their clients, and then posted in various Saracen Facebook pages and affiliated accounts to multiply its reach. Saracen owner Jasriadi said he hacked 150,000 accounts, lower than the estimated 800,000 accounts affiliated to the online syndicate. Cyber armies were utilized by Chinese-Christian politician Basuki Tjahaja Purnawa, also known as “Ahok,” to boost his 2017 re-election bid—they posted hateful comments that fueled religious and racial divisions online, and culminated in Islamic rallies on the streets. Ahok’s opponents were not deterred, and an opaque online movement called Muslim Cyber Army launched counter-attacks to spread racist and hardline Islamic ideas designed to turn Muslim voters against the re-electionist (Lamb 2017).

Disinformation in Indonesia is deep-seated, primarily because of the public’s mistrust for mainstream media. They are also known to trust information coming from personal ties compared to those sourced from “official” information streams (Tapsell 2018). It also did not help that schools have little contribution to digital literacy activities, even removing ICT lessons from the curriculum and replaced by “Bahasa Indonesia, nationalism and religious studies.” Several approaches were instituted to address disinformation. The Jokowi administration created an anti-hoax coordinating body and a special police unit dedicated to cracking down on fake news factories, while the Indonesian press council created verification links as a means of discerning wrong information in the web; Facebook had also setup its office in Jakarta (page). Cyberspace laws are also in force, albeit more oppressive and invasive (Chalk 2018). Scholars

and civil society leaders believe that the current approaches do not solve the problem as it increases censorship to free speech, which in turn further blocks information vital for people to form genuine political opinion. Rather, they are exposed to more propaganda from the government. Media literacy activities are seen to help, along with strengthening independent and reliable information sources from the local and foreign media, and civil society (Tapsell 2018; Chalk 2018).

Results and Analysis of Findings

Based on the case studies, I find three major trends or issues common among the three Southeast Asian societies: (1) glaring digital divide; (2) income inequalities as exploitative opportunities for the disinformation industry; and (3) deep-seated narratives serve as bases for disinformation. For solutions, I also find three general categories: (1) government-driven efforts, (2) private sector approach which includes social media and mainstream media companies, academic institutions and think tanks, and civil society groups, and (3) possible innovative or good practices seen from the current undertakings against disinformation. I end this section with recommendations based on the practices done by the countries utilized in the case studies.

Common disinformation trends

The matrix below summarizes the findings:

Common disinformation trends

Indonesia Myanmar Philippines

1 Glaring digital divide

Transparent access to information and internet freedom has been repressed for a long time	X	X	
Sudden surge of NICT users; increase in internet penetration	X	X	
Facebook as the internet or main source of news and information	X	X	X
Poor internet infrastructure, slow connections, access is relatively concentrated to urban areas and educated classes	X	X	X

2 Income inequalities as exploitative opportunities for the disinformation industry

People see the disinformation industry as job opportunities profit-seeking vehicle	X		X
Disinformation is networked, hierarchized, and organized	X	X	X

3 Deep-seated narratives serve as bases for disinformation

Personal ties are reliable sources of information versus “official” information streams	X	X	X
Mistrust for mainstream media	X	X	X
Mistrust for government, source of disinformation, doesn’t listen to public clamor	X	X	X
Offline tensions are translated into online tensions	X	X	X

1. Glaring digital divide. Aside from urban, educated middle class sections, NICT access broadened to include those living far from the capital and urban areas as well as those with relatively lower incomes. In societies repressed by military juntas like Indonesia and Myanmar, there was a sudden surge of internet users in the last decade. This is largely attributed to ingenious sales innovations done by telecom companies to deepen penetration and increase local sales—smartphones come equipped with social media applications like Facebook and Twitter, and in some cases, Facebook can be used free of data charges. First-time users equate Facebook to the internet, and serves as the go-to source for daily news and information. The cheap deals are just one part of the equation: these three countries also suffer from poor internet infrastructure and slow internet connections. With Facebook as an easy app to access, no wonder the public have become overly reliant to the platform in a short span of time. The digital divide remains rooted in socio-economic cleavages, but it also important to note that poor public service delivery in the form of bad internet connection exacerbates the issue.
2. Income inequalities as exploitative opportunities for the disinformation industry. Elites take every opportunity to exploit blind spots to advance vested interests. In developing countries like Indonesia, Myanmar, and the Philippines, the loopholes are obvious: weak regulatory framework for campaigns and information disclosure, glaring digital divide and the public’s penchant for clickbait stories (i.e. shock value, digestible content), and difficulty of finding decent-paying jobs. The growing disinformation industry turned these inequalities into opportunities to expand their reach—the effects are disastrous to democratic institutions. Weak regulatory frameworks for campaigns and information disclosure allowed ad and PR agencies to tweak existing rules, experiment on message delivery, and establish networks that seed manipulated content. The rise of fake news factories in Indonesia as well as ANDs in the Philippines that embed controversial political messages in organic content are clear examples of these exploitative works. Myanmar has yet to see if hate speeches are driven by hierarchized forces; right now, reports reflect that they are grassroots-based and organized according to ethno-religious affiliations.

Disinformation has also evolved into a lucrative industry—as shown in the cases of Indonesia and the Philippines, buzzer teams and ANDs are highly paid with additional perks and benefits (e.g. housing, free food). Its project-based and covert nature also offers opportunities for workers to engage with other forms of employment—for some, it serves as additional sources of income, while others use “normal” jobs as cover for possible stigma received by “trolls.” Compared with labour-intensive and desk jobs, AND work is relatively easy and manageable: create alternate accounts, post crafted statuses, like or share related content, help “trend” a hashtag. If the harsh realities of unequal societies remain unaddressed and unabated,

disinformation work would continue to be an enticing endeavour for people looking for a means to live and survive.

3. Deep-seated narratives serve as bases for disinformation. The problem of disinformation does not begin and end within the online realm. As reflected in the case studies, it is deeply rooted in local cultural practices, distrust on democratic institutions such as the media and elected governments, and long-standing social tensions. People in the societies studied find personal ties as reliable sources of information compared to “official” information streams: in Indonesia, this is rooted on information as “gossip,” while in Myanmar, “rumours” and “teashop” discussions are foundations for Facebook engagements, and in the Philippines, information and stances on issues must be confirmed by friends or reliable personalities. In itself, these practices should not be bad, but because the issue is tied with the two previous discussions, it then becomes problematic.

The burden to discern facts from fabricated information does not solely lie on the people. As observed in the three case studies, the public distrust “official” information sources like media companies and the government. In Indonesia, there is a 67% distrust rating for media, 45% for political parties, and 55% for the parliament—clearly, the people find it difficult to believe institutions ruled by oligarchic interests. The failure of previous Filipino leaders – educated, middle class, “disente” – to push forward meaningful reforms against poverty and inequality disillusioned the “masang Pilipino.” The internet served as a platform to air and validate these grievances, creating a powerful backlash against establishment forces. Long-standing experience under military rule made Myanmar wary of “unseen powers [are] working in the shadows to control the levers of power.”

Political histories also lend important insights to understanding the issue at hand: the disinformation industry did not only exploit socio-economic inequalities, they also preyed on existing tensions to heighten social divisions. This refers to ethno-religious divides—Buddhists versus Rohingya Muslim minority in Myanmar, and Chinese-Christian versus local Muslims in Indonesia; while in the Philippines, the divisions are more class-based—“disente” against the “masa,” the educated middle class against poor, frustrated ordinary Filipinos. In the words of Ong et al (2019), disinformation does not occur in a vacuum—what happens online are reflections and extensions of what has long been brewing offline.

Common approaches to disinformation

The matrix below summarizes the findings:

Common disinformation trends

Indonesia Myanmar Philippines

1 Government-driven mechanisms

Censorship, cybercrime legislations	X		X
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Special bodies and units	X		X
Government-managed or sponsored online mouthpiece/s	X	X	X
Government crackdown	X	X	X

2 Efforts from the private sector (i.e. social media & mainstream media, academic institutions, civil society groups)

Social media companies	X	X	X
Mainstream media companies	X	X	X
Academic institutions, research groups, think tanks			X
Civil society groups	X	X	X

3 Possible innovative solutions

Comprehensive studies, policies, or approaches to understand disinformation political economy		X	X
Media literacy programs and activities	X	X	X
Fact-checking and news verification	X		X

1. Government-driven mechanisms. The state uses its police powers to regulate and censor information they find controversial and detrimental to their political legitimacy. Several European countries embarked on censorship and punitive measures against release of fake information, and soon some Southeast Asian countries are following suit—Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, the Philippines mulls its adoption. In Indonesia, Saracen and Ahok were jailed, while Myanmar has turned to harsher options, government crackdown and “clearing operations” against the Rohingya Muslims. They also prevented ultranationalist preachers from public speaking, but this only pushed them to find an audience online. In the Philippines, there is no explicit cyber censorship laws, but the recent attacks and even drug allegations against known opposition leaders are already benign examples of government crackdown. On all these countries studied, governments have special bodies tasked to undertake anti-disinformation campaigns: an anti-hoax coordinating body and special police unit in Indonesia, a technology consultant in Myanmar, and a new Department for ICT in the Philippines. Governments also have strong online presence and are actively engaging the public through advisories, videos of government programs and actions, and regular coverage of press conferences and official statements. Strong-handed approaches often do not lead to desired outcomes, and in these cases, ANDs just find innovative ways to spread disinformation as soon as the government cracks down on them.
2. Efforts from the private sector. These include actions undertaken by social media and mainstream media, academic institutions, and civil society groups. Facebook has expanded its reach in Southeast Asia—from distant operations in their Dublin headquarters to establishing an office in Jakarta, expanding Burmese speakers to understand content coming from Myanmar users, and coordinating with Filipino media companies with regard to monitoring fake news online. They have also set up Project Honey Badger with Accenture during peak violence

caused by online hate speech in Myanmar in 2017. Mainstream media companies and online media firms particularly those in the Philippines embarked on fact-checking missions to improve online content and in the process restore credibility. There were also efforts to fully understand the political economy, motivations, and dynamics of disinformation—the Philippines has already produced two comprehensive studies on ANDs, Myanmar has been the site for foreign media investigative reports, while in Indonesia initial analysis of media power and the digital revolution have been made. There were also media literacy efforts, some through inclusion in school curricula, while others are civil society-led.

3. Possible innovative solutions to disinformation. In all three countries, contributed to a region-wide regression from democracy as pointed out in the 2014 analysis offered by Kurlantzick. Amid these challenges, there are novel efforts to keep up with disinformation with the hopes of curtailing its adverse impact and underway, strengthening already weak democratic institutions in these societies. Among the three, the Philippines has a stronger grasp of the disinformation problem—their strength lies on initiatives to fully understand the political economy of disinformation and AND motivations as basis for evidence-based actions against the problem. The next step is to reach political chambers and motivate the government to really take action; for instance, revising out-dated portions of campaign finance laws, encouraging ad and PR agencies to strengthen self-regulation against unfair and unethical practices, and increasing efforts for media literacy. Indonesian Press Council begun practices of monitoring disinformation through verification links; the Philippines is also doing this in coordination with Facebook—both are good foundations to improve the health of information disseminated online.

Regional efforts against disinformation. The discussions above offer windows for region-based efforts to address disinformation. Individual, domestic efforts are good foundations, but they can be expanded to help other Southeast Asian countries improve their actions and learn from what has already been accomplished by their neighbours. In particular, I suggest the creation of a network of independent and reliable news and information sources across Southeast Asia. The region can already build on ASEAN press corps or organizations such as the Southeast Asia Press Alliance (SEAPA), New Naratif, Asia Democracy Network, and the Southeast Asia Freedom of Expression Network (SAFENet) to establish nodes of information sourcing, fact-checking, and monitoring of disinformation. This is also helpful as several local journalists are afraid to speak up or undertake projects to monitor disinformation due to security concerns and fear for the safety of their lives and loved ones (e.g. Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos).

Second, I also suggest that region-wide studies on disinformation particularly fleshing out trends and common issues, as well as comparison of approaches be brought to a larger audience. Right now, individual country studies are undertaken or foreign media journalists have been taking the cudgels to understand terrains of disinformation in the region. Perhaps with the help of academic institutions, regional think tanks and research groups, we can come up with more comprehensive understanding of how disinformation is taking root in the region. These would also offer opportunities to find solutions or approaches rooted in local contexts. Finally, continued vigilance and push for media literacy should be undertaken across the region. ASEAN can take the lead on this, but also in placing stronger pressure on technology and social media companies to strengthen their algorithms and monitoring mechanisms for disinformation.

Conclusion

The internet and social media platforms have indeed become new public spheres where socio-political discourses take place. The case studies however, have proven that NICT is plagued with disinformation and other nefarious plots aimed at disempowering democratic institutions. Common issues among the three countries include glaring digital divides, income inequalities as exploitative opportunities for the disinformation industry to thrive, and deep-seated narratives particularly those on the offline realm transcend online platforms and become bases for insidious disinformation. There were efforts to address these issues: government-led efforts play on their strongman role and often do not lead to desired outcomes. In the process, they have even encouraged ANDs to turn to other media platforms to spread further disinformation; and in several cases, the government itself is the source of disinformation. Efforts from the private sector such as social media and mainstream media companies, academic institutions, and civil society groups, as well as ordinary citizens are important accountability mechanisms to further counter disinformation. The initial innovative practices done in the three countries offer beacons of hope that eventually disinformation and its accompanying problems would be overcome. In the end, region-wide collaborative efforts are equally important endeavours to address disinformation. Three recommendations were offered by the end of the study: create a network of independent and reliable news sources across Southeast Asia, undertake regional studies on disinformation, and stronger ASEAN role in advocating for media literacy and pressuring tech and media companies to shape up against disinformation.

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ABSTRACTS

KEYNOTES

SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES IN THE ERA OF FOURTH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

PROFESSOR DR ARNDT GRAF

Chair, Dept. of Southeast Asian Studies
Goethe-University of Frankfurt Senckenberganlage, Germany

“Industry 4.0” or the “Fourth Industrial Revolution” is a concept first floated by Lukas/Kagermann/Wahlster in a non-scholarly article in a German online engineering magazine a few weeks before the Hanover Fair 2011. It was adopted as a slogan by the German government, then the World Economic Forum, and then it has become the signifier of numerous strategies in support of the digital economy around the world, including in Southeast Asia, examples of which are “Making Indonesia 4.0”, “Thailand 4.0”, or “Industry 4WRD” (Malaysia). We may say that, “the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution” has become an important phenomenon in Southeast Asia, and hence of Southeast Asian Studies. This keynote analyzes recent scholarly contributions on “IR4” in Southeast Asia, including in the fields of politics, government, economics, business administration, Industry 4.0 and religion, education versus Higher Education, wider social and cultural implications of IR4 in Southeast Asia, law and in the field of taxation.

TOWARDS DECOLONIAL SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES

PROFESSOR DR. SYED FARID ALATAS

Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
National University of Singapore

The effort to decolonise knowledge in the Asian context began in the nineteenth century with the thought of the Filipino thinker and activist, José Rizal (1861-1896). A tradition of counter-Eurocentric and anti-Orientalist thought subsequently developed in India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, and elsewhere in Asia. This paper defines Eurocentric and counter-Eurocentric knowledge and also details some problems faced by efforts to produce non-Eurocentric, decolonised knowledge, namely nativism, impersonation and silencing. The paper concludes with a discussion on exemplars for alternative, decolonial discourses from the Malay world.

PLENARY, PARALLEL SESSION AND, PANEL & ROUNDTABLE

THEME:

SOUTHEAST ASIAN SUSTAINABILITY DEVELOPMENT: STRATEGIES, IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPACT

GPR IN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION ERA 4.0: CASE STUDY OF THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATION AND INFORMATICS IN THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

¹AMRI DUNAN, ²BAMBANG MUDJIANTO

^{1,2}Human Research Resources & Development Agency, The Ministry of Communication & Informatics
Jl. Medan Merdeka Barat No.9, Jakarta Pusat 10110
(¹amri007@kominfo.go.id, ² bamb037@kominfo.go.id)

In the current 4.0 Industrial Revolution era, Government Public Relations-GPR are required to be able to adapt the development of advanced technologies such as Artificial Intelligence-AI, Robotic, Drone and Big Data Analytics. This article aims to conduct a gap analysis on the GPR of the Ministry of Communication and Informatics of the Republic of Indonesia. This study uses a qualitative approach with Focus Group Discussions-FGD as the data collection method. The model of Miles & Huberman (1984) and triangulation have been used for data analysis to draw conclusions. The results of this study indicate that the Ministry of Communication and Informatics of the Republic of Indonesia need to be equipped with AI and Big Data Analytics in implementing communication systems automatically. In addition, GPR also needs to be supported by experts in the fields of Public Relations, Data Analysis and Data Learning.

Keywords: GPR, 4.0, Artificial Intelligent, Big Data Analytic

TRANSFORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE SECTOR IN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION 4.0 ERA IN INDONESIA

AHMAD BUDI SETIAWAN, AMRI DUNAN, BAMBANG MUDJIANTO

The Center of Research and Development of Informatics Application, Information and Public Communication, The Agency of Human Resources Research and Development, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, Indonesia
(amri007@kominfo.go.id)

The era of the industrial revolution 4.0 has made many significant changes in almost all sectors of the economy. The industrial revolution 4.0 also has an important influence on the agricultural sector in the form of digitalizing the agriculture. Digital agriculture relies on sensors, robots, digital maps of water conditions in real time, maps of soil nutrient conditions, pests for fertilizer, water applications and green pesticides. Agricultural Technology 4.0 is an agricultural phase where practices, methods and techniques are based on digital technology, including Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and on the internet, where each process is integrated and connected directly with outsiders, through the transmission and communication of data into automation and autonomous systems. The scope of agriculture in the era of the industrial revolution 4.0 is in the form of building an agricultural value chain. The elements of technology in agriculture value chain include bio and gene technology, agricultural technology, food technology and ecommerce for food products and foodstuffs. Changes that occur in agricultural technology has significantly affected the agricultural business processes in terms of raising new opportunities for the business. This qualitative study discusses further the transformation and development of the agricultural sector in the era of the industrial revolution 4.0 in Indonesia.

Keywords: Industrial Revolution 4.0, Agricultural, Transformation, Disruption

AN OVERVIEW OF THE BLUE ECONOMY STRATEGY IN THE MARITIME SECTOR OF SELECTED SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES

KEMALA HUDAYA AND DR. HANIZAH IDRIS
Department of Southeast Asian Studies
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
University of Malaya
(kemala.hudaya@gmail.com)

In the past three decades, the issue of sustainable development has been discussed by the international community, however many countries in the region are not seriously addressing the issues due to many reasons. The main agenda in the past was to create awareness on the issues of environment and managing the ocean from pollution in a sustainable manner. The Blue Economy concept is a new concept, in response to the sustainable development goals (SDGs) launched by the United Nations in 2015. This study uses a quantitative method, through analysis of reports mostly from the United Nations, scholarly articles and other related literature related to the issue. The objectives of this paper are firstly to explain the background of the blue economy and its strategy globally, secondly, to identify the blue economy strategy on the maritime sector in Malaysia and Indonesia. Thirdly, to discuss the efforts taken by these countries in adapting the Blue economy strategy in the maritime sector. Finally, to identify the challenges faced by the countries in the process of the implementation of the Blue economy strategy including the industrial revolution 4.0, the energy and environmental issues and climate change. The early findings show that since the Blue economy concept is relatively new to all countries including those in the Southeast Asian region, there is a need to draft its vision for sustainable oceans economy supported by development plans and policies. Finally, to create a sustainable blue economy, public and private sectors must cooperate to develop and apply standards, guidelines and best practices that support a Sustainable Blue Economy.

Key words: Blue economy strategy, ocean, sustainable development, maritime sector and challenges

LIPI PANEL ON:

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN AGRICULTURE & PLANTATION SECTOR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: STRATEGIES, IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPACT

PANEL ABSTRACT

Agriculture is a very strategic sector for a country's economic growth, particularly for developing countries in Southeast Asia (SEA). For instance, plantation of palm oil is contributing significantly to the state income. The significant 'income' factor contribution has led most countries in SEA to exploit its natural resources resulting in unfavorable impact for future generations and in achieving sustainable development. This concept later manifested as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which have been agreed and adopted by states as national targets and action plans. The Center for Area Studies (P2W/P2SDR) since its establishment in 2001, particularly in the division of Southeast Asia, is paying great attention to the subject of development in Southeast Asia especially development of agricultural sector, the competitiveness of rice production and the latest one focusing on food security. These researches are complemented by a number of independent studies on the sub-theme of contract farming, the palm oil industry and the regeneration of farmers internship programs etc. This panel focuses on the agriculture sector and palm oil industry within the theme of sustainability development. Each paper in the panel tries to examine topics related to regulations and policies. A comparative study of Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia and Japan is conducted to cover a range of issues. The panel tries to address the governance and implementation of these goals in Southeast Asia, particularly in the context of the difficulties in the shift from the international to the national, the multi-level challenges of implementation, involvement of stakeholders, civil society, and citizens (particularly the role of women) in the process. Presenters in this panel are researchers from the Center for Area Studies (P2W/P2SDR) - Indonesian Institute of Sciences/Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI), who have conducted research on these issues in developing (Cambodia) and middle-income (Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam) countries of the region. The perspectives on governance and the SDGs emerge from the fields of history, economics, political-economy, sociology and law. The purpose of this panel is to try to disseminate the results of the present research more widely and to get feedback in an effort to produce studies that are better and more useful.

Keyword: sustainable development, agriculture, food security, contract farming, palm oil industry, young farmer's apprenticeship

SIGNIFICANCE OF TRACEABILITY AND POSITION OF SMALLHOLDERS AFTER THE ADOPTION OF THE DELEGATED ACT RED II BY THE EUROPEAN UNION COMMISSION

BONDAN WIDYATMOKO
(widyatmoko.bondan@gmail.com)

In the last decade, the direction of renewable energy directive or known as RED issued by the European Union (EU) has become a wedge in the trade relations of palm oil commodities between Indonesia and Europe. As the second strongest legal force regulation, RED is a policy tool to encourage the use of renewable energy and also as a meta-standard of sustainability to filter materials and renewable energy sources used in the EU region. This paper tries to highlight the significance of traceability and position of smallholders after the adoption of the Delegated Act RED II by the European Union Commission.

Keyword: RED (renewable energy directive), palm oil industry, small holder, European Union Commission, Indonesia

AGRICULTURAL POLICY, NEW FARMING SYSTEM AND POLITICS OF RICE IN THAILAND

SURIBIDARI, RUCIANAWATI, MAYASURI PRESILLA, DINA SRIRAHAYU
(sbidari@gmail.com)

Thailand is a country with remarkable achievement in the agricultural sector that is evidenced by the increase in agricultural products, especially rice. Development of the agricultural sector in Thailand is not restricted to rice farming, but also other commodities such as fruits and vegetables. This paper aims to determine the sustainable agricultural policy in Thailand focusing especially on the strategy taken by the Thai government and the role of other stakeholders in the implementation of sustainable agriculture. Through a literature review and several interviews as method of data collection, this paper showcases an underlying picture of the agricultural development in Thailand.

Keyword: Thailand, agricultural policy, sustainable agriculture, rice, new farming system

RICE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION FOR FOOD SECURITY IN VIETNAM

DINA SRIRAHAYU
(dina.andriyanto@gmail.com & dina_srirahayu@yahoo.com)

Vietnam is one of the top five ranked rice producing and exporting countries in the world. Rice has become an important commodity, both as a source of foreign income for the community through exports, and also to materialize the national food security. The amount of production, the country's ability to manage food reserves, distribution systems and guaranteed price stability are important factors in food security. This paper discusses the production of rice and distribution to realize the importance of national food security in Vietnam. The primary data sources in this article are findings from the field and interviews from several sources, as well as secondary data from literature review. Data analysis uses commodity chain system theory (commodity chain analysis) to see the distribution of rice in Vietnam's domestic market. The results show that the rice production in Vietnam is abundant to meet domestic food needs as well as to export rice outside the country. Meanwhile, distribution and trade of rice in Vietnam's domestic market is dominated by private market players who have created complexity in the distribution of rice in Vietnam.

Keyword: Vietnam, rice, production, distribution, domestic trade, commodity chain

IMPROVEMENT OF INDONESIAN AGRICULTURAL INNOVATION BY ALUMNI'S APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM TO JAPAN

GUSNELLY AND DEVI RISKIANINGRUM
(gusnellylipi@gmail.com, devichudori@gmail.com)

This paper reviews the prospects and challenges facing the agricultural sector in Southeast Asia in the next decade. It focuses on the historical performance of Indonesia's agriculture in Southeast Asia, that has experienced significant improvements with strong growth during the New Order era. Improvements in agricultural methods have played a key role in driving agricultural output growth in Indonesia. In the recent

decade, Indonesian agriculture is experiencing a regeneration crisis as well as a notable trend of aging society. Since the New Order, the government seems to realize that a farmers' crisis is underway and must immediately find a solution to overcome it. Keeping this in mind, the Ministry of Agriculture of Indonesian Government has initiated a young farmers apprenticeship agriculture program to encourage young farmers from villages to learn in Japan. . The aim of this program is to develop human resources on agricultural sector, to learn modern agricultural technology, and to develop agricultural business circle, which is expected to attract the interest of the younger generation towards the agricultural sector. With a descriptive-analytical approach and literature study as well as in-depth interviews from several internship alumni, this paper examines the experiences of young Indonesian farmers who conducted apprenticeships in Japan, the post-apprenticeship impact, and knowledge gained in Japan for the development of their agricultural businesses. This research reveals that the work ethics and behaviors are internalized knowledge that should be further transformed into the lives of Japanese apprentice alumni.

Keywords: apprenticeship, experience, alumni, Indonesian agriculture, Japan.

ENHANCING WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE IN CAMBODIA: ORGANIC RICE CONTRACT FARMERS IN KAMPONG SPEU PROVINCE

BETTI ROSITA SARI
(betty.rositasari@gmail.com)

There's no debate about the importance of women for rural economic growth and poverty reduction. They fill many crucial roles, as farmers, wage laborers, small-scale entrepreneurs, as well as caretakers of children and the elderly at their home. In Cambodia, rural women often lag behind men in terms of access to land, credit, a broad range of technologies, information, advisory services and training. They are frequently shut out of 'social capital', such as farmers' organizations, workers' unions and community networks that can enhance their productivity and growth. Rice contract farming is not widespread in Cambodia at present, but is expected to expand significantly in the near future. Contract farming can also enable farmers to access credit, inputs, technical advice and information about market condition and pricing trends. This study will explore the woman contract farmers under contract farming system in Kampong Speu Province. From the field work it is revealed that contract women can meet the company's requirement very well and they preserve the environment for sustainable agriculture in Cambodia by minimizing the potential of land conflict. In some cases, it is observed that contract farming does not strengthen farmers' land tenure, instead deforestation has been widespread in the villages due to the expansion of land under (contract) cultivation.

Keywords: contract farming, woman, sustainable agriculture, land conflict, rural Cambodia

UNDERSTANDING RURAL DEVELOPMENT FOR OFFERING AN ALTERNATIVE NOTION OF SUSTAINABILITY: AN EXAMPLE FROM INDONESIAN PERSPECTIVE

NURSYIRWAN EFFENDI & EKA FAUZI HARDANI

Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIP), Andalas University - Indonesia
Doctoral Student in Economics, Faculty of Economics, Andalas University - Indonesia
(nursyirwan@soc.unand.ac.id; effendi.pdg@gmail.com, ekafauzi674@gmail.com)

In Indonesia, rural development is mostly backed by the central government post-1999 regional autonomy policy through implementing the program of rural development fund (*program dana desa*). Consequently, the central government mostly takes control financially over rural development programs, meanwhile, local developmental initiatives correspond to the government's rules and guidance in using this development fund. This mechanism does not allow the local communities to create freely any development programs which are suitable to their own needs and conditions. Seeing as a strategy, local communities then creatively articulate their traditional entrepreneurial culture to fulfill the developmental activities for better-off conditions, beyond the state-led programs. This culture includes operating local rural markets, agricultural products' artisan trading, local product crafts and operating small shops. Activation of this entrepreneurial culture is regarded as local initiatives in the community development. In addition, local communities also use their property rights assets, e.g. social forest, land, rice fields etc., for supporting their *rural* development activities. This paper is based on field research conducted in 2018-2019 in some *rural* areas in west Sumatra, Indonesia. The purpose of the paper is to provide a descriptive study on alternative understanding of sustainability, which is commonly concerned with environmental, culture and social assets as capitals for sustaining social

development at the *rural* level. It may contribute to an enrichment of sustainable development ideas by describing on-going development processes in the *rural* context.

Keywords: rural development, rural development fund, sustainability, entrepreneurial culture, social-cultural assets

PHILIPPINE VALUES IN THE SUPERMODERN/HYPERMODERN AGE OF THE INTERNET

TERESA PAULA S. DE LUNA

Department of Speech Communication & Theater Arts
College of Arts and Letters, University of the Philippines
(tsdeluna@up.edu.ph)

Hypermodernity is a condition where we are overwhelmed with so many interests and where pursuits in life are reflected in the age of the internet. Internet and internet-mediated-technologies produced represents a hypermodern existence that impacts the various Philippine values currently performed. This paper focuses on two facets of the formation and development of the Philippine values system: the socio-historical perspective, and the impact of a technological innovation on the way we perceive ourselves, how we socialize with each other in our communities. It discusses how the Philippine values system had been formally and technically incorporated into the “mainstream” discourse on the Filipino identity and revisits the proffered lenses within the context of a hypermodern space where the internet, a technological development that disrupted the everyday life of Filipinos in the 21st century, is present. University of the Philippines (UP) students’ narratives on immersion in the internet world are examined to find out the impact of internet technology on their current values system. Findings reveal how different, yet similar UP students are in their dispositions on being a UP student. The values they possess are reflected in the stories they share on what is UP to them and what it means to be a UP student. Identity and nationhood come up as facets of UPD students’ understanding and practice of their values system. The internet has functioned as and will continue to be a venue where discussions on our identities (not a single one anymore) as Filipinos and our nationhood transpire. Ultimately, these communal socializations continue to remind us who we are and what have we become as Filipinos.

Keywords: Philippine values system, culture, internet-mediated technology, supermodernity/hypermodernity

STRENGTHENING ICT AND GOVERNANCE TO ACHIEVE 2030 SDGs: LESSON LEARNT FROM RIDWAN KAMIL AND COMMUNITY INITIATIVE

Sri Sunarti Purwaningsih & Nina Widyawati
Research Center for Society and Culture
Indonesian Institute of Sciences
LIPI, Jakarta, Indonesia
(srisunartipurwaningsih@yahoo.com)

Achievement of 2030 SDGs is also the commitment of Indonesia just like many other South East Asian countries. Among sustainable development goals, Goal 9 is related to industry, innovation and infrastructure in which information and communication technologies are an important way to facilitate sustainable development. This is in line with the Industrial Revolution 4.0 in which ICT and governance are well established through local government and civil society. Bandung, West Java Indonesia, is one good example of a smart city when it was under Ridwan Kamil (RK) as the Mayor. RK, the former mayor of Bandung used ICT as the tool to improve public services with the use of e-applications. RK has started communicating directly with his community members through social media account initiated by a civil society (RK Watch). Interactive activities through ICT, especially through social media are able to accelerate public services. Most of the delay in responding to public services is related to the target of SDGs namely infrastructure, environment, health and population administration. This paper discusses how ICT is able to reduce bureaucratic procedures and to accelerate public services as well as to improve negotiation between proponents and critiques in relation to public service priorities related to SDGs. Data used for this paper was collected using qualitative approach and methods such as indepth interviews and focus group discussions.

Keywords : ICT, governance, SDG's, Ridwan Kamil Watch

A SECOND LOOK AT MILLET: A TRADITIONAL BUT ALMOST FORGOTTEN FOOD GRAIN AS A SOLUTION TO THE FOOD SHORTAGE IN THE PHILIPPINES AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Augusto V. de Viana, Ph.D.
University of Santo Tomas
Republic of the Philippines
(augustodeviana@gmail.com)

Millet (*urocloa ramosa*) along with rice and root crops is one of the sources of food for the people of the Philippines during the precolonial period. It was identified by the Spanish missionaries as one of the staple foods of the natives and was more common than rice which was considered as a festival food that is eaten only for special occasions. Unlike corn which was introduced by the Spaniards, millet has been grown by natives and other people in Asia especially China and India. However through the centuries, the Filipinos gravitated towards rice cultivation and the growing of millet became limited to the remote areas of the Philippines. In recent times, the Philippines stopped from being an exporter of rice and became one of the world's top two importers and consumers of the grain. There was also a problem of malnutrition among Filipinos due to improper feeding methods. Among Filipinos, millet is practically forgotten except as bird feed. On the other hand, millet is still grown and consumed by other countries where it remains an important source of food and an important food crop. This paper discusses the cultivation of millet in Philippine history and the reasons for its decline as a popular food source. It will discuss the possibility of how this lowly grain consumed by precolonial Filipino may solve the problem of the lack of food and malnutrition if its former widespread cultivation is revived among Filipino farmers. If millet production is popularized and revived, it may alleviate hunger in other parts of Southeast Asia.

Key words: millet, precolonial cultivation, food lack, revival

THEME:

CITIZENSHIP, POVERTY, INEQUALITY, PROSPERITY, PEACE AND JUSTICE

INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT: EVIDENCE FROM MYANMAR

FUMITAKA FURUOKA, MA TIN CHO MAR, PUI KIEW LING, & LARISA NIKITINA
University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur
(fumitaka@um.edu.my, larisa@um.edu.my, tinchomar@um.edu.my, puikiewlingkt@um.edu.my)

A certain level of inflation and unemployment are ubiquitous features in the economic performance of any country. In Myanmar, the inflation rate fluctuations are high during the period of 1990-2017. This is due to the rapid changes taking place in the country as a result of new and bold economic policies introduced by the government in order to move Myanmar towards becoming a market-oriented state (Hnin Htet Htet Win, 2017). This study presents a descriptive analysis of economic conditions and changes taking place in Myanmar, with the main focus on the country's monetary policy and the challenges faced. The sources of data for this study is mainly from Myanmar National Bureau of Statistics, the Central Bank of Myanmar, the Statistical Bulletin, World Bank Data Base and the researcher's personal interviews with former central bankers in Myanmar.

Keywords: Myanmar, monetary policy, inflation rate

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT AND SUSTAINABILITY FOR TSUNAMI EARLY WARNING SYSTEMS IN INDONESIA: THE VALUE OF WIDER REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN BRIDGING IDEALS, TECHNOLOGY, AND PEOPLE

DAVID ELIJAH BELL, PHD MPH
Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Public Health
St. John Fisher College
Rochester NY, USA
(dbell@sjfc.edu)

Since the Second International Conference on Early Warning in 2003, the United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR) has emphasized the importance of early warning systems (EWS) being “people-centered”, sustainable, and effectively integrated with knowledge, technology, and policy. Key to being “people-centered” is the empowerment of individuals and communities to act in ways to reduce potentials for harm (UNISDR, 2015), involving forms of coordination and collaboration which underpin more formal structures and components of emergency preparedness. Not surprisingly, such empowerment, with associated attention to social, economic and environmental forms of vulnerability, is often insufficient and under-addressed as a result of complexity, difficulty to impact, and lack of meaningful metrics for evaluation. Furthermore, while technological advances have greatly bolstered efficacy for many aspects of EWS, particularly through data analysis, predictive modeling, detection mechanism, informational dissemination, and communication strategies, the increasing disparities associated with access and fluency in technology can hinder both community and individual empowerment. This study seeks to integrate key themes from literature on community empowerment in emergency management and disaster reduction, with emphasis on technology and forms of regional integration, and then applies this understanding to tsunami preparedness and EWS throughout Indonesia. Central to this analysis is the interaction of goals and ideals with technology and other forms of response capacity-building in a “people-centered” framework. Final recommendations for tsunami EWS in Indonesia emphasize the importance of both community engagement and sustainability, through awareness and consideration of the following domains: i) relevant types of knowledge, ii) ways in which technologies are adapted and utilized, iii) types and levels of empowerment through partnerships, iv) prioritization assessments, v) values associated with authoritative domains, vi) processes for creating policy, vii) communication networks, viii) clarification of expectations and responsibilities, ix) environmental interactions, and x) underlying assumptions for sustainability. The final value of regional integration for EWS in Indonesia is considered to be highly dependent upon these listed issues of empowerment related to community engagement and sustainability.

Keywords: Community Engagement, Sustainability for Tsunami, Early Warning Systems, Wider Regional Integration, Bridging Ideals, Technology, Indonesia

THE NEW GENERATION OF FILIPINO-CHINESE FAMILIES IN THE PHILIPPINES

IRENE G. BORRAS
University of Santo Tomas, Philippines
(igborras@ust.edu.ph)

One characteristic of Chinese workers living and working overseas is their capacity to never lose their “Chineseness” or their identity as Chinese, along with this is a strong allegiance to mainland China. The first generation of Chinese who worked in the Philippines did not see the country as a place of their retirement. Normally head of the family stays and work in the Philippines and leaves his family behind in the mainland. As years passes, fathers realize the need to have his family especially his son with him in the country to help him in the business. Thus, through kinship-based migration, Chinese families migrated and stayed permanently in the island. This paper focuses on three aspects: (1) The pull factors which attracted Chinese families to settle in the island; (2) The challenges that they faced and encountered living in a foreign land; and (3) The distinct characteristics (e.g. values, upbringing, culture, etc.) of Chinese-Filipino families and how they are similar as well as different from the Chinese families in mainland China. An in-depth study and interviews were conducted with the Chinese-Filipino families especially those living in Manila, where most Chinese businesses and families are settled. This paper also aims to highlight the resilience of Filipino-Chinese families to withstand their day-to-day struggles and how they succeeded in various aspects in the Philippine society.

Keywords: migration, Chinese, culture, city, identity

30 YEARS AFTER THE RESETTLEMENT OF THE CPM IN THAILAND: FROM 'THAI NATIONAL DEVELOPER' TO 'THAI CITIZEN'

THIPPAPORN

Department of History, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, UM
(salee72000@yahoo.com)

The main objective of this research is to study the life and cultural aspects of former Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) members, who have settled in Thailand after the Haadyai Agreement in 1989. The study focuses on the communities in Piyamit Village (One) and (Two) in the Tanoh Maera Subdistrict, Betong District, Yala Province, which is one of the major areas where former CPM members are living. Participatory observations and interviews are supplemented with an examination of relevant Thai primary and secondary sources. The study finds that following the peace negotiations among the Malaysian and Thai governments, some former CPM members decided to settle in Thailand. This was in accordance with the Thai government proposal, which has offered two choices: return to Malaysia or join Thailand to assist in their national development. Furthermore, in accordance with the Order of the Prime Minister's Office No. 66/2523, which was implemented during General Prem Tinsulanonda's tenure as Prime Minister, former members of the CPM who took the opportunity to settle in the Thai border areas were entitled to the arable land, allotted for each family, for their living and occupation, as well as Thai citizenship after 5 years' of residence. Thus, these former members of the CPM were transformed from being members of an armed group to peaceful Thai nationals, allowing them to live a normal life within Thai territory. With regard to the social and cultural conditions of this new group of settlers, the study found that many of them were of Chinese descent, with a strong work ethic in whatever profession they had chosen. Many had developed an affinity for agriculture, adapting themselves to their local geographical conditions and terrain and seeing opportunities to use their unique history to develop tourism in their area. Consequently, they have not only become successful Thai citizens, but have also aided in Thailand's national development efforts. Nevertheless, there still remains some concerns regarding the disparity of the quality of life for former members of the CPM and ordinary Thai citizens, which is reflective of the economic disparity and mutual interaction, as well as with that of the Malay Muslims in the same area.

Keywords: Communist Party of Malaya (CPM), Haadyai Agreement 1989, Piyamit village, Thai national developer, Thai citizen

THE STRUGGLE OF INDONESIAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN IMPROVING INDONESIAN WOMEN'S WELFARE THROUGH INDONESIAN WOMEN'S CONGRESS I AND II

SYAHIDAH SUMAYYAH RAHMAN & ABDURAKHMAN

History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia
(syahidah.sumayyah91@ui.ac.id, abimaman@gmail.com)

Indonesian women have been fighting for their rights for many years through various ways. This article thoroughly discusses how women organizations in Indonesia are fighting for their rights especially for those who came from middle and lower middle classes. The Indonesian Women Congress I has started to raise the awareness among women particularly among those who were part of any organization to defend their women rights. Through the Indonesia Women's Congress I and II, problems related to women have been discussed. This article discusses the steps that the women organization have taken so far and how far their efforts have become successful to improve women's fate through Indonesian Women Congress. Most of the previous studies have focused only on the process of the congresses without discussing further on what steps were taken and the extent of their achievements. This study adopts a historical method for data collection from newspapers, magazines and books since the establishment of the Indonesian Women Congresses I and II.

Keywords: women organization, marriage, education, Indonesian Women Congress

ELABORATION OF PATTERNS OF LIVING ENVIRONMENT AMONG ITINERANT ELDERLY IN MALAYSIA BY USING INTERPRETATIVE PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS (IPA)

AQSA QANDEEL & WELYNE JEFFREY JEHOM

Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya
(aqsaqandeel@gmail.com)

The current study is associated with the description of the living environment for destitute elderly with the narration of patterns by structure and lifestyle in Malaysia. It is a qualitative study with Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) of life stories by the itinerant old aged people who were residing out of home in sheltered or shelter-less places. Through snowball and purposive sampling, semi-structured interviews were conducted with fourteen homeless elderly people in their current residential space in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Through Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), data has been converted into themes and sub-themes for the elaboration of structural and living patterns in different living settings of itinerant elderly. The living options for itinerant elderly are total institutions, panopticons, temporary residential and open environment based upon the implementation of Destitute Person Act 1977 and freedom of choice of destitute elderly to choose the living style after being homeless. The availability of facilities of life at place depends on the nature of environment they have selected for their residence. However, the majority of them are not able to enjoy some common civil, medical and political rights. The study also investigates destitution among people other than elderly itinerants. It is important to manage some privacy for elderly to spend their life independently in total institutions and in panopticon rather than to urge them to be roofless again.

Keywords: living pattern, living environment, itinerant elderly, interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA)

WATER TRANSPORTATION AND SOCIAL GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY ON WEST AND EAST COAST OF HALMAHERA ISLANDS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

ABD. RAHMAN & TOMMY CHRISTOMY

Faculty Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia, di Depok.
(randy5eman@gmail.com, t.christomy@gmail.com)

West and East Coast areas of Halmahera in the Sea Region and the Maluku Islands are regions that have not been studied in depth by scholars and maritime historians both at home and abroad. To date the region is rather unknown in Indonesia's national history. The region is popularly known as *the spice islands* and was part of the prized territory for European nations especially the Portuguese, Spain, and Dutch, to seize and claim a trading monopoly over its nutmeg and cloves production. Many foreign nations namely Loloda, Jailolo, Bacan, Tidore, and Ternate have faced local kingdoms whose traces can still be found today. One part of this area is the West Coastal Area of Halmahera where lives of the people can not be separated from the world of inter-island shipping. Various types of water transport appears to operate ranging from a dinghy boat that does not sail to ships and twin-engine large sized motor boats. The water serves not only as a place for the fishermen to catch fish but also as a medium of transportation for transporting passengers, goods, and services between islands. This paper addresses these two important questions; how to model the mechanization of sea transportation between the coast and east of southwest and Halmehara islands? And how this resulting social change will shape the local community? The methodology used in this study is historical methodology which is based on primary and secondary sources, criticism of external and internal sources; interpretation; and writing of the history to formulate conclusions.

Keyword: transportation, coast, social, mobility, Halmahera.

THE OHOIWUTUNS: THE ROLE OF BUTON PEOPLE AS A DERIVED COMMUNITY IN KEI KECIL ISLAND, SOUTHEAST MALUKU REGENCY

SUSANTO ZUHDI & ABD. RAHMAN HAMID
History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia
(susanto_zuhdi@yahoo.com, abdul_pasca@yahoo.com)

This paper discusses the Ohoiwutuns, an established family group in Kei Islands who live in several villages of the Kei Kecil Island. The Ohoiwutuns consist of a group of people who have migrated from Buton around the 18th century, and established themselves as a new derived community that has added colors to the existing locals. They are considered as a newly founded family group in Kei Islands even though there are certain limitations on how Kei society sees outsiders. This research aims to explain the process of adaptation and later the development of the Ohoiwutun within the context of Kei Island's rigid society, as well as the nature of Buton people whose diaspora had created the network of Nusantara maritime interconnectivity. Through the analytical framework, this paper discusses first, the background story of the migration, social structures of Kei Islands and sets of skills and capability of Buton people in installing themselves inside the Kei Islands. Several basic assumptions regarding the pattern and shape of such newly founded family inside the closely fitted community, especially in the village of Danar and Rumadian are elaborated in this study. The Ohoiwutuns became the part of *tuan tan* (landlords) who have established new political standings. The Ohoiwutun have marked an important position in the political system of Kei Islands, although they are one of Kei Islands' derivative community. The last generation of the Buton people in Kei Kecil is the eighth and ninth generation, encouraging us to delve deeper into the oral and written tradition within the society of Kei Islands', to enrich the diversity in the eastern part of the archipelago and to frame the concept of the Buton people's diaspora in the Nusantara.

Keywords: Butonese migration, Buton people, Kei Islands, diaspora, derivative community, Southeast Maluku.

POLYGAMY AS A TOOL TO PRESERVE PATRIARCHAL CULTURE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS STUDY

DHEA TISANE ARDHAN
Linguistics Master Program, Faculty of Humanities,
Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya - Indonesia
(dhea.tisane.ardhan-2018@fib.unair.ac.id)

The practice of polygamous marriage has long been a controversy among those who are for and against it. The concept of polygamy marriage conducted by several Indonesian Muslims refers to the verse in the Qur'an [4:3] stating that men may marry up to four wives. Polygamous marriage in Indonesia is often considered as a problem in society because many women are affected by the practice. Nevertheless, along with the change of time, nowadays some Muslim communities are trying to change the negative stigma associated with polygamy practice. This paper aims to explore the ideology related to the power implied in the documentary video *Polemik Poligami di Indonesia: Berbagi Surga* uploaded by the YouTube channel of Vice Indonesia within the context of gender relations. In order to examine this issue, the theory of feminism proposed by Amina Wadud was applied. Furthermore, there are three dimensions of analysis performed based on Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which are text, discursive practice, and social practice. The results show that the implied ideology is related to gender hierarchy in a marriage. Several Muslim men, particularly in Indonesia, still see themselves more superior than their wives. By socializing the practice of polygamy, men can be considered to maintain their domination in a marriage. Moreover, this documentary video shows that polygamy practice is implicitly disadvantageous for all women regardless of whether they accept polygamy or not. In conclusion, this video indicates that with the practice of polygamy, women are positioned in a lower status compared to men in the context of marriage.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, gender hierarchy, ideology, Indonesian Muslims, polygamy

LOCAL MARGINALIZATION OF PARTICIPATION IN BATAM ISLAND: NEW INDUSTRIAL CITIES IN ASEAN COUNTRIES BORDER REGION

FITRISIA MUNIR¹, HAMZAH JUSOH², DELMIRA SYAFRINI³

Department of International Relations, Faculty of Science and Political Science, Universitas Islam Riau, Pekanbaru, Indonesia ¹Department of Development and Environment Studies, Faculty of Science Social and Humanity, University Kebangsaan Malaysia, Malaysia ²Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Science, Padang, Indonesia³
(ftrisiamunir@soc.uir.ac.id)

Industrial cities in Indonesia's border region have developed rapidly and are collaborating with other countries to advance their urban development to become more global. This is supported by the globalization era which has affected urban systems on a national, regional, and global scale. However, globalization and marginalization can also destroy many traditional regional models so the new philosophies and development strategies of local cities must be planned under a more macroscopic framework. Many local cities are marginalized while industrial cities have grown rapidly, which has caused a decrease in human resources, inequality in the socioeconomic index such as GDP between the capital city and surrounding cities. Non-state actors through collaboration of academics, business people and local governments are suppressing inequalities and reviving industrial cities such as Batam which are becoming weak. This paper aims to evaluate local level society marginalization on Batam Island (industrial park having border region with ASEAN countries) and to analyze their participation in suppressing inequality to achieve sustainable development on Batam Island. The research method used in this study is descriptive and qualitative in nature in which all phenomena of research problems are described empirically. This article uses a case study approach and develops the concept of gentrification in Batam island (a new port industrial city). Findings of this study support Batam city as one of the fastest-growing industrial cities which cannot resist the arrival of residents from outside the city to take advantage of working and settling there. Local marginalization and high growth is distinguished in terms of getting a variety of opportunities to live and work together.

Keywords: industrial cities, local marginalization, gentrification, Batam Island, border region

UNDERSTANDING THE PERCEIVED THREATS, RESPONSES, AND INTERSUBJECTIVITY OF FILIPINO HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATES

MARIELLE JUSTINE C. SUMILONG

Department of Speech Communication and Theatre Arts
College of Arts and Letters
University of the Philippines Diliman
Quezon City, Philippines
(mcsumilong@up.edu.ph)

The Commission on Human Rights, non-government institutions, and various international organizations have expressed their concerns regarding current situation of human rights violations in the Philippines. The Human Rights Watch 2018 report taxonomizes Philippine human rights issues into extra judicial killings, incrimination of human right defenders, violation of children's rights, attacks on journalists, lack of response to an HIV epidemic, arguments on sexual orientation and gender identity, and refused interventions of international actors. Existing literature recognize that there is a lack of government information on the extent of armed police encounters (Kreuzer, 2018; Quilala, 2018) and literature also acknowledge that there is the lack of public understanding about the infamous War against Drugs (Cornelio & Medina, 2019). In addition there is also a lack of awareness among Filipinos regarding the country's current human rights issues. The purpose of this study is to provide an understanding of the current state of Philippine human rights through the lived experiences of Filipino human rights advocates. The specific research objectives are: (1) to describe and interpret the perceived human rights threats and responses of the participants and (2) to create an account of a common, shared awareness (intersubjectivity) of the current state of human rights in the Philippines. Methodological approach used in this study is Hermeneutic phenomenology. Individual experiences and narratives of selected Filipino human rights advocates serve as the main qualitative data described and interpreted. Participants are purposively selected to represent advocates in the government (Commission on Human Rights), as well as advocates from non-government and youth organizations. Narratives are subjected to Kenneth Burke's cluster-agon method (1984) to find shared themes and patterns; analysis is guided by the participants' individual standpoints to take account of multiple identities –intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality, among many facets of identity (Littlejohn & Foss, 2011).

Keywords: human rights, Philippines, hermeneutic phenomenology, cluster-agon, citizenship

BUSINESSES THAT PUT PEOPLE AHEAD OF PROFIT: THE HUMAN NATURE MODEL AND ITS SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL IMPACT IN THE PHILIPPINES

MELANIE MORAGA LEAÑO
Department of Speech Communication and Theatre Arts
National College of Public Administration and Governance
University of the Philippines, Diliman
Social Entrepreneur (Branch Operator) Gandang Kalikasan, Inc)
(mmleano@up.edu.ph)

The main argument of this paper is that the general way of doing business in Philippines should be Social Business Enterprises because it has social, economic, and political impact not only at micro level but also at the macro level. In Philippines, leading social business enterprises provide a model of integrity that provides social services and economic benefits to its employees and other partner communities. This model of integrity is inspiration as well as a challenge for the Philippine government at the same time which gives hope to the Filipino people. This model of integrity demands others to do more, beyond the traditional way of running the government and doing a business.

Keywords: social business enterprise, social business entrepreneurship impact, model of integrity, human nature

THEME:

MIGRATION AND DIASPORA – MIGRATION DYNAMIC IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

HEEREN STREET: THE ECONOMIC BACKBONE OF THE 19TH (AND EARLY 20TH) CENTURY MALACCA

TAN HUEY PYNG, YVONNE HOH JGIN JIT, MOK SEW KUEN, & MICHELLE WONG
Faculty of Arts and Social Science,
Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman (UTAR)
(hohjj@utar.edu.my, tanhp@utar.edu.my)

Chinese immigrants and traders from Zhangzhou arrived at the shores of Malacca early in the 16th century during the Portuguese colonization. These Hokkien traders from southern Fujian province eventually settled and built what was to become today's Peranakan Chinese communities in Malacca. The Peranakans are localized and immersed in local customs, speaking Malay, English and Peranakan creole that was a mix of Malay and Hokkien. They were generally English educated with a Malayan looking mindset. Heeren Street (now Jalan Tun Tan Cheng Lock) today is a quiet unassuming street adjacent to the bustling Jonker Street but back in the 18th century until 1930s, this was where the rich and famous Babas called home. The Peranakan Chinese were part of the most influential stratum in the Malayan society; they enjoyed political, economic and educational powers. Apart from protection by the British government, the Peranakan matrilineal culture of inter-marriage of non-identical surnames or marriages of the matrilineal kin is the most significant factor that formed a close social structure that enhanced Peranakan cohesiveness, clan power, and social status. Amongst the famous figures who lived at Heeren Street were Tun Tan Cheng Lock, Tan Chay Yan, Chee Swee Cheng, and Tan Kim Seng; they were the masterminds behind the sea trading, rubber, tapioca, and gambier plantations, as well as the banking industry in then Malacca. Through tracing Malayan news articles (18th – 19th century publications) and other published sources, this paper conceptualizes the significance of intermarriages in the 18th – 19th century Peranakan community, through which they consciously or subconsciously aimed at consolidating business networks and social influence which led to the close knit business community in 19th century Malacca that made up of rich and powerful Peranakan families.

Keywords: Malacca history, Peranakan Chinese, intermarriages, socio-economic influence, Malayan business

EXTRATERRITORIAL MIGRATION CONTROL IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

LOW CHOO CHIN

History Section, School of Distance Education,
Universiti Sains Malaysia
(lowc@usm.my)

This research examines how migration control in Southeast Asia has been transformed in response to non-traditional security threats. Common geopolitical security concerns, particularly transnational crime and terrorism confronted by Malaysia and its bordering countries, have led to extraterritorial control measures to secure its external borders. Malaysia's extraterritorial policy is mostly implemented through the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) frameworks. Since the 2010s, Malaysia has expanded the territorial reach of its immigration enforcement through bilateral re-admission agreements, trilateral border patrol initiatives, and multilateral defense establishments. This research utilises official documents, legal texts, agreements, parliamentary debates, media statements, and secondary literature. This research shows how regional cooperation has led to the growing involvement of the army, the institutionalization of border externalization and the strengthening of the ASEAN's regional immigration cooperation.

Keywords: ASEAN, border control, extra-territoriality, irregular migration, Malaysia

STAKEHOLDER PERCEPTION OF LINKS BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL FACTOR FLOWS, LABOUR STANDARDS AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN MALAYSIA

EVELYN S. DEVADASON

Department of Economics
Faculty of Economics & Administration
University of Malaya
50603 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
(evelyns@um.edu.my)

At the heart of the current policy debate in Malaysia is the failure of national labour laws in the protection of the rights of workers. The problems related to labour standards are however not fully understood. Following which, no comprehensive policy has been outlined to address the problems in the labour market in Malaysia. More importantly, the discussion of labour standards and human rights is not complete without understanding the extent to which foreign labour policies, and integration through industrial policies and trade orientation have influenced the former. The related literature has largely focused on the standards of the host labour market in attracting multinational corporations. The paper, therefore, identifies the dilution of key aspects of labour standards and workers' rights, and establishes their systematic links with the global integration of the Malaysian economy through capital and labour inflows. It then assesses the state of reforms in labour-related policies in aligning with international requirements. The approach taken in this paper is that investors and migrants, may, play a role of a "transmitter" of (lower) labour rights and standards given the structural dependence of Malaysia on the twin flows of labour and capital. For this purpose, the study employs qualitative analysis that consolidates information through interviews conducted with several stakeholders (trade unions, activist groups, non-governmental organizations and industry associations).

Keywords: national policy, unskilled immigrants, labour standards, human rights, Malaysia.

DENIAL OF THE ROHINGYA GENOCIDE: PROBLEMATIZING DAW AUNG SAN SUU KYI AND THE 'RULE OF LAW' IN POSTCOLONIAL MYANMAR

WENDELL GLENN P CAGAPE

Centro Escolar University
(wendellglenncagape@gmail.com)

Even as the world condemns it as genocide, the government of the Union of the Republic of Myanmar and democracy icon, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi denied it and refused to accept it as such and mounted a legal defense arguing that the subsequent response against the attacks as of August 25, 2017 on various police outposts were anchored on the rule of law. This premise is at the center of this paper. What then is the rule of law in Myanmar? What to them was genocide by the standards of the international community? And why do

they deny it? These questions are what this paper problematizes. Qualitative in nature, this paper perused pages of transcripts of speeches to find themes, settings and meanings that will be attributed to problematizing Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the rule of law in the postcolonial Myanmar. And her speeches were delivered in public from 2016-2018. In analyzing her speeches, the paper uses Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. The paper concluded that on the part of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, we problematized her actions and silence over the Rohingya genocide. Her military father who remains to be her influence and that her continued claims that her father is the father of Burmese military; Her special relations of the military generals during her incarceration in her house arrest; Her drive/focus on democratic transition as per her electoral promise in 2015; Her context of rule of law is only political dynamics; And on the Rule of Law, the study revealed these: The rule of law remains to be purely political narratives because the generals are not held accountable inside the country using the judiciary; It is subsumed under the ongoing legal reforms in Myanmar.

Keywords: Aung San Suu Kyi, Rohingya, crisis, problematizing, Southeast Asia, Myanmar

SUSTAINING UNITY IN DIVERSITY: EXPLORING THE HIMPUNAN SIN BENG KELANTAN (HSBK2019) AS A CASE STUDY OF ETHNIC BOUNDARY-MAKING IN CONTEMPORARY KELANTAN

PUE GIOK HUN
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
(ghpue@ukm.edu.my)

With a population size of 55,500 in the year 2016, the Chinese community is the largest ethnic minority group in Kelantan, yet it makes up only about 3.09 percent of the population with the Malays as the majority ethnic group. Living in a society whose social environment is predominantly influenced by conservative Malay-Muslim hegemony in almost every aspect, religion has become a prominent marker of ethnic boundaries in Kelantan society. However, in comparison to the general overview of Malay-Chinese interethnic relations in Malaysia that is depicted as constantly conflicted and contested, the interethnic relation between both Kelantanese Malay and Chinese is relatively more peaceful and harmonious. Both ethnic groups are seen as on good terms with each other despite their religious differences; particularly in the context of interethnic relations between the Malay and Peranakan Chinese community, a Chinese subethnic group whose members are local-born Chinese and practice highly localized Chinese culture. By focusing on the Himpunan Sin Beng Kelantan (HSBK2019), a religious event in Taoism that was recently held for the first time ever in the state as a case study, this paper seeks to explore and examine how the Kelantan Peranakan Chinese community as a minority ethnic group, has been successful in maintaining and negotiating ethnic boundaries in the society peacefully through their religious activities.

Keywords: Kelantan, ethnic boundaries, Malay, Peranakan Chinese (Cina Kampung), Taoism, Himpunan Sin Beng Kelantan (HSBK2019)

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND NEW PATH OF MIGRATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA; A STUDY IN SABAH, MALAYSIA

NUR WIDIYANTO & EMANUELA AGRA SARIKA KURNIA DEWI.,S.I.KOM.,M.A
Departement of Tourism, Ambarukmo Tourism Institute, Yogyakarta
(nwidiantostipram@gmail.com, agra@stipram.ac.id)

The establishment of nature conservation projects often create a dilemma for local communities in Southeast Asia, including in Sabah, Malaysia. On the one hand, the enactment of Kinabalu Park has triggered the dispossession of local people from their customary lands, but on the other, it offers various economic opportunities. Employing ethnographic method, this article explores the transformation of Dusun community living in nearby Kinabalu Park and its connection to the influx of foreign migrants from Indonesia. Besides Mount Kinabalu, paddy acts as the core of cultural pattern for the people. However, the establishment of Kinabalu Park has offered tourism as the more profitable economic sector for local people. Furthermore, agricultural lands tend to be abandoned, left for the elders and foreign workers especially from Tana Toraja and East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. Recently, scores of Indonesian migrant families inhabiting several villages nearby Kinabalu Park are involved in growing vegetables. Religious factor and the advance communication technology also play important roles in this migration pattern. According to the statistics available and direct observation, the majority of Indonesian migrants are predominantly Christians, similar to

the religion of the host community. With the advent of ICT, these Indonesian migrants living in Sabah ensure that their family ties even though separated by Sulawesi Sea remains unhindered.

Keywords: tourism, migrant, transformation, Kinabalu Park, agricultural land

THEME:

MODERNITY, GLOBALIZATION AND IDENTITY

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT TO MODERNITY OF WOMEN: THE INFLUENCE OF SOUTH KOREA'S INDUSTRY IN INDONESIA (1960s) FOR THE INDONESIAN WOMEN'S MODERNITY (2000s)

Rostineu & Linda Sunarti

History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia
(rostineu31@ui.ac.id, rostineu0308@gmail.com, sunartilinda70@gmail.com)

The change of South Korea's national strategy on industrialization during the military regime of Park Chung-Hee (1961-1979) not only signified a more active global strategy with developing countries in South East Asia, but also provided large sustainable opportunities for modernity of women, particularly in Indonesia. This study will examine South Korea's industrialization in Indonesia with focus on its implication for women's modernity in the country. Research on modernity of women in Indonesia is abundant, but does not include a focus on South Korea's industrialization impact on Indonesian women's modernity. During Japanese occupation of Indonesia (1942-1945), it could be broadly regarded that Indonesian women had interacted with modernity. However, South Korea's industry in Indonesia shares a different impact. This paper will examine how South Korea's industrialization in Indonesia is a means of providing sustainable opportunity for Indonesian women to interact with modernity. However, this paper will particularly discuss about the development of South Korea's industry since 1961 until 2000s in Indonesia, and what are the implication of South Korea's industry in Indonesia for the character, social and cultural lives of Indonesia women. It is important to argue that this socioeconomic climate on South Korea's industrialization in Indonesia also allowed Indonesian women to engage actively through many dimensions such as education, economy, enhance their capacities and roles. Thus, Indonesian women are bombarded by many form of modern symbolism from the development of South Korea's industrialization in Indonesia. The data in this study were collected from open archives in South Korea, and other relevant resources such journala and articles. Interviews were also conducted for a broader scientific discussion about the influence of globalization on industrialization of South Korea in Indonesia for the making of women's modernity in Indonesia society.

Keywords: South East Asia modernity, South Korea's industrialization, Indonesia Women's sustainable modernity

THEME:

POLITICS, HEGEMONY AND CITIZENSHIP

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ELEMENTS FROM BENGAL IN THE PROCESS OF 'INDIANIZATION' IN EARLY SOUTHEAST ASIA (400 BCE – 800 CE)

SHARMIN AKHTAR

Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya.
(sharmin419@gmail.com)

Some archeological evidence from early Bengal (the eastern coastal region of India) found in Southeast Asia are important sources for grasping the historical study of 'Indianization' process. This issue has drawn the attention of the scholars for the last few generations. In the passage of 'Indianization' were found some

cultural materials of Bengal from various archaeological sites in mainland-maritime Southeast Asia. Among these valuable archaeological elements, Kharoshtri-Brahmi inscriptions, Buddhagupta's inscription, Northern Black polished wares, Rouletted wares, beads, finest clothes and the concept of Buddhist Architecture from Bengal are notable. Sometimes it is a matter of debate among the scholars whether these elements are originally from Bengal or not. By basing this debate on the sources, this paper is an endeavor to present these elements for proving Bengal's connection behind the 'Indianization' process. Despite, 'Indianization' considered as the all-Indian perspective, in the initial stage (400 BCE to 800 CE), Bengal had a vital role in this immense process along with other Indian regions like Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, etc. The communication of ancient India with the Southeast Asian region was massively carried out via this entity (Bengal). The paucity of sources is a common concern in reconstructing the history of the ancient period. In this regard, the present attempt is not an exception. Nevertheless, by analyzing and cross-examining the literary sources, archaeological findings, and secondary literature, it is not impossible to proceed. Finally, the most striking evaluation would come from the analysis of the material found up to the recent time that will indicate the role of the above-mentioned elements behind the 'Indianization' process.

Keywords: Bengal, Southeast Asia, Indianization, ancient, archaeological elements

THE ALTERNATE HISTORY OF THE MALAY PENINSULA

MOHD HAZMI MOHD RUSLI & FAREED MOHD HASSAN

Faculty of Syariah and Law
Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia
(hazmirusli@usim.edu.my, fareed@usim.edu.my)

Stretching for almost 1000km as far north as Wang Kelian in Perlis to Tanjung Piai, the southernmost tip of mainland Asia in Johor, the Malaysian territory on the Malay Peninsula inherited the areas once known as British Malaya. The present Thai-Malaysia boundary has its origins from the Anglo-Siamese Treaty 1909 whilst the separation of Singapore from the Peninsula dated back in 1819 via the Singapore Treaty concluded between the British and the then Malay ruler of Singapore, Sultan Hussein Shah. The Malay Peninsula was once dominated for centuries, by a number of mighty regional kingdoms such as Srivijaya, Majapahit, Malacca and other kingdoms that emerged all across the Malay Archipelago. This article provides an overview of the alternate history of the Malay Peninsula should the Sultanates of Malacca, Aceh and Johor-Riau were not swallowed up by the European colonial powers. This article also discusses the fate of modern Malaysia if the British did not include the Unfederated Malay States and Johor as part of the Federation of Malaya. In conclusion, Peninsula Malaysia that Malaysians inherit today is just a fraction of what it used to be. Malaysians should be grateful that despite centuries of colonisation, Malaysia is now an independent sovereign nation. Malaysians should take pride of their nation by pledging undivided loyalty to protect the sanctity of its sovereignty.

Keywords: Malay Peninsula, Malaysian History, Malay Archipelago, Colonisation, Sovereignty

RECOVERING FREEDOM: THE STORY OF THE 1935 PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTION, ITS TRAGIC LOSS DURING WORLD WAR II AND ITS UNEXPECTED REAPPEARANCE DURING YET ANOTHER PERIOD OF PROPOSED CHARTER CHANGE

MCM SANTAMARIA

Asian and Philippine Studies
Asian Center, University of the Philippines Diliman

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Despite its historical importance as Asia's first republican constitution, there is no original or faithfully reproduced facsimile version of the 1935 Philippine Constitution document that enshrined in the Philippine National Museum or other symbolic centers of the nation-state. The Philippine original was lost during the American bombing raids in the period leading to the end of World War II. And it appears that the reconstruction process of the postwar period paid no attention to the symbolic recovery of the document through the reproduction of a facsimile of the original, or through some other form of substitution. What then can one make of an unexpected (re)appearance of a *signed and numbered* original from the personal archives of Eulogio Balan Rodriguez, the former National Librarian of the Philippines? This paper seeks to appraise the importance of the newly rediscovered *Rodriguez Constitution* by locating it in the context of the

archive in which it was preserved, his work as a public servant during the transition period between the Philippine Commonwealth and the so-called Third Republic of the immediate postwar era, and the paper trail that effectively links the personal archive to the Philippine National Archives and to colonial archives of the U.S. Library of Congress and the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library. I also seeks to narrate the social drama of the creation of Asia's first republican constitution, a process in which its creators had to temper their expressions for independence with the exigency of expressing gratitude for the grand American political "experiment" in preparing the islands for sovereignty. In so doing, a process of *recovery* for the 1935 Philippine Constitution can be proposed, in both the literal and intellectual senses of the word.

Keywords: 1935 Philippine Constitution, National Librarian Eulogio Balan Rodriguez, archives, national memory, recovery, symbolic capital

WHEN JUAN DE LA CRUZ SHOOK HANDS WITH KARL MARX: INCEPTION OF PHILIPPINE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES: 1972-1986

ARCHIE B. RESOS
Department of History
Faculty of Arts and Letters
University of Santo Tomas
España, Manila
(archieresos@yahoo.com)

The foreign policy of the Republic of the Philippines from the declaration of independence on July 4, 1946 remained in close cooperation with the United States of America. The United States has colonized the Philippines since 1898 until 1946. Filipinos whose common monicker as Juan dela Cruz has been taught by American democracy to distance themselves from countries influenced by the communist teaching of Karl Marx. This reflects the neocolonial status of the country whose foreign policy, according to Senator Claro M. Recto, has assumed a "mendicant" posture characterized by a patron-client relationship. He exposed the bankruptcy of such a relationship and espoused the independence of the country's foreign policy anchored on the realistic pursuit of national interest. Claro M. Recto said the closeness of the country's foreign policy to that of the United States was evident from President Manuel Roxas' term of office in 1946 to President Diosdado Macapagal's. However, the 1970s proved to be significant in the diplomatic history of the Philippines because the country established friendly relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, People's Republic of China, and Eastern European nations. It is in this context that this paper will discuss the various factors that prompted the Philippines to establish close diplomatic ties with the Cold War rivals of the US in spite of the close affinity of the Republic of the Philippines with its former colonizer. The research will answer this main question: How did the Republic of the Philippines reshape the country's foreign policy by realistically promoting the interest of the nation through the conclusion of diplomatic ties with USSR, Peoples Republic of China and Eastern European Socialist Countries? In doing so, the theory on realism espoused by former Philippine Senator Claro M. Recto, a foremost nationalist and the Mendicant-Patriarchalism theory of political scientist Anthony Woodiwiss will be utilized in the analysis of the paper.

Keywords: diplomacy, diplomatic history, foreign affairs, Philippine foreign relations, Communist countries

FROM AGUINALDO TO DUTERTE: DYNAMICS OF PHILIPPINE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (1897-2016)

ARCHIE B. RESOS & EMMANUEL JERIC A. ALBELA
University of Santo Tomas
Faculty of Arts and Letters
Department of History
España, Manila
(abresos@ust.edu.ph, eaalbela@ust.edu.ph)

Elections have always been the vanguard of procedural democracy in the Philippines. From the time of the first presidential election in the Tejeros Convention in 1897 until the 2016 Presidential derby, the voice of the people has been instrumental in catapulting the chief executive to the seat of power in Malacañang Palace. It is interesting to note that the dynamics of Philippine presidential elections have been written by only a few scholars. This study attempts to provide the mechanism of elections including its results in determining the occupant of the highest position of the land which is held by the Office of the President. Since the first

presidential election in 1897 with Emilio Aguinaldo as president, the outcome has always been marred with influence peddling and electioneering. The maturity of presidential election was further enhanced with the 1935 and 1941 Commonwealth election with Manuel L. Quezon at the helm of power. However, mudslinging and rumour-mongering became pronounced during this democratic exercise. After the death of Quezon, the Philippines witnessed its first presidential succession under Sergio Osmeña Sr. During the outbreak of World War II and the Japanese occupation in 1941, Jose P. Laurel was installed as president by the National Assembly controlled by the imperial government of Japan. After World War II, the election of Manuel Roxas, Elpidio Quirino, Ramon Magsaysay, Carlos Garcia, Diosdado Macapagal, Ferdinand Marcos, Corazon Aquino, Fidel Ramos, Joseph Estrada, Benigno Simeon Aquino III and Rodrigo Duterte provided strength in the procedural aspect of democracy. It is in this context of the process of presidential electoral procedure that the following questions will be answered: what was the context of the presidential election of each chief executive? What were the political parties involved and how they contend each other? What were the significant election issues? How was the presidential election conducted? What were the results?

Keywords: Philippine elections, democracy, political culture, political parties, president

THE INFLUENCE OF SAREKAT ISLAM SURAKARTA IN ISLAMIC JOURNALISM MOVEMENT IN JAVA 1912-1917

ADHYTIAWAN SUHARTO & ABDURAKHMAN
History Department
Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia
(adhytiawan99@gmail.com, abimaman@gmail.com)

Sarekat Islam (SI) began to be formed in Surakarta in 1912 carrying a symbol of progress for the indigenous people. One of the most dominant elements of the SI was the formation of the newspaper called Sarotomo. In addition, in 1915 members of Sarekat Islam Surakarta such as Haji Misbach and Haji Hisamzajine also formed the newspaper Medan Moeslimin and Islam Bergerak that contained contents of daily Islamic teachings. The influence of Medan Moeslimin and Islam Bergerak was very strong for Muslims in Java, because the newspaper started to spread Islamic news and contents on Islamic teachings. The method used to write this paper is historical method which consists of heuristic, critic, interpretation historiography. The heuristic step in this article is using primary sources from the archives and newspapers from the SI era. Besides using primary sources, this article also uses secondary sources such as journal articles and books related to research. Furthermore, the source criticism stage is carried out on the collected data to find objective truths, and the data are then analyzed and presented in descriptive form. Based on the data analyzed, the emergence of Islamic newspapers is found to have an impact on the Islamic society in Java. One of the major influences of the spread of Islamic opinion is the thought of forming the Raad Oelama or council of scholars aimed for dealing with the problems of Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. Thus, it can be concluded that religious roles had a strong impact on the modernization of Javanese society in the early 20th century.

Keywords: journalism, Islam, movement, newspaper, society

THE REPRESENTATION OF SULTAN AND LEADERSHIP IN NORTH MALUKU'S LOCAL MEDIA

TOMMY CHRISTOMMY¹ & NAZARUDIN²
¹Literature Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia
²Linguistic Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia
(t.christomy@gmail.com, udhins@gmail.com)

Van Klinken (2007) argued that in Indonesia's autonomy era sultanship has become perhaps the symbol par excellence of local identity. It is part of the communitarian turn in Indonesian politics after the end of the New Order. He added that Sultanship became one of the factors that revived identities or invented it at a great rate, especially at the district level. In line with van Klinken's argument, Smith (2009) added that the rise of "identity" politics and the emergence of non-state actors in the political arena—including the former aristocracies—supposedly heralded a new era in Indonesian politics. In her article, Smith (2009) examined whether the local aristocracy in North Maluku had successfully re-launched themselves as a political force since the transition to democracy. However, both researches did not investigate on the Sultanship representation from the local media perspective. Within those backgrounds, this research aims to investigate how the Sultan and

Sultanship in Ternate were represented by the local media. We used qualitative approach to capture the representation of Sultan by analyzing the newspaper published in Malut Pos, the biggest local newspaper in North Maluku. By utilizing a qualitatively processed key analysis with the NVIVO software, we analyze Saturday's newspaper published in 2012--2017 using some keywords semantically related to *Sultan*. Furthermore, we also add some interview with the press figures to complete our observation. Based on our findings, we find that the local media is likely having two faces in representing the Sultan. On the one side, media captures the Sultan's political role with his family in the local and central government, and also Sultan's position among his people. On the other side, media also captures a lot of polemics in the inner circle of the Sultan's family.

Keywords: local Media, language and politics, identity, language in the media, Sultan Ternate

A PATRONAGE DEMOCRACY IN MINANGKABAU: NINIAK MAMAK AS POLITICAL BROKERS IN ELECTIONS

ANDRI RUSTA, DEDE SRI KARTINI, AFFAN SULAEMAN, & LEO AGUSTINO

Political Science Department Andalas University, Governmental Studies Padjajaran University, Governmental Studies Padjajaran University, Public Administration Department Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa University.
(arusta@soc.unand.ac.id, dedekartini@yahoo.com, affansulaeman@yahoo.com, leoagustino@yahoo.com)

Niniak mamak is a term for traditional leaders in the Minangkabau tribe. As a traditional leader, *Niniak mamak* has an important role in protecting and providing guidance to their indigenous peoples. But in the contemporary era, *niniak mamak* participated in electoral politics, especially as political broker during elections. The central role of *niniak mamak* as tribe leaders and their participation as political brokers make it a very interesting phenomenon to study. This research was conducted during the Election of regional heads in the City of Bukittinggi and Regency of Dharmasraya in 2015. Both Bukittinggi and Dharmasraya are located in the West Sumatra province. The findings of this study show that *niniak mamak* play a central role as political figures and traditional figures. *Niniak mamak* went beyond their role as the adat leaders by becoming a success team (campaign team), consultants and political brokers in the elections to intervene in the political choice of their indigenous communities.

Keywords: political brokers, Minangkabau, election, Indonesia, patronage democracy

DISINFORMATION TRENDS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES ON INDONESIA, MALAYSIA, AND THE PHILIPPINES

EMY RUTH D. GIANAN

Polytechnic University of the Philippines
(erdgianan@pup.edu.ph)

The past decade saw a changing political landscape in Southeast Asia. From a promising turn towards democracy, marked by episodes of backsliding and authoritarian tendencies, and recently threats of democratic regression and political decay in most parts of the region, have dominated current discourse. Central to these changes is the evolution of information and communications technology, and the ubiquity of social media platforms as sources of news and information, as well as shaping public opinion. The paper looks into three cases in Southeast Asia: the Rohingya crisis and widespread online hate speech in Myanmar; Duterte populism and broad forms of disinformation in the Philippines; and increasing fake news and online radical Islamism in Indonesia. Trends, common areas of concern, and possible patterns would be gleaned from the case studies; and from there, distill prospects for engagement and better approaches against the growing concern for disinformation in the region. The paper believes that a more concerted and inclusive regional approach would help turn the tide against an increasing deceived public.

Keywords: Southeast Asia, disinformation, social media, democracy

SAREKAT ISLAM BANDUNG AND THE DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

FAJAR NUR ALAM & ABDURAKHMAN
History Department
Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Indonesia
(fajar.nur71@ui.ac.id, abimaman@gmail.com)

This paper discusses the efforts of SI (Sarekat Islam) Bandung to implement a democratic government in the residency of Priangan. The movement began from a speech by H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto in the second Congress of the SI in Bandung in 1916 which asserted to establish self-government (*Zelfbestuur*). The idea from C.S.I. (Central Sarekat Islam) about *Zelfbestuur* has spread to the city area, as happened to SI Bandung in residency Priangan. SI Bandung began to take steps by demanding equality for Indigenous people to obtain a decent life. The struggle conducted by SI Bandung demanded the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies to grant rights to Indigenous people in terms of ownership of the land that was controlled by the colonial government. Research about SI Bandung are mostly focused on the role of SI characters and events and conflicts only, there has been no research discussing the movement of SI Bandung in reacting to democracy for Indigenous people at the beginning of the 20th century through cooperative pathways. The study uses the historical method and, according to Louis Gottschalk, the step of historical method is Heuristic, Critic, Interpretation, and Historiography. The movement arose due to special privileges to European people by the Dutch East Indies colonial government to have land of Partikelir land (*Particuliere-landerijen*) in the Priangan. The problem encouraged SI Bandung to move cooperatively and constitutionally to obtain equal rights in the possession of the land ownership, and this movement aims to provide a fair and prosperous life of independence for the people of Indonesia.

Keywords: Sarekat Islam, Bandung, politics, democracy, Indonesia

PHILIPPINES AND SOUTH KOREAN CULTURAL RELATIONS 1972-2017

ROXANNE ROSE M. EVANGELISTA
University of Santo Tomas/La Salle Green Hills
(roxanneroseevangelista@gmail.com)

The 2030 Sustainable Development Goals serve as a blueprint for the United Nations member states to achieve peace and prosperity. The relationship among countries have mainly been viewed both in the political and economic significance. However, the policies and programs set by the countries must be anchored from the cultural dimension for it has a lasting impact. The exchange of goods between nations brought the idea of reciprocity and interchange (Scaff, 1982). The cultural exchanges between the Republic of the Philippines and the Republic of Korea have been very productive. This study will employ historical method which is descriptive, narrative and analytical. In analyzing the bilateral relations between the Philippines and South Korea, the researcher will use cultural competitiveness as its framework. The Republic of Korea has developed the connection of cultural policy with economic imperatives, emphasizing soft power as they establish relations with the Republic of the Philippines. This study will focus on the cultural relations between the Philippines and South Korea. The cultural relations include the following: *Hallyu and Korean communities in the Philippines*. *Hallyu* refers to the remarkable growth of South Korean popular culture such as TV dramas, music, movies and fashion. This study will highlight these aspects on Philippines and South Korean cultural relations from 1972 to 2017.

Keywords: cultural competitiveness, South Korea, cultural relations, Hallyu, diplomatic history, foreign policy

WOMEN IN THE FRONTIER: AHSUN INAYATI AND NORTH HALMAHERA PROVINCE'S REGIONAL AUTONOMY, ARRANGEMENT, AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

NOOR FATIA LASTIKA SARI, SUSANTO ZUHDI & SARASWATI DEWI
History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia
(noorfatials@gmail.com, susanto_zuhdi@yahoo.com,
sarasdewi@yahoo.com)

This paper discusses the role of women in the frontier area in the eastern part of Indonesia; West Galela, North Halmahera, as a *Camat*, or a head of a subdistrict, named Ahsun Inayati. She is one of the many inspiring women in politics who is able to deal with hard times, from the claim of land rights to the dispute over

the illegal mining that has been contributing to the deteriorating condition of public infrastructures, such as environmental pollution and trans-district road damage that is beneficial for ground transportation across West Galela District. According to the Law No. 2 of 1999 concerning Regional Administration, Indonesian government had introduced the concept of New Autonomous Area at the provincial and district level, as a mode of power distribution between the central and local government. However, it was seen as a mere geographical division without even considering the existence of natural resources, as well as the lingering tradition and customary practices. For example, one of the gold mine in the district is indicated as *Tanah Rukun*, a piece of land believed to be owned by *Kolano* of Loloda. Through this paper, we would like to elaborate the strategy Inayati used to cope with the upcoming threats that may come, as well as on how she deals with social conflicts among communities. In the menacing frontier, a woman stands tall as the “tip of the spear” of a movement to withstand the challenge. Thus, through the method of history and the approach of elaborating political and cultural spaces, this article would put certain emphasize on how womanhood deals with ecological irrationality and remoteness, how women could be the agent of change generating her own success story, and what does it take to deal with the issues in the frontier that has never been easy.

Keywords: women in politics, regional autonomy, West Galela, North Halmahera, political space

PANCASILA SAKTI MUSEUM: COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF NATIONAL TRAGEDY (SEPTEMBER 30, 1965): STATE CONSTRUCTION ABOUT COMMUNISM PHOBIAS

RADITYA RAHADIAN KAMAJAYA & MUHAMMAD WASITH ABAR
History Departement, Faculty of Huanities
Universitas Indonesia
(muhammadwasith2000@gmail.com, radityakamajaya@gmail.com)

The development of the museum functions in this contemporary period as not only for collecting and presenting various artifacts and heritages of a nation, but also as a place of appreciation (interpretation) of the nation's journey. Therefore, the managers must be able to communicate it as a product of public history. One of the most famous museums in the New Order Era (1966-1998) was the Pancasila Sakti Monument in East Jakarta. The visualization of statues and dioramas (a total of 56 pieces) in the museum, is a whole narrative construction of the New Order government which aims to establish the collective memory of the Indonesian people. The Museum shows how the Partai Komunis Indonesia or PKI (Indonesia's Communist Party) Revolt in September 30, 1965, was a latent danger to Indonesia democracy. So it can be said that all of the construction of visualizations and dioramas succeeded in making Pancasila Sakti Museum a social collective memory of the Indonesian people that in the September 30, 1965 Movement, the Indonesian Communist Party was wrong, the sole perpetrator with all its cruel actions. This research will use PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) historiographic analysis (Rossa, 2006; Budiawan, 2004) and Wilhem Dilthey's hermeneutics with *Erlebnis*, *Ausdruck*, and *Verstehen* analysis (Gadamer, 1975; Ankersmit, 1984; Sumaryono, 1993). The visualization of the statue and dioramas of PKI cruelty will be taken proportionally from 56 statues and dioramas (Basuki, 2006) that were used as a foothold in the form of loyalty of the Indonesian people towards the New Order government, development of a new Indonesian society without communism, communist ideology as a common latent enemy, and then the state constructing communist phobia. With this form, hypothetically, the New Order was able to hold power for a long time, 32 years. The method was to create the phantasm of the latent danger of communism. This interpretation was obtained through reinterpreting the statues and museum dioramas.

Keywords: Pancasila Sakti Museum, Indonsian Communist Party, New Order, Suharto, public history

THE ROLE OF NEWSPAPER IN THE SUCCESS OF AMERICAN EMPIRE BUILDING IN THE PHILIPPINES (1898-1899)

MIGUEL ANTONIO JIMENEZ
University of Santo Tomas
(miguel.antonio.a.jimenez@gmail.com)

This paper looks into the role of media in the success of the American Imperialism. Media was created for faster and effective dissemination of information from one individual to another or a larger group of people. However, some took advantage of it and utilized it as a tool for manipulating information to promote their interests. Newspapers became the engine to facilitate the expansion of America over the archipelago, and

while the Americans enjoyed the gains of imperialism, it created a negative effect on the lives of their new colonies. This paper utilized the descriptive-narrative analytical method guided by the Theory of Unintended Outcome by Karl Popper.

Keywords: media, newspaper, information, American imperialism, unintended outcome

**ROBREDO STYLE OF POLITICS IN RURAL PHILIPPINES
(will include in politics theme)**

ARA JOY PACOMA
Leyte Normal University
(aupacoma@up.edu.ph)

Philippine local politics have always been analysed in the lenses of traditional local politics frameworks such as patron-client factionalism, bossism, machine politics, and patronage politics. While there are many scholarly works on the use of the aforementioned frameworks in looking at the dynamics of local politics especially during elections, there has been little recognition on the use of the Robredo style of politics specifically personality and approachability for electoral candidates who are relatively disadvantaged in terms of campaign resources. This study attempts to examine the effectiveness of approachability in securing votes in the perspective of the local candidates. Practical implications of the study will shed light on the intricacies of electoral campaigns especially on the relationship between candidates and voters.

Keywords: Robredo Style; governance; electoral campaigns; approachability; local politics; the Philippines

THEME:

CULTURE, HERITAGE AND TOURISM

ANDERSON'S IMAGINED COMMUNITIES AND THE INVENTION OF TRADITION IN SELECTED PUBLIC MUSEUMS DISPLAYS RELATED TO MALAY MEMORIES IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA

CHANG YI CHANG
Department of Journalism
Faculty of Arts and Social Science
Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman
Jalan Universiti Bandar Barat,
31900, Kampar, Perak, Malaysia.
(changyichang1981@gmail.com, ychang@utar.edu.my)

Museum displays achieve nothing without their historical memories. A museum is always seen as a microcosm of selected memories. More generally, the selection of museum artefacts on display often involve power and knowledge. Hence, this paper explains the needs of museum displays to be associated with the nation state framework. As far as public museums are concerned, it is important to enable the memories in the Malay world to be expressed and exhibited in line with the National Cultural Policy 1971. It stands to reason that memories of the ruined empires have been used to legitimize the modern nation state. These public museum displays are the reflection of the nation state, so the selected fractions of historical memories are compatible with the museum artefacts. On the other hand, the tradition that we know today is actually relatively new. It is worth noting the concepts coined by Hobsbawm who looks into the historical material culture which has become vital lately. The meanings and historical events could be rejuvenated as a vital historical narrative to serve the needs of the nation state embedded as part of the Malay memories. Historical memories and museum displays are shown as a knowledge and cultural production in representing Malay memories in the Malaysian public museums. The paper analyzes artefacts, concentrating mainly on the encoder (museum displays) used to represent Malay history in Peninsular Malaysia.

Keywords: Imagined Communities, Invention of Tradition, Museum Display, Malay Memories and history, Malaysia

A COSMOPOLITAN ETHOS IN SUSTAINING AND DEVELOPING CULTURAL HERITAGE

BRYAN LEVINA VIRAY
Department of Speech Communication and Theatre Arts,
College of Arts and Letters,
University of the Philippines Diliman

From 2012 to 2019, the Choreomundus – International Master in Dance Knowledge, Practice and Heritage programme has accepted Master's students and produced graduates from various countries, especially from the Southeast Asian region – Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, and the Philippines. This presentation is an initial mapping on the presence of Southeast Asia in an international graduate program, facilitated and sponsored by the European Union, through the scheme of Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degree (EMJMD). The first part of the presentation will describe the program which is offered by a consortium of four universities internationally recognized for their leadership in the development of innovative curricula for the analysis of dance and other movement practices. The second part will discuss the approaches, trends and emphasis of research production based primarily on the dissertations written by its emerging dance scholars and alumni. The third part of the presentation will highlight the aim of program which is the development of appreciation of dance as cultural heritage. The presentation aims to contribute to the discussion on sustainability and development in the context of culture and heritage which is anchored within a cosmopolitan ethos.

Keywords: Dance as Cultural Heritage, Cosmopolitan Ethos, Southeast Asia in Choreomundus

DRESS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY: THE ROLE OF MUSLIM WOMEN IN INFLUENCING THE WAY INDONESIAN WOMEN DRESS DURING 1930-1942.

RAISYE SOLEH HAGHIA & ABDURAKHMAN
Department of History / Faculty of Humanities / University of Indonesia
(raisye.soleh@ui.ac.id, abimaman@gmail.com)

It is an important fact that Islam is not only regarded as a religion that guides religious worship. More than that, Islam is also able to exert a powerful influence on the aspects of people's lives in the place where Islam is developing. In the case of the development of Islam in Indonesia, Islam has impacted Indonesia's style of dress. This paper will examine the role of Muslim women in the making of national identity through the way of dressing of Indonesian Moslem women. In particular, this paper will discuss Indonesian Moslem women's activities between 1930 and 1942 and the implications of their Islamic thoughts on Indonesian women's dress. The data for this study was collected through newspapers and magazines in the period under study as well as some relevant books. Thus, the objective of this study is to examine the significant influences of Muslim / Islamic women's works between 1930 and 1942 on the making of national character and identity. A large body of works has examined the development of Moslem women's thoughts on family problems and its implication towards Muslim women's roles in the public sphere. However, previous studies do not engage on how Muslim women's actions and thoughts influence the cultural aspects of Indonesian society, especially the national identity. In line with that, this paper attempts to contribute a broader scientific discussion and historical study of the role of religion for the making of the nation's identity.

Keywords: Indonesia's Islam / Moslem Women, Style of Dress, National Identity Introduction

“IN WITH THE OLD”: COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN HERITAGE PRESERVATION IN PETALING STREET, KUALA LUMPUR

RACHEL CHAN SUET KAY
Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA)
National University of Malaysia (UKM)
(rachelchansuetkay@ukm.edu.my)

Rather than replacing the aged with the brand new, lifestyle producers and consumers are embracing a vintage revival. The rejuvenation of pre-war buildings as tourist attractions have become a recent trend, especially in Petaling Street, a major historical site in the heart of Malaysia's capital city, Kuala Lumpur. However, there is a lack of study on the existing forms of community participation in heritage management among historical tourist sites in Kuala Lumpur. My study addresses this issue through ethnographic fieldwork

in Petaling Street's Chinatown, combining participant observation which included site visits, photo-ethnography, and interviews. Surveys, library research, and content analyses were also conducted to supplement this research. My study found that in Petaling Street, there are two forms of cultural heritage preservation - firstly, the adaptive reuse of historical buildings; and secondly – the continued use of a historical building. The former consists of heritage-style hipster cafes and locales; while the latter is manifested in the sustenance of a Chinese clan association, Chan See Shu Yuen Kuala Lumpur and Selangor (CSSYKL). The former has been rejuvenated to feed a hipster aesthetic as well as to attract tourists from around the world. Meanwhile, Chan See Shu Yuen Kuala Lumpur and Selangor (CSSYKL) is made up not only of tangible cultural heritage through its century-old building, but also organic intangible cultural heritage which is its Cantonese clan association membership and its practices. Thus, it is apparent that the Asian-based community participation approach to cultural heritage preservation functions in two ways - first, the preservation of tangible and intangible forms of cultural heritage for the benefit of clan association members as well as for tourism purposes; and secondly to fulfil market demand. These two co-existing forms of community participation successfully adds value to the cultural identity of Kuala Lumpur in the era of super-diversity. This echoes UNESCO's (2016) observation on the maintenance of social cohesion through cultural heritage preservation.

Keywords: Chinese clan associations, Petaling Street Kuala Lumpur, cultural heritage preservation, community participation, super-diversity

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PERFORMANCE, COMMUNITY AND HERITAGE IN THE PHILIPPINES: CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY AND PLACE-MAKING

SIR ANRIL PINEDA TIATCO, PHD
University of the Philippines Diliman
(sptiatco@up.edu.ph)

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines cultural heritage as the legacy of physical artefacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations. In the presentation, the concept of cultural heritage is proposed to a possibility and a problem in the practice of tourism and in cultural studies scholarship for two reasons. First, heritage seems to be a universal and/or global concept when used in cultural practice and discourse. Second, the context of heritage applied to a built-heritage, a cultural performance and/or tradition is often not shared by the stakeholders. Heritage is clearly a contested concept, and as a result, it creates baseless and often unnecessary binaries such as elite versus common people, state versus community, tradition versus modernity, to name a few. Consistent with this, the presentation answers a general question: How may the concept of heritage be negotiated among community stakeholders in order to use it as a necessary and strategic method in the development of cultural theory? A more nuanced and community-based understanding of cultural heritage can be developed through a proposal of critical ethnography. To develop the argument, heritage concept is problematized since it is often positioned as an ideological apparatus of the dominant authority, typically the state, which has a tendency to impose its perspective instead of engaging community members in conversations. Second, governing policies (i.e. tourism frameworks) that define cultural heritage vis-à-vis its use as a cultural brand, are critically interrogated. Third, critical ethnography is introduced, discussing its theoretical sources and legacy. To highlight the proper use of critical ethnography as an important method in heritage studies, three cases in the Philippines are closely examined: Intramuros in Metro Manila, Batanes in the Northernmost region of Luzon and Marinduque in the Southern Tagalog region of the archipelago.

Keywords: Performance, Community, heritage, place-making, ethnography, the Philippines

POPULAR CULTURE IN THE HERITAGE EDUCATION OF THE FILIPINO AMERICANS IN HAWAII

RODNEY C JUBILADO, PHD
University of Hawaii at Hilo
Hawaii, USA
(rodneycj@hawaii.edu)

This paper deals with the inclusion of the popular culture in the heritage education curriculum of the Filipino Americans at University of Hawaii at Hilo. Forming part of the bigger book project, aspects of migration, identity, and culture are highlighted in this paper. The novelty of this paper lies in the focus – the young Filipino Americans in Hawaii. Enhancing the heritage studies among this group demands the inclusion of visual culture through the use of films that depict the Filipinos either in the Philippines or in the diaspora. Among the films used in this study are *Strange Land*, *Ilo Ilo*, and *The Debut*. For the purpose of analysis, the data used in this study is taken from the written film journals of the students from Fall 2014 to Summer 2019 and the interviews conducted among the heritage learners. Part of the findings in this study include the intra-generational divide and the gap between the Philippine- and the American-born Filipino heritage learners. Although many of them are second or third generation Filipinos in Hawaii, these heritage learners mostly affirm their ethnicity and identity as Filipinos while others deny.

Keywords: Popular culture, heritage, Young Filipino American, Hawaii

PRELIMINARY STUDY ON PATTANI'S MAK YONG COMMUNITY IN RAMAN DISTRICT, SOUTHERN THAILAND

SYAFIQ FALIQ BIN ALFAN
Hiroshima University
(narutosefa@gmail.com)

Mak Yong, recognised by UNESCO as one of the intangible cultural heritage of Malaysia has indeed seen progress since its revival in the 1970s by some of its prominent artists such as Khatijah Awang of the Sri Temenggung troupe fame. Sadly, although Mak Yong belongs to the region of Kelantan-Pattani, the art form has seen greater decline in its southern Thailand counterpart. This could be as a result of the political climate aside from the inclination of the local people towards Sunni Islamic values that forbid some of its ritualistic elements. This is apparent especially in the neighbouring state of Kelantan where Mak Yong has been banned from being performed in public since early 1990s, unless it adheres to the Shariah law. However, in the context of the forms' existent in Pattani, despite its resilience towards the test of time, it has not gained as much attention compared to Kelantan. Most case studies in the past were based on the Kelantanese group (Sheppard, M.: 1974, Yousof, G-S.: 1976, 1992, Nasuruddin, M. G.: 1995). As such, this paper aims to record a proper preliminary study regarding some basic elements of Mak Yong in the region through one particular community in the district of Raman in Yala Province, Thailand. The data obtained from the interviews will be cross-checked with other relatable studies while some data will be compared to the Kelantanese Mak Yong to create an understanding towards the forms' worldview constructed by its community. It is hoped that through this study, Mak Yong, regardless of its locality; Riau, Kelantan or Pattani, could be seen as a chance to construct a better epistemological view of the Malay northeast culture of the Malay Peninsula that had once peaked in popularity as a form of entertainment.

Keywords: Pattani, Mak Yong, Performing Arts, Traditional, Dance Theatre

IMPLICATION AND IMPACT OF THE SULTAN OF BRUNEI'S GOLDEN JUBILEE CELEBRATION

AMALINA BINTI ABD. KHALID¹ & HANAFI BIN HUSSIN²
¹Department of Anthropology and Sociology,
²Department of South East Asian Studies,
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
Universiti Malaya
(mal.abdkhalid@yahoo.com)

The aim of this paper is to analyse the socio-economic, and socio-cultural implication and impact of the royal Golden Jubilee celebration of His Majesty the Sultan of Brunei's fifty years accession to the throne. Brunei, a

small nation state, has preserved its monarchical institution since the fourteenth century. As such, royal customs and traditions play a major role in shaping and representing Brunei's identity. This paper focuses on the month-long event and activities for the Golden Jubilee celebration of His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah Ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Haji Omar 'Ali Saifuddien, the 29th Sultan of Brunei. This research conducts a qualitative type of research where primary data was collected through observation and participant observation throughout the events. A short in-depth interview with ten participants were also conducted to shed light on their views and reactions from their participation in the royal celebration. Secondary data was also gathered via library research in which online published materials and other online sources such as the social media were used for analysis.

Keywords: royal celebration, identity, Brunei, impact, implication

LOST IN TRANSLATION: CASE STUDIES ON THE PRESERVATION OF HISTORIC CENTERS IN MALOLOS, MANILA AND LAS PIÑAS*

PATRICK JAMES SERRA¹ & JESS IMMANUEL ESPINA²

^{1,2}University of the Philippines - Diliman

¹La Salle Green Hills

^{1,2}International Council on Monuments and Sites Philippines

²Human Rights Violations Victims Memorial Commission (current)

The 1987 Philippine Constitution reflects the country's regard for the patronage and preservation of its culture and arts, particularly the protection of its historic centers. While the national government is responsible for the formulation of general policies in this regard, the law provides that the actual conservation and preservation of these historic centers is the domain of the Local Government Unit (LGU). This paper presents the case studies on selected LGUs, such as Malolos, Manila and Las Piñas, and their performance in terms of the acknowledgement, recognition, and efforts to promote and preserve the important heritage areas in these localities. These LGUs are also identified because they are sites of evaluation for the historic center standards, practices and criteria of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines.

Keywords: historic centers, heritage, Republic Act 10066, Malolos, Las Piñas, Manila

*The paper was the culminating project of our internship program to the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Philippines. Notably, the paper was also presented to the 4th Philippine Studies Conference in Japan last November, 2018.

MALAYSIAN MUSIC AND SOCIAL COHESION: CONTEMPORARY RESPONSES TO POPULAR PATRIOTIC SONGS FROM THE 1950S-1990S

SHAZLIN A. HAMZAH AND ADIL JOHAN:

Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA)

Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

(shazlin@ukm.edu.my, adiljo@ukm.edu.my)

Upon its independence in 1957, Malaysia was in the process of becoming a modern nation and therefore required 'modern totems' to bind its society together under the imagined nation-of-intent intended by the government of the day. Music in the form of the national anthem and patriotic songs were and remain essential components of these totems; mobilised by the state to foster a sense of national cohesion and collective identity. These songs are popular and accepted by Malaysian citizens as a part of their national identity and such affinities are supported by the songs' repeated broadcast and consumption on national radio, television and social media platforms. These songs are mostly commissioned by the government for specific campaigns and are thus, authority-defined in their selection and dissemination. Many other popular songs, however, contribute to Malaysia's national identity and they are mutually appreciated across the country regardless of individual differences in ethnicity, class or religion. In a recent study by researchers at the Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA), several focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted in Kuching, Kota Kinabalu and the Klang Valley. The study interviewed informants about their everyday experiences and preferences in consuming popular music. It also sought to determine whether specific popular and patriotic songs, made and circulated within Malaysia from the 1960s to 2000s, could solicit a wide appeal and foster a sense of collective Malaysian identity amongst the informants. Despite the significant amount of research on

Malaysian popular music from the 1980s until present-day, there has yet to be a study that considers the responses and attitudes of Malaysian citizens, as music listeners and consumers, toward popular Malaysian patriotic songs. The study finds that unlike initially hypothesised, patriotic songs – instead of commercial popular songs – were actually more popular and wide-reaching in appeal across different professions, ethnicities, religions and geographic locations of Malaysians. Patriotic music provides a means for social cohesion, not via the propagation of dogmatic patriotic content, but through the personal and intimate associations that such songs solicit from individual citizens.

Keywords: Malaysia, nationalism, patriotic songs, popular music, social cohesion, focus groups

LIKAY PA IN THAILAND : THE ELEMENTS, STRUCTURE AND CULTURAL INTEGRATION

RATCHAYA WEERAKARN & ROSDEEN SUBOH

Faculty of Fine Arts

Songkhla Rajabhat University, Thailand

Cultural Centre, University of Malaya

(ratchaya.we@skru.ac.th, kudin@um.edu.my)

Likay Pa is a Thai folk dance drama which was popular in the southern part of Thailand but currently is almost disappeared. This research aimed to study the elements and performance structure of the Likay Pa and to analyze the culture style which appeared in the performance. The research is approached via qualitative methodology through field notes, interview and observation. This research focuses on two Likay Pa groups which are Likay Pa Baan Klong Palean Group in Trang Province and Baan Ramad Group in Krabi Province. The research found that the elements of Likay Pa are actors, musicians, costumes, music instruments, dance postures, lyrics and scripts and stage. There are 8 steps of the performance which are Long Rong, Waa Dok, Wai Kru, Bok Chud, Ok Keak, Bok Ruang, Len Ruang and La Rong performed respectively. Both groups have the same elements but some are different in their details. The structure is also the same but nowadays they do not play Bok Ruang and Len Ruang parts which are the drama story parts and needed many actors to perform. Due to a lack of actors, they cannot continue to conserve this part in their performance. However, even the groups that have the same elements and structure, exhibit differences in details which were influenced from the local culture. The study also shows that there is a cultural mix in the performance between Melayu and southern Thai cultures that made Likay Pa have its own unique identity as well as show the harmony of the cultures integrated which represented the way of life of the people in the southern part of Thailand.

Keywords: Likay Pa, Cultural Integrated, Dance Drama, Thai Culture, Melayu Culture

VISUALIZATION OF NATIONALISM IN BASUKI ABDULLAH'S MODERN INDONESIAN ART IN THE COLLECTION OF PRESIDENTIAL PAINTINGS IR. SOEKARNO: WOMEN IN KEBAYA AND LONG BATIK SKIRT

KARINA WIDYASTUTI & MUHAMMAD WASITH ALBAR

Departement History, Faculty of Humanities

Universitas Indonesia, 16424

(karinawidyastuti12@gmail.com, muhammadwasithalbar2000@gmail.com)

Conceptualism of nationalism is a representation of social space in the life of mankind. At first the notion of nationalism (related to one's nationality) iused parameters related to where they were born or territorial politics (Guido Zematto; 1944; Hans-Khon; 1984), such as Indonesia which understood *ius sanguinis*. But its development in this contemporary period is increasingly complex, the combination can be between the two, *ius soli* and *ius sangunis*. Another parameter can be seen in the similarity of one's ideological thinking that is in accordance with the ideology of a country where they will get a citizenship identity card. Broader and can be interconnected parameters is between ideology, politics and socio-culture. Karl Marx said that nationalism was a meeting point between politics, technology and social transformation (Sukarno, 1961; Hasbawn, 1992). One of the topics of artist Basuki Abdullah's paintings (b. 1915) as Mooi-Indie (modern) artists contained in the book titled President Ir. Soekarno's collections of paintings (Printing Toppan, Co, Ltd., Tokyo Japan, 1964) is a painting of women in kebaya and long batik skirt. Kebaya is designated as Indonesia's national official dress with Presidential Decree no. 18/1972 and Law no. 9/2010 concerning Protocol (Yuastanti, 2016). The

iconization of women with kebaya and long batik skirt can be said as the first step in the struggle for Basuki's expression of nationalism in the field of fine arts (culture). The method of interpreting the iconization of paintings uses the qualitative-historical research and triadic semiotics of the basic elements of Charles Sanders Pierce, namely representations, objects, and interpretations (Rudner; 1967; Hood, 2008; Albar, 2008; Piliang, 2018). Abdullah's interim findings consistently continued to paint the theme of women in kebaya and long batik skirt until the end of their lives, when compared to other themes namely the themes of flora-fauna, mythology, and spirituality.

Keywords: Indonesian Nationalism, Basuki Abdullah, Charles Sanders Pierce, Kebaya, and Long Batik Skirt

THEME:

RELIGION AND RELIGIOSITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

BEHIND THE CONTROVERSIAL IMAGE OF FPI IN INDONESIA: FAIRCLOUGH'S CDA ANALYSIS

SINDY ALICIA GUNAWAN

Linguistics Master Program, Faculty of Humanities,
Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya - Indonesia
(sindy.alicia.gunawan-2018@fib.unair.ac.id)

In recent years, religious conservatism has become a significant issue in Indonesia. As the prominent group of Islamic conservative traditionalists, *Front Pembela Islam* (Islamic Defenders Front) widely known as FPI holds recognizable popularity among the list of Indonesian religious groups. After 212 Movement, FPI has since gained more attention from Indonesians and the media. FPI has always had a controversial reputation among Indonesians. This makes the discourse of FPI rather interesting to be studied. This paper aims to examine the notion of unequal power relation in the country implied in the YouTube documentary video titled '*Sehari Bersama FPI: Melihat Wajah Lain Ormas Islam*' (A Day with FPI: Seeing the Other Faces of Islamic Mass Organizations) by an Indonesian news outlet Asumsi. The analysis used Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework (1995) which investigates three levels of discourse: text, discursive practice, and social practice through description, interpretation, and explanation. The findings show that the video has revealed a sympathetic insight towards FPI that apparently, the social practice of FPI is not reported as a whole by mainstream media which results in their practice being widely misunderstood thus disadvantaging them. This further suggests that the 'powerful' and 'monstrous' image of FPI does not make them free of being 'oppressed' by media. This reveals an unequal power relation in terms of the power of media in constructing the society's mindset which seems to encourage people to take a stance on the binary opposition between right-wing conservatives versus more liberal Muslims and non-Muslims in Indonesia.

Keywords: CDA, Indonesia, Islamic Defenders Front, religious conservatism, social practice

MAINTAINING PEACE WITH RELIGION: HAMKA'S ROLE IN PREVENTING THE INDONESIA-MALAYSIA CONFRONTATION IN THE 1960S

AKMAL

Faculty of Humanities
University of Indonesia (UI)
(malakmalakmal@gmail.com)

H. Abdul Karim Amrullah, better known as Hamka, was a prominent ulama from Indonesia. Raised in a very strong Minangkabau Islamic tradition, Hamka was known as a figure who fully opposes secularism and communism. After the 1955 General Elections, this stance put him in an opposite position to the President of Indonesia at that time, namely Soekarno. Eventhough Hamka had never attacked Soekarno with harsh criticisms then, Hamka often proposed alternative ideas that were contrary to Soekarno's stance. When political tensions escalated between Indonesia and Malaysia, which then led to Soekarno's call to wage a confrontation between the two countries, Hamka travelled to Malaya to build a more intense communication, mainly with the Muslim communities there. Using magazines where he worked as the chief editor, *Pandji Masyarakat*, and later *Gema Islam*, Hamka disseminated information about cultural ties between the two

nations. This historical research seeks to uncover various important contributions by Hamka in preventing the Confrontation in the 1960s, using mainly the literature study method. In the end, the tensions were finally eased after the collapse of the Guided Democracy in 1966, and prevented an open conflict between the two nations that share the same ancestors.

Keywords: Islam, Indonesia, Malaysia, peace, sustainability, confrontation, Hamka

THE COMPLEXITY OF FREEDOMS OF RELIGION IN INDONESIA: ARE WE TRULY FREE TO HAVE RELIGION?

SAFARI DWI CHANDRA, ENGGAL PRAYOGA WIJAYA & DEDE MUHAMAD GUFRON
Legal Studies Department,
Faculty of Law
Semarang State University
(jenengkusafari@gmail.com, enggalpw@students.unnes.ac.id, dedegufron@gmail.com)

Indonesia is a democratic country that has six official religions. The Indonesian Constitution guarantees freedom of religion to everyone according to their own religion or beliefs. But in reality there are violations of human rights, where minority religious communities face discrimination and restraints in religious freedom. A number of cases of violations related to freedom of religion and belief still occur frequently in Indonesia especially in the last few months. These cases show the existence of injustice in religious freedom. This research uses empirical normative legal research by looking at cases that occur in the society related to violations of human rights that is discrimination and restraints in religious freedom, especially religious minorities. This paper explains and emphasizes that discrimination and restraints on religious freedom are caused by several factors, one of which is the granting of privileges to the majority religion. Although normatively there are many rules that emphasize that the right to freedom of religion and belief must be guaranteed, protected and respected, but in practice the violations continue to occur.

Keywords: religion, minority, human rights, violations, discrimination

ISTIQAMAH MOSQUE: CADRES REGENERATION AND SUSTAINABILITY OF ISLAMIC ACTIVISM

YUNADI RAMLAN & ABDURAKHMAN
Department of History/Faculty of Humanities/Universitas Indonesia
(yunan74@gmail.com, abimaman@gmail.com)

This study discusses the *da'wah* movements carried out at Istiqamah Mosque in Bandung starting from a small mosque founded in 1926 and then transforming into the grand mosque in 1972. The Istiqamah Mosque was strongly influenced by Persatuan Islam and Masyumi Party activists. The strength of the Istiqamah mosque *da'wah* movement cannot be separated from the quality of the cadre of its mosque activists formed through the Kulliyatul Mujahidin activities since 1967. This movement was also influenced by students in Bandung in the 1970s, like Ismail Abdullah (Malaysia), Toto Tasmara, and Abdullah (Pattani/Thailand). Istiqamah Mosque movement has uniqueness because its location is not far from the campus or big organizations. From the local movement, Kulliyatul Mujahidin was built in Istiqamah Mosque and spread its influence to form *da'wah* of Islam and Islamic teachings. This paper will examine how Istiqamah Mosque forms the *da'wah* movement and give implications on Bandung society in particular and the South East Asia regions in general. At the end of the 1970s, the situation changed. When the Congregation of Imran spread the *da'wah* of Islam in Bandung, it caused conflict between the Istiqamah Foundation and Imran congregation. In 1980 around 44 members of Imran congregation were arrested, then in March 1981 they attacked the police station in Cicendo and the peak was the hijacking of the Garuda Woyla plane in Don Muang, Thailand. Related to the current situation, where Islamic activism is sometimes associated with groups of fundamentalism and terrorism, this study is important and clarifies the meaning of Islamic activism and the cadres it produces.

Keyword: Kulliyatul Mujahidin, Da'wah Movement, Sustainability, South East Asia, Modernity

THEME:

LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS & EDUCATION AND LITERATURE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

ZEYNAB MOOSAVI
University of Malaya
(znb.moussavi@yahoo.com)

In recent years, English as a global language is widely used around the world. Its worldwide status also has resulted in the spreading English within Southeast Asian countries where English is used as a second language, or as a foreign language. The main aim of the study is to explore the use of English, its users' attitudes and motivation towards learning or using English, and their prediction about its future. A questionnaire survey was conducted focusing on the users of English in two countries: Malaysia, where English is used as the second language and Indonesia, in which English is treated as a foreign language. Data was analyzed using descriptive statistics. The findings indicated that the users of both countries had positive attitudes towards the usage and learning of English. In addition, the results revealed that English is considerably used in the age group of 13-30. Based on the findings, some recommendations are presented.

Keywords: global language, the Asia-Pacific Region, English as a second/foreign language,

REALITIES OF WOMEN EMPOWERMENT ON NIKE AD: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

ELVANA PERMATASWARI
Linguistics Program, Faculty of Humanities, Airlangga University, Surabaya 60286 Indonesia
(elvelvana@gmail.com)

The concept of women empowerment in the present situation is a burning issue. In all ages, women have been regarded by men as inferior. Although the issue of women empowerment has now gained much attention at the national and international fronts, it needs all people from different backgrounds to come forward to ensure it reaches its goal namely, equal rights for women. This research aims to uncover the realities behind the Nike ad video: Dream Crazier related to women empowerment issue. Nike, as a brand for sports which usually caters to men, recently released an advertisement video entitled "Dream Crazier" which seems to encourage or empower women to achieve anything they can dream even though people discouraged them. This study exposes the realities behind the ad by using Fairclough's three dimensional model of CDA. This study is expected to contribute to knowledge production in South East Asian Studies since this ad is advertised in countries all over the world, including South East Asian countries. This ad demonstrates how women in their roles have been depicted in ads to create resonance with current global issues. It is concluded that even though the ad seems to empower women to stand equal to men, it still makes women appear as living under the men's shadows and always being compared to men in everything they have achieved.

Keywords: women empowerment, critical discourse analysis, equality, ads, women

STRENGTHENING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN WITH DISABILITIES IN INDONESIA: CASE STUDY IN DEPOK, WEST JAVA, INDONESIA

YANI FATHUR ROHMAN & EMILIA KRISTİYANTI
Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Indonesia
(yanifathur@gmail.com, Emilia.kristiyanti@gmail.com)

The purpose of this study is to provide an overview about the current implementation of inclusive education so that it can provide recommendations on several aspects needed to strengthen the implementation of inclusive education for children with disabilities. In 1994, Indonesia signed the Salamanca Statement in Spain that declared education for all through inclusive education implementation. Twenty-five years after that, Indonesia is still struggling in ensuring the implementation of inclusive education that will benefit all children including

those with disabilities. Depok is one of the cities in Indonesia that is declared as an inclusive city. Depok municipality government faces challenges in making sure that national policies on inclusive education are translated to local policies that support the implementation in schools and communities. Previous researches show that the barriers to inclusive education practice mostly are caused by rejection, bullying, and lack of accessibility. This study found that integrating teachers' capacity, parents' knowledge, non-government organization support, and system social capital can encourage the implementation of inclusive education. This is a qualitative case study in which data collection was done through interview and observation.

Keyword: Children with Disabilities, Inclusive Education, social capital, policy, non-government, organization

ANALYSIS ON FIRST LANGUAGE INFLUENCE AND ITS EFFECT ON LANGUAGE FLUENCY AMONG HS STUDENTS: BASIS FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE INSTRUCTIONAL MODULE

EDGAR R. ESLIT, PH.D.

Faculty, St. Michael's College, Iligan City Philippines
(edgaeslit@yahoo.com)

Linguistic competence constitutes knowledge of language, but that knowledge is tacit and implicit especially among the second language learners. This means that students do not have conscious access to the principles and rules that govern the principles violated; be it in terms of speaking, writing, reading and listening. Such idea is akin to the current study. Hence, the purpose of this study was to find out the First Language Influence on the Linguistic Competence of the respondents. This was carried out among one hundred sixty three (163) Grade 10 students. The Linguistic Competence, Acculturation, and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency theories served as the theoretical backbones. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used. Using the purposive sampling procedure, data were collected via adopted survey questionnaire on First language influence and an IELTS-based test. Mean and Standard Deviation were observed. These were carried out further using the Spearman – Rho Correlation to measure the strength of association or correlation between the cited variables. Likewise, this test was used to measure the influence of the first language to the linguistic competence in relation to the sampling population as described by the correlation coefficients. Results revealed that the respondents' linguistic competence was slightly correlated to the influence of first language. This implies that variables can affect methods and results. Further, teaching and learning in L2 classroom is ambiguous as approaches, methods, and procedures cannot be made universal. To address the gap, however, an instructional module was proposed in order to improve the linguistic competence of the respondents.

Keywords: First Language Influence, Language Competency, Instructional Module

MYANMAR YOUTH EMPLOYMENT: THE IMPACT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY (ELP)

MA TIN CHO MAR

Department of South East Asian Studies,
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
University of Malaya, 50603 Kuala Lumpur
(tinchomar@um.edu.my)

As Myanmar moves towards further democratization, the country is rapidly emerging as an attractive travel destination in Southeast Asia. The pace of sustainable and inclusive economic growth in Myanmar is determined in part by the quality of its labor force. Youth human capital development requires a comprehensive and coherent strategy to capture the symbiotic relationship between educational attainment and continuous learning, labor productivity, and growth. The focus of human capital development policies are equity and quality of services, regulation of the labor market, and the development of a productive labor force that can adapt to new economic opportunities (Gakidou et al. 2010, Barro and Lee 2015). This paper discusses how English proficiency is crucial for the young generation to gain employment opportunities. At present, an unprecedented popularity of English in this former British colony is noted where English proficiencies "lead to economic advantages, help in dealing with the outside world, and improve prospects of study abroad and employment. The qualitative data support the general conclusions from the quantitative analysis. The personal accounts collected during the interview phase not only highlight some of the problems faced by graduates as they seek employment in their field of study, but also identify ways in which policies and practices might respond to these issues based on the tools such as employment outcomes with low levels

of ELP. Related to Piniel and Csizer et al (2015), this paper aimed to find out if the analysis of the longitudinal survey data would demonstrate whether oral English language skills are the key predictor of successful employment outcomes in Myanmar. Likewise, findings of this study intended to contribute the aspect of various interviewees considered 'workplace ready' ELP to include both general and specific occupation language skills.

Keywords: Myanmar, Youth, ELP, employment, opportunities and growth.

THE DARUL FURQON MADRASAH IBTIDAIYAH (ISLAMIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL) AS A "BORDERLAND SCHOOL" MODEL IN THE BORDER OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

NUGROHOTRISNU BRATA
(trisnu_ntb2015@mail.unnes.ac.id)

This research is a study about the a 'Borderland School' model on the border of Indonesia – Malaysia, on Sebatik Island. The questions of this study are: 1) What is the motivation of Hj. Suraidah, thus initiated the establishment of the 'Borderland' school? and 2) How to manage a 'Borderland' school? This research aims to find a solution for the educational problem, for the children of TKI (Indonesian migrant workers) at the border who are not allowed to go to school in Malaysia. The method used is the qualitative research method, and the data collection technique was observation and in-depth interviews. The research results showed that many TKI children, who joined their parents working in Malaysia, were not able to go to school because the Malaysian State Regulations did not allow foreign citizens to get the educational facilities in schools owned by the Malaysian Government. The motivation of humanity, when witnessing that there were children not able to go to school, as well as children in other places, became the driving force of Suraidah to establish the Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Darul Furqon private school on the border. The way to manage the school was to work with people who were willing to struggle to become teachers in difficult areas. Besides, they also worked together, and got help from BUMN (National Private Companies) through the programs of CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility). Those who helped: Dompet Dhuafa, PT Pertamina, Bank BNI, and PT Sago. The findings of this research showed that the Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Darul Furqon Borderland School was a solution for the children of Indonesian migrant workers who worked in Sebatik, Malaysia, so that they were able to go to school.

Keywords: development of educational sector, border area, Indonesian migrant workers, Sebatik, 'borderland' school

THE ABSENCE OF EASTERN PERSPECTIVES IN THE GE ETHICS CURRICULUM OF THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION ON HIGHER EDUCATION

RAEMEL NIKLAUS P. LEYRETANA, MPR
Philosophy Division, Department of Humanities
University of the Philippines Los Baños
(rpleyretana@up.edu.ph)

In this paper, I revisit the Philippine Commission on Higher Education's (CHED) suggested syllabus for the General Education (GE) course, Ethics. Several documents from CHED would reveal that the trend of Philippine higher education must have an international outlook as a response to globalization. CHED would like to inculcate into learners the value of discovering the cultures and viewpoints of other nations. Doing so would strengthen the country's relationship with the rest of the world, stress into the minds of learners an appreciation and respect for diversity of cultures and produce graduates who are able to keep par with international academic standards. Drawing from these, I claim that the suggested syllabus of Ethics published in CHED's official website is disjunct with these aspirations. It is because the syllabus does not mention anything about Asian/Eastern perspectives. Moreover, it does not even appreciate the peculiarity of Filipino ethical views. I argue then that the absence of such alienates the course, Ethics with the standards CHED has promulgated. As a response, I argue that the inclusion of Asian/Eastern frameworks in the study of Ethics has two advantages. First, it is applicable even outside the classroom setting as the learning can be used when faced with a variety of people; it fosters better working relationship with others. Second, the inclusion of such widens the horizons of learners; learning is not stuck only within the confines of Western philosophies. As a concrete contribution, I recommend the inclusion of the ethical ideas found in Hinduism, Buddhism,

Confucianism, and Daoism. I also see the need to inject local sources of Filipino morality in the syllabus. The inclusion of these well resonate to the aforementioned CHED documents that highlight an internationalized view of education. Though revision in curriculum would take a huge amount of considerations such as time, workshops, and resources, I think that doing so would be an investment rather than loss for the fate of Philippine education.

Keywords: ASEAN view of education and the Philippines; CHED GE Ethics curriculum; Eastern Philosophy and education; Philippine curriculum revision

DUNG YARD THIP CHA LOAM JAI: THAI KINGS AND ROYAL FAMILY IN NATIONAL LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS OF THAILAND

PITCHAYADA MEKHIRUNSIRI¹ & MALA RAJO SATHIAN²

^{1,2}Department of South East Asian Studies,

²Coordinator of Thai Studies Program

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya

(piglet_oay@hotmail.com)

When studying textbooks, researchers normally pay attention to historical and social sciences' textbooks since there are many themes about history, society and cultures to explore. This paper examines Thailand's primary school national language textbooks which are used as the main teaching materials in schools nationwide. The approach of this study is largely based on the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which is adapted to analyze ideologies that are represented and transmitted to others through a variety of language devices. It is found that the Thai language textbooks not only teach students the four basic skills of the Thai language i.e. listening, speaking, reading and writing, but these also transmit selected national ideologies to the students. One of the common sets of ideas relate to Thai Kings and the royal family which is one of the most important institutions in Thailand. The ideologies about Thai Kings and the royal family including national historical events represented in the textbooks emphasize the concept of royalist-nationalist. Through a study of the ideologies and perceptions on the Thai Kings and Royal family represented in the national language textbooks, a deeper understanding of the Thai society and culture is elicited.

Keywords: Thai national language textbook, royalist – nationalism, ideology, language devices

CONTEXT-BASED DIFFICULTIES ON ORAL COMMUNICATION OF ESL LEARNERS

LENIS AISLINN C. SEPARA, LEONILA J. GENERALES, RUBY JEAN S. MEDINA

Polytechnic University of the Philippines Bataan

(lacsepara@pup.edu.ph)

The knowledge in L1 serves as the foundation of an individual in verbalizing thoughts using L2. The goal of language acquisition and language learning is one's ability to communicate effectively with other people in a situation that is ideal to the L2 speaker. This study investigates the contexts in which L2 speakers of English finds difficulty in the various communicative tasks. Through a qualitative approach, the narrative accounts of the lived experiences of college students in a university in the Philippines were analyzed through a thematic approach. Data reveals that emerging difficulties in English speaking not only involves lack of linguistic competence but also encompasses psycho-social fears of speaking across different communication tasks.

Keywords: communication; speaking ; speech ; difficulty; English ; English as second language

THEME:

ASEAN, COMMONALITY AND SHARED SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND VALUES

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES TOWARDS ESTABLISHING ASEAN-NESS IN STRENGTHENING ASEAN COMMUNITY

PANEL DISCUSSION ICONSEA2019

HANAFI HUSSIN¹, LINDA SUNARTI², NINNY SUSANTI TEJOWASONO³, CECEP EKA PERMANA³, ABDURAKHMAN², AZHAR IBRAHIM ALWIE⁴, NOOR FATIA LASTIKA SARI²

¹Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya

²History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

³Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

⁴Department of Malay Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore

Panel Abstract

Southeast Asia was initially known to be inhabited by Austronesian people in the maritime areas and the Austro Asiatic people living in the mainland. They live in unity as they share and practice the old belief systems and practices. This region is also a geographically strategic region connecting the Asian continent with Europe and America. Over time, as a region undergoing various cultural influences from outside, the area experienced cultural transformation especially from other regions of Asia to the region known as the Asian Cultural Mosaic. This development led to the various external powers to embrace the wealth of the region and later turned this region to a geopolitical stage of the world. This region used to share many commonalities like culture, arts, heritage, traditions and identity becoming in the process an area with diversity. To unite the region, ASEAN was formed. It hopes to share commonality between the countries and reduce the differences gap under the framework of ASEAN community. Cultural heritage like traditional food, literature, folk songs and others could be tapped and shared among ASEAN countries to enhance the spirit of ASEAN Community. This panel will analyse and discuss how the ASEAN community could be strengthened through establishing the togetherness and “we-ness” spirit in ASEAN or “ASEAN-ness”. It will also forge a common intellectual tradition in ASEAN through cultural elements like literature, performing arts, food heritage, etc. Therefore, it will serve as a good model for the understanding and awareness of the ASEAN Community among the people. This panel discussion hopes to review particular claim’s of ASEAN as an imagined community.

Keywords: Oneness, multiness, we-ness, bridging, enriching, cultural diplomacy, empowering, cultural heritage, Southeast Asia, ASEAN, ASEAN-NESS, ASEAN Community

This panel consists of 6 individual presentations as follows;

- (1) From Oneness to Multi-ness and the Challenge in bringing ASEAN as one Community
- (2) Forging a Common Intellectual Tradition in ASEAN: Challenges and Prospects.
- (3) Literature and Third World Solidarity: Perspectives from ASEAN Literati.
- (4) Ramayana and Leadership in Shaping ASEAN-Ness in Contemporary Southeast Asia
- (5) Role of Songs in Understanding Diversity towards Enriching “We-ness” of ASEAN

“BALL IS LIFE” : THE TEMPORARY ECONOMIC MIGRATION OF FILIPINO BASKETBALL ATHLETES AND THE ASEAN INTEGRATION

MICHAEL ANJIELO R TABUYAN

Faculty, High School Unit, St. Scholastica’s College – Manila
Graduate Student (MA), Asian Center, University of the Philippines Diliman
(martabuyan@ssc.edu.ph)

This research aimed to explore the diaspora of Filipino basketball athletes across the ASEAN region. It sought to inquire on (1) factors affecting the migration of Filipino basketball athletes to ASEAN countries, (2) their life as migrant basketball players, and (3) the effects of these migrations to the host countries. It also examined if the ASEAN Integration has a role in these temporary economic

migrations, in terms of being a factor in the decision of the athletes in migrating to other countries, and the host countries to accept them as well. In this study, the paper assumed that the lack of playing opportunities in the top professional sports leagues in the Philippines forces these athletes to seek opportunities abroad, especially in the neighbouring ASEAN countries. Moreover, it is also motivated by the increasing popularity of the sport in this region, as manifested by the rise of various professional basketball leagues in the member countries. As a result, this diaspora of Filipino basketball athletes contributed to the improvement of basketball skills of their respective host countries. For the purposes of this research, the researcher used the concept of temporary economic migration as its analytical lens. To gather research data, I conducted interviews – personal and online – with selected athletes who are part of the phenomenon. The resulting interviews and related literature were analysed in order to get the data and interpretation needed.

Keywords: Philippine Basketball Association, ASEAN Basketball League, Filipino Diaspora, Temporary Economic Migration, ASEAN Integration

THE IMPORTANCE OF ASEAN'S NEW INDO PACIFIC OUTLOOK FOR INDONESIA'S GLOBAL MARITIME FULCRUM POLICY

ARTHA YUDILLA, S.I.P, M.A
Lecturer of International Relations Department, Faculty of Social and Political Science
Universitas Islam Riau
(arthayudilla@soc.uir.ac.id)

This research will analyse the importance of ASEAN's new Indo Pacific Outlook for Indonesia. As one of the founding countries of the association, Indonesia has become quite vocal in proposing new outlooks for making a better ASEAN, and one of the outlooks is "Indo Pacific" outlook, which will broaden the cooperation, not only among ASEAN countries but also with other countries outside ASEAN, or to be exact, around Indian and Pacific Ocean. So this research will analyse the motives behind Indonesia's action by using qualitative method based on three basic theories, which are, neoliberal institutionalism and geopolitics. The conclusion of this research is that first, like the neoliberal institutionalists say, an international association like ASEAN is supposed to help the members in gaining their interest through strategic cooperation. That's why, as regional organization, ASEAN is like home for Indonesia and other members to solve problems or gain international interests. And second, it will show how from the geopolitics perspective, this outlook is somehow complementary with Indonesia's concern to be "Global Maritime Fulcrum" and an axis in Indo Pacific area. The timeline of this research is quite recent as the idea of ASEAN's "Indo Pacific" outlook has just got into force in this year's ASEAN Summit in Thailand and this research is also quite urgent as the concept of global maritime fulcrum is getting more and more important to Indonesia.

Keywords: ASEAN's New Indo Pacific Outlook, Global Maritime Fulcrum, Neoliberal Institutionalism, Open Regionalism, Geopolitics

AWARENESS, PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD ASEAN AMONG GRADUATE STUDENTS IN TAGUIG CITY UNIVERSITY

MARLON B. RAQUEL
Taguig City University,
Metro Manila, Philippines
(raquel.marlon@yahoo.com)

Since its founding in 1967, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has become one of the most important regional organizations in the world. With the signing of The ASEAN Charter in November 2007, the regional group turned into a legal entity and ASEAN Economic Community was formally commenced on December 2015. Using a survey questionnaire, 200 graduate students in a government Philippine university were asked on seven themes, namely, general awareness, perceptions and attitudes, support, commitment, perceived benefits, trust in the benefits to the region, and aspirations towards ASEAN Economic Community. In general, almost all graduate students were familiar with ASEAN but a considerable percentage of them failed to identify correctly the founding date and the ASEAN flag while a quarter incorrectly identify flags of member-states. Singapore is the top destination for both travel and work. More than 90% of the respondents

have positive perceptions and attitudes towards ASEAN. About 95.7% of the graduate students support the AEC but reported a lower percentage in terms of commitment (89.1%). About 97.4% of them believed that the country benefits from AEC with 92.5% expressed trust in these benefits to the region. Respondents also reported different levels of aspirations for the establishment of the regional block in Asia.

Keywords: ASEAN, ASEAN Community, ASEAN Integration, Philippines

INDONESIAN BUSINESS WOMEN ASSOCIATION AND ASEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

WAHYUNI & AGUS SETIAWAN

Department of History

Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

(yuni_star1@yahoo.com, wahyuni.pbs@gmail.com, agus.setiawan62@ui.ac.id)

The purpose of this study is to analyze the role of the Indonesian Business Women Association (IWAPI), as the first organization of women entrepreneurs in Indonesia which was founded in 1975 in Jakarta by two sisters, Kemala Motik and Dewi Motik. IWAPI was established to fight for economic independence for its members, who are predominantly small-medium scale women entrepreneurs. The development of economic globalization and The ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) in 2015 were both challenges and opportunities for IWAPI members. Therefore, IWAPI was encouraged to establish cooperation with countries in the ASEAN region. IWAPI had pioneered such cooperation since 1981 with the Malaysian Association of Women Entrepreneurs and in 1983 IWAPI attended the ASEAN Tourism Forum in Manila. Furthermore, IWAPI is active in economic cooperation with ASEAN countries. How IWAPI's strategy in dealing with The AEC is the core problem that will be elaborated in this paper. Preliminary research results indicate that the cooperation that IWAPI has established with countries in the ASEAN region has a positive impact on expanding the business networks of its members at the regional level. IWAPI has also actively participated in advancing Indonesian women entrepreneurs so that they were ready to face The AEC or free market. The results of these studies have not been found by previous researcher. Hendratmi (2018) used a quantitative approach and focused on analyzing the relations between government support and incubator organization to the success behavior of IWAPI members. Another article written by Darmanto (2018) also used a quantitative approach to describe the developing organizational citizenship behavior in IWAPI Semarang association. This research used a historical method with four stages, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. This study found written sources, both primary and secondary from IWAPI's documents, Kemala and Dewi Motik's photo albums, articles from contemporary newspapers and magazines, such as *Kompas*, *Sinar Harapan*, and *Indonesian Observer*. Oral history method also used to compliment and strengthen written sources. Oral sources came from interviews with Dewi Motik, the founder of IWAPI and other IWAPI members. The source of the research was then verified to get its authenticity and credibility. The next step was interpreted to be arranged into a historiography. This research expected to enrich the study of the history of women in Indonesia and South East Asia, especially their role in the economic field.

Keywords: IWAPI, ASEAN, women entrepreneurs, networking, empowerment, sustainable

CHINA'S BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE (BRI), AND MASTER PLAN OF ASEAN CONNECTIVITY (MPAC) TO IMPROVE MARITIME CONNECTIVITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN REGION

HANIZAH IDRIS, CHONG WU LING & MUHAMMAD FAIZ RAMLI

Department of Southeast Asian Studies

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

University of Malaya

(fareastramly@gmail.com)

China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) was launched in 2013 by President Xi Jinping. Now that it is entering six years since its first launch, it has received many critics and also admiration at the same time, whether it will proceed as scheduled or facing more challenges such as will it be sustainable due to massive operations that involved both land and maritime route in more than 78 countries worldwide. At the same time, improving physical connectivity in the region is always a major concern of ASEAN countries. The aim of this paper is to analyze the Chinese interests in developing these infrastructures and the ASEAN vision to further improve in maritime connectivity in the Southeast Asian region and also beyond. Improving connectivity has been part of ASEAN vision to build ASEAN community in 2015 where the ASEAN leaders called for a well-connected

ASEAN that will contribute to a more competitive and resilient ASEAN. Therefore, one of the main objectives of this study is to analyze the three key elements of Master Plan of ASEAN Connectivity (MPAC) such as the physical connectivity, institutional connectivity and finally people-to-people connectivity. The early finding shows that these key elements are complement to the China's Belt and Road Initiative five points including joint economic cooperation, strengthening of overland and maritime connections, elimination of trade barriers and reduction of expenses, and finally to reinforcement of monetary cooperation and also strengthening of "people-to-people relations".

Keywords: BRI, MPAC, maritime connectivity, infrastructure, challenges

Funding: GPF007- 2018 Faculty Research Grant 2018-2019

THEME:

ISSUES, CHALLENGES DAN MOVING FORWARD IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

INDONESIA GOVERNMENT'S EFFORT TO FACE EU DIRECTIVE REGULATION CONCERNING PALM OIL IN EUROPE

DINI TIARA SASMI

International Relation Study Department / Faculty of Social and Political Sciences / Islamic University of Riau
(dinitiarasasmi@soc.uir.ac.id)

This article describes the Indonesian Government effort dealing with the new regulation in the European Union, namely EU Directive which prohibits palm oil used for biodiesel. The European Commission has concluded in regulation that palm oil use in biofuels will be reduced to zero by 2030. This regulation is based on allegations against oil palm plantation that causes excessive environmental damage, such as deforestation, climate change and extinction of local mammal orangutan in Borneo Islands. Environmental issues that arise as a result of the growing awareness of the international community in preserving the earth are often contrary to the wishes of a country in developing its economy. Campaigns of environmental activists such as Greenpeace, Walhi, Kumacaya in Indonesia highlight a lot about the palm oil industry which is often considered not to apply sustainable principles and causes environmental damage. On the other hand, this campaign caused a negative reputation followed by the decline of Indonesia's palm oil exports to Europe. One of the regulations that arose was the EU Directive which was considered by the Indonesian government as discrimination against oil palm products and their derivatives. This article uses a qualitative analysis method with descriptive as a technic of the research. The author uses data collected from books, journals, and websites in analyzing this research. This study aims to analyze how the Indonesian government responds to and confronts the EU Directive regulation on Palm Oil which is considered detrimental to Indonesia's palm oil exports to Europe.

Keywords: (Indonesian Government Effort, Policy, Palm Oil, EU Directive, Biofuels)

MARKETING THE MALAYSIAN, INDONESIA, THAI AND SINGAPORE BADMINTON OPEN CHAMPIONSHIPS AS A VEHICLE TO DEVELOP, GROW AND SUSTAIN A NATIONAL SPORT HERITAGE AND A REGIONAL SOUTHEAST TOURISM INDUSTRY: AN ASEAN COMMUNITY AND STAKEHOLDERS APPROACH

LIM PENG HAN

Blk 32 Marine Crescent, 17-113, Singapore 440032
(penghan12@gmail.com)

The study of sport heritage and tourism in Southeast Asia has been a neglected area if we were to consider the that about 400,000 domestic and foreign visitors attended the annual Wimbledon tennis championships and the sale of broadcasting rights generate 25 million pounds to make the event financially sustainable as well as a highly profitable event. The Badminton Association of Malaysia, founded in 1934, is one of the oldest in Asia, including the annual Malaysia badminton open championship first organised in 1937. Similarly, the Persatuan Bulutangkis Seluruh Indonesia's badminton open championship, Thailand Badminton Association's

badminton open championship and the Singapore Badminton Association's badminton open championship, each has its own heritage and legacy. There are also the Japan Open, Korean Open and China Open badminton championships in East Asia. Using the ASEAN Community approach to achieve socio-cultural and economic integration and the stakeholders' (badminton associations, sponsors, national tourist authority, Ministry of Sports and Ministry of Education) approach, this study attempts to develop a marketing plan to explain and analyse how collaborative efforts and win-win partnership can add value and build the brand of each of this tournament in the areas of increasing intra-ASEAN badminton tourism, build and enhance heritage tourism, achieving higher television broadcasting ratings and attracting higher sales of broadcasting rights. The marketing plan would include the 4 Ps,

- 1) Product, it recommends how to position the event in terms of heritage and prestige.
- 2) Price, the cost of attending the competition,
- 3) Promotion, below and above the line integrating marketing communication and
- 4) Place, reaching the various targeted audiences with differing demographic and psychographic profiles. One key strategy is to bring to the attention of the stakeholder, in particular the tourism agencies to adopt a long-term development plan to ultimately achieved the KPIs of the Wimbledon tennis championship

CLEANER PRODUCTION EFFORTS WITH EMPHASIS OF BUSINESS PROCESS IN AEROSPACE INDUSTRY AND ITS IMPACT TO LOCAL COMMUNITY: DIRGANTARA INDONESIA (PERSERO)

DEWI PERMATASARI⁽⁷⁾, ARINI SEDAWATI⁽¹⁾, HANDOKO SUBAWI⁽²⁾, IWAN TRIANA⁽³⁾, YUSTIONO DWI ARIANTO⁽⁴⁾, EKO DARYONO⁽⁵⁾, SUKATWIKANTO⁽⁶⁾

⁽¹⁾Corporate HSE Department Head – Indonesian Aerospace

⁽²⁾Department Head of Detail Part Manufacturing - Indonesian Aerospace

⁽³⁾HSE Department Head of Operational Engineering – Indonesian Aerospace

⁽⁴⁾Division Head of Detail Part Manufacturing - Indonesian Aerospace

⁽⁵⁾Division Head Corporate HR & GA - Indonesian Aerospace

⁽⁶⁾Director of Human Resources - Indonesian Aerospace

⁽⁷⁾ Environmental Professional – Renewable and Non-Renewable Energy

(dewi16permatasari@gmail.com, arini@indonesian-aerospace.com, handoko@indonesian-aerospace.com,

Cleaner Production and Life Cycle Assessment for nowadays are becoming environmental trends and concern in most manufacturing industry in Indonesia. Indonesian Aerospace, as one of leading metal processing and manufacturing industry in Asia, has begun their initiative in starting cleaner production based on life cycle thinking. Therefore in this paper, process towards preliminary life cycle impact assessment on 10 (ten) impact categories have been assessed, resulting climate change (74.9%) and freshwater toxicity (24.45%) as the most contributed potential impacts. To interpretation part, some effort on strategic environmental beyond compliance aspect will also take into account, such as 3R principal of waste management, energy and emission reduction, water efficiency and wastewater management, which looping into one life cycle in business process. There is also positive impact on other non-business process aspect which focused on socio-environment perspective, such as on crops cultivation and local West Java community development. As an impact of cost saving on cleaner production effort, one program has been survived to be maintained throughout a year of implementation, resulting economic improvement up to 15% per annum. It is concluded that industry can maintain their efficiency and effectiveness to the technical operation, the as their care to surrounding environment, including local community.

Keywords: Cleaner Production, Environmental Beyond Compliance, Life Cycle Assessment, and Local Community Development

THE EFFECT OF PARTICIPATION, MOTIVATION, INTEREST AND ABILITY OF COMMUNITY IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF FOREST AREAS WITH SPECIAL PURPOSE (KHDTK) AT FOREST HOUSE SIMALUNGUN DISTRICT

ROBERT TUA SIREGAR¹, DEMITA NATALITA PERANGIN-ANGIN²,
STIE Sultan Agung Pematangsiantar, ²Hery Pandapotan Silitonga STIE Sultan Agung
Pematangsiantar
(tuasir@gmail.com, herysilitonga@gmail.com)

KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh is a forest area which is an infrastructure support forestry education and training activities as well as a natural laboratory for science and technological development practice from all series of activities in the field of forestry. Forest Training serves as supporting infrastructure in training and

human resource development process, as well as a tool for socializing forest and forestry development. Related with the time, in 2015 based on the Minister Decree of Environment and Forestry in SK no. 1030 / Menhut-VII / KUH / 2015 about the Establishment of Forest Training Area Pondok Buluh become Forest Areas With Special Purpose (KHDTK) of Forest Training Pondok Buluh, with the total area of 1,272.80 Ha. The problems faced by KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh is protected forest areas and production forests where in the area there are people and timber industry that began to penetrate the forest area. On the other hand, KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh is rich in biodiversity and landscapes that can be used as tourist attraction, such as KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh that offers the potential of natural and cultural tourism attraction because KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh has characteristic with the life of the community. The main objective of the study was to analyze the influence of participation, motivation, interest and ability of the community in developing ecotourism in KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh. The objectives of this study are: (a) the influence of participation on ecotourism development (b) the influence of motivation on ecotourism development, (c) the influence of interest on ecotourism development (d) the influence of ability on ecotourism development and (e) participation, motivation, interest and community's ability to develop ecotourism in KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh. This research is a descriptive quantitative research, with the population of Pondok Buluh Village as many as 50 people. The data were collected by interview and questionnaire method which then processed and analyzed with SPSS 23. Ecotourism resource located in KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh in the form of Outbound, Climbing, Tracking, Bird Watching and other types of nature tourism activities. The role of the community in the activity program is seen by the form of community participation in planning, decision-making, implementation and sharing of economic benefits.

Keywords: KHDTK Forest Training Pondok Buluh, Ecotourism, Community

WORK IMMERSION: SHARED EXPERIENCES OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS AND SUPERVISORS OF PARTNER AGENCIES IN THE PHILIPPINES

CHARIE ANN CABIDES-PADULLO, LPT, MAT SOCIAL STUDIES
Instructor, Leyte Normal University
Tacloban City, Philippines
(chariecabides4@gmail.com)

Training is essential to the growth and economic well-being of a nation. This need for training pervades all levels of industry, for a national level where a country's well being is enhanced by training, to each company where productivity is improved, down to the individual whose skills are enhanced and as a result improve their position in the workplace. In other words, training is one of the most prevalent methods for enhancing individual productivity and improving job performance in the work environment (Goldstein and Ford 2002; Gupta and Bostrom 2006). Training effectiveness must cause behavior change (i.e. skill transfer for job performance), thereby resulting in organizational performance (Goldstein and Ford 2002). This study is anchored on the theory of Experiential Education, utilizing oral interviews and focused group discussion to collect data. The results of this study shows that on the job training is strongly affects to more creativity, achieving organizational objectives and improves work quality.

Keywords: Employment Simulation, Work Immersion, Work Immersion Venues, student standpoint, Supervisors, Cooperating Teachers

THE IMPACT OF CORPORATE GOVERNANCE ATTRIBUTES ON TAX PLANNING OF LISTED MANUFACTURING COMPANIES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN NIGERIA AND MALAYSIA

SULE BABA^{1*} MAHMUD BASHIRU²
^{1,2}Department of Accounting
Federal University Gashua-Nigeria
(baabasule2014@gmail.com, basheermahmud01@gmail.com)

The serious decline in the price of crude oil in recent years has led the state government to look for new sources of revenue and becomes strict and aggressive to the assessment and collection of revenue from the existing sources. In this study, we look at the impact of Corporate Governance Attributes on Tax planning of listed manufacturing companies in Nigeria and Malaysia. The corporate governance parameters will include board size, board independence, CEO tenure, firm size and leverage while tax planning will be proxied by the

effective tax rate. The objective is to determine if there is a relationship between corporate governance attributes and tax planning, which in turn may improve firm performance. The study adopts comparative and ex-post facto research design and will utilise panel data from annual reports and accounts of the listed companies for the period of five years (2014-2018). The data will be analysed using a panel regression technique to assess the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variable. Hausman specification test will be conducted to choose between fixed and random effect estimation, and the diagnostic test will also be carried out to determine the goodness of fit of the data. The results from the analysis will be presented, and a conclusion is drawn from the findings. Finally, the study will offer some recommendations.

Keywords: Corporate Governance Attributes, Tax planning, Listed companies, Nigeria, Malaysia.

ROUNDTABLE: ANTHROPOLOGIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Organizer:

ERIC C. THOMPSON, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore

Participants:

SHAMSUL A.B., DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR & DIRECTOR
Institute of Ethnic Studies, University Kebangsaan Malaysia

SHANTHI TAMBIAH, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR & HEAD OF GENDER STUDIES
Department of Gender Studies, University of Malaya

Vilashini Somiah, Senior Lecturer
Department of Gender Studies, University of Malaya

WELYNE JEFFREY JEHOM, SENIOR LECTURER & HEAD OF CIMS
Department of Sociology & Anthropology and
Centre for Malaysian Indigenous Studies (CMIS), University of Malaya

SYED FARID ALATAS, PROFESSOR
Departments of Sociology & Malay Studies, National University of Singapore

The roundtable discussion will focus on the recently published *Southeast Asian Anthropologies: National Traditions and Transnational Practices* (2019, NUS Press). This edited volume contains ten chapters written by practicing anthropologists largely from and working in Southeast Asia. It surveys anthropology as a discipline across Southeast Asia, key developments and ideas within particular national traditions and increasingly intra-Southeast Asian transnational contexts within which anthropology and anthropologists operate. Participants in the roundtable will discuss their perspectives on the book – strengths, shortcomings, and value in different contexts – as well as how its contents can frame further development of the discipline and future directions for anthropology and anthropologies in Southeast Asia.

PROGRAMME

DECEMBER 2, 2019: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS), University of Malaya (UM)

08.30-09.00:	Registration (Lecture Hall B, FASS)
09.00-10.30:	Opening & Keynote (Lecture Hall B, FASS)
10.30-11.00:	Coffee break/networking (The Cube, FASS)
11.00-12.30:	Parallel Session 1 (Lecture Hall B, JAT11&12, Dean's Meeting Room 1&2)
12.30-14.00:	Lunch break and networking (The Cube, FASS)
14.00-15.30:	Parallel Session 2 (Lecture Hall B, Dean's Meeting 1&2, JAT11&2)
15.30-17.00	Plenary 1
17.00-19.00:	Reception (The Cube, FASS)

DECEMBER 3, 2019: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS), University of Malaya (UM)

08.30-09.00:	Registration (Lecture Hall B)
09.00-10.30:	Keynote 2 (Lecture Hall B)
10.30-11.00:	Coffee Break (The Cube, FASS, UM)
11.00-12.30:	Parallel Session 3 (Lecture Hall B, JAT11&2, Dean's Meeting Room 1&2)
12.30-14.00:	Lunch (The Cube, FASS, UM)
14.00-15.30:	Parallel Session 4 (Lecture Hall B, JAT11&2, Dean's Meeting Room 1&2)
15.30-17.00:	Parallel Session 5 (Lecture Hall B)
17.00-18.00:	Closing (The Cube, FASS, UM) Networking, Certificate Free and leisure

4 DECEMBER 2019: Fieldtrip to Perak (Optional: online registration only) – registration open until 15th November 2019 / Departure

Notes:

Lecture Hall B/DKB:	Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya
Dean's Meeting Room2:	Ground Floor, History Department, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya
JAT11:	Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya
JAT12:	Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya
Thai Studies Room:	1 st Floor, Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya

programme

DAY ONE

DECEMBER 2, 2019: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS), University of Malaya (UM)

08.30-09.00: Registration (Lecture Hall B, FASS)

09.00-10.30: Opening

Keynote 1 (Lecture Hall B, FASS)

Moderator: Hanizah Hj Idris
(Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya)

SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES IN THE ERA OF FOURTH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

PROFESSOR DR ARNDT GRAF

Chair, Dept. of Southeast Asian Studies
Goethe-University of Frankfurt Senckenberganlage, Germany

10.30-11.00: Coffee break/networking (The Cube, FASS)

11.00-12.30: Parallel Session 1 (Lecture Hall B, JAT11&I2, Dean's Meeting Room 2 & Thai Studies Room)

Parallel Session 1A (Lecture Hall B)

Theme: POLITICS, HEGEMONY AND CITIZENSHIP

Moderator: MOHD HAZMI MOHD RUSLI

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ELEMENTS FROM BENGAL IN THE PROCESS OF 'INDIANIZATION' IN EARLY SOUTHEAST ASIA (400 BCE – 800 CE)

SHARMIN AKHTAR
Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya.

THE ALTERNATE HISTORY OF THE MALAY PENINSULA

MOHD HAZMI MOHD RUSLI & FAREED MOHD HASSAN
Faculty of Syariah and Law, Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia

PANCASILA SAKTI MUSEUM: COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF NATIONAL TRAGEDY (SEPTEMBER 30, 1965): STATE CONSTRUCTION ABOUT COMMUNISM PHOBIAS

RADITYA RAHADIAN KAMAJAYA & MUHAMMAD WASITH ABAR
History Departement, Faculty of Huanities
Universitas Indonesia

RECOVERING FREEDOM: THE STORY OF THE 1935 PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTION, ITS TRAGIC LOSS DURING WORLD WAR II AND ITS UNEXPECTED REAPPEARANCE DURING YET ANOTHER PERIOD OF PROPOSED CHARTER CHANGE

MCM SANTAMARIA
Professor of Asian and Philippine Studies
Asian Center, University of the Philippines Diliman

DISINFORMATION TRENDS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES ON INDONESIA, MALAYSIA, AND THE PHILIPPINES

EMY RUTH D. GIANAN, Polytechnic University of the Philippines

Parallel Session 1B (Dean's Meeting Room 2, FASS)

Theme: SOUTHEAST ASIAN SUSTAINABILITY DEVELOPMENT: STRATEGIES, IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPACT

PANEL DISCUSSION BY LIPI (LEMBAGA ILMU PENYELIDIKAN INDONESIA)

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN AGRICULTURE & PLANTATION SECTOR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: STRATEGIES, IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPACT

Moderator: BONDAN WIDYATMOKO

SIGNIFICANCE OF TRACEABILITY AND POSITION OF SMALLHOLDERS AFTER THE ADOPTION OF THE DELEGATED ACT RED II BY THE EUROPEAN UNION COMMISSION

BONDAN WIDYATMOKO

AGRICULTURAL POLICY, NEW FARMING SYSTEM AND POLITICS OF RICE IN THAILAND

SURIBIDARI, RUCIANAWATI, MAYASURI PRESILLA, DINA SRIRAHAYU

RICE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION FOR FOOD SECURITY IN VIETNAM

DINA SRIRAHAYU

IMPROVEMENT OF INDONESIAN AGRICULTURAL INNOVATION BY ALUMNI'S APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM TO JAPAN

GUSNELLY AND DEVI RISKIANINGRUM

ENHANCING WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE IN CAMBODIA: ORGANIC RICE CONTRACT FARMERS IN KAMPONG SPEU PROVINCE

BETTI ROSITA SARI

Parallel Session 1C (JATI 1, Department of Southeast Asian Studies)

Theme: POLITICS, HEGEMONY AND CITIZENSHIP

Moderator: PROF. ARCHIE B. RESOS, PHD
Department of History, Faculty of Arts and Letters, University of Santo Tomas, España, Manila

WHEN JUAN DE LA CRUZ SHOOK HANDS WITH KARL MARX: INCEPTION OF PHILIPPINE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES: 1972-1986

ARCHIE B. RESOS
Department of History, Faculty of Arts and Letters
University of Santo Tomas, España, Manila

FROM AGUINALDO TO DUTERTE: DYNAMICS OF PHILIPPINE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (1897-2016)

ARCHIE B. RESOS & EMMANUEL JERIC A. ALBELA
Department of History, Faculty of Arts and Letters
University of Santo Tomas, España, Manila

**THE ROLE OF NEWSPAPER IN THE SUCCESS OF AMERICAN EMPIRE BUILDING
IN THE PHILIPPINES (1898-1899)**

MIGUEL ANTONIO JIMENEZ
University of Santo Tomas

PHILIPPINES AND SOUTH KOREAN CULTURAL RELATIONS 1972-2017

ROXANNE ROSE M. EVANGELISTA
University of Santo Tomas/La Salle Green Hills

Parallel Session 1D (JATI2, Department of Southeast Asian Studies)

Theme: CULTURE, HERITAGE AND TOURISM

Moderator: CHONG WU LING
(Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social
Sciences, University of Malaya)

**PERFORMANCE, COMMUNITY AND HERITAGE IN THE PHILIPPINES: CRITICAL
ETHNOGRAPHY AND PLACE-MAKING**

SIR ANRIL PINEDA TIATCO, PHD
University of the Philippines Diliman

**LIKAY PA IN THAILAND : THE ELEMENTS, STRUCTURE AND CULTURAL
INTEGRATION**

RATCHAYA WEERAKARN & ROSDEEN SUBOH
Faculty of Fine Arts
Songkhla Rajabhat University, Thailand
Cultural Centre, University of Malaya

**PRELIMINARY STUDY ON PATTANI'S MAK YONG COMMUNITY IN RAMAN
DISTRICT, SOUTHERN THAILAND**

SYAFIQ FALIQ BIN ALFAN
Hiroshima University

**MALAYSIAN MUSIC AND SOCIAL COHESION: CONTEMPORARY RESPONSES TO
POPULAR PATRIOTIC SONGS FROM THE 1950S-1990S**

SHAZLIN A. HAMZAH AND ADIL JOHAN:
Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA)
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

12.30-14.00: Lunch break and networking (The Cube, FASS)

14.00-15.30: Parallel Session 2 (Lecture Hall B, JATI1&I2, Dean's Meeting Room 2 & Thai Studies Room)

Parallel Session 2A (Lecture Hall B)

Theme: EDUCATION, LANGUAGE, SOUTHEAST ASIAN LITERATURE

Moderator: EDGAR R. ESLIT, PH.D.
(Faculty, St. Michael's College, Iligan City Philippines)

THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

ZEYNAB MOOSAVI
University of Malaya

ANALYSIS ON FIRST LANGUAGE INFLUENCE AND ITS EFFECT ON LANGUAGE FLUENCY AMONG HS STUDENTS: BASIS FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE INSTRUCTIONAL MODULE

EDGAR R. ESLIT, PH.D.
Faculty, St. Michael's College, Iligan City Philippines

MYANMAR YOUTH EMPLOYMENT: THE IMPACT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY (ELP)

MA TIN CHO MAR
Department of South East Asian Studies,
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
University of Malaya

CONTEXT-BASED DIFFICULTIES ON ORAL COMMUNICATION OF ESL LEARNERS

LENIS AISLINN C. SEPARA, LEONILA J. GENERALES, RUBY JEAN S. MEDINA
Polytechnic University of the Philippines Bataan

Parallel Session 2B (Dean's Meeting Room 2, FASS)

ROUNDTABLE: ANTHROPOLOGIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Organizer: ERIC C. THOMPSON, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore

Participants:
SHAMSUL A.B., DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR & DIRECTOR
Institute of Ethnic Studies, University Kebangsaan Malaysia

SHANTHI TAMBIAH, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR & HEAD OF GENDER STUDIES
Department of Gender Studies, University of Malaya

VILASHINI SOMIAH, SENIOR LECTURER
Department of Gender Studies, University of Malaya

WELYNE JEFFREY JEHOM, SENIOR LECTURER & HEAD OF CIMS
Department of Sociology & Anthropology and
Centre for Malaysian Indigenous Studies (CMIS), University of Malaya

SYED FARID ALATAS, PROFESSOR
Departments of Sociology & Malay Studies, National University of Singapore

Parallel Session 2C (JATI 1, Department of Southeast Asian Studies)

Theme: CITIZENSHIP, POVERTY, INEQUALITY, PROSPERITY, PEACE AND JUSTICE

Moderator: DR HELENA VARKKEY
(Department of International and Strategic Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya)

A SECOND LOOK AT MILLET: A TRADITIONAL BUT ALMOST FORGOTTEN FOOD GRAIN AS A SOLUTION TO THE FOOD SHORTAGE IN THE PHILIPPINES AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

AUGUSTO V. DE VIANA, PH.D.
University of Santo Tomas
Republic of the Philippines

THE NEW GENERATION OF FILIPINO-CHINESE FAMILIES IN THE PHILIPPINES

IRENE G. BORRAS
University of Santo Tomas, Philippines

30 YEARS AFTER THE RESETTLEMENT OF THE CPM IN THAILAND: FROM 'THAI NATIONAL DEVELOPER' TO 'THAI CITIZEN'

THIPPAPORN
Department of History, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, UM

THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF TEACHERS TEACHING SUBJECTS OUTSIDE THEIR AREA OF EXPERTISE

MICHELLE TORREROS, LPT
Leyte Normal University, Tacloban City, Philippines

THE STRUGGLE OF INDONESIAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN IMPROVING INDONESIAN WOMEN'S WELFARE THROUGH INDONESIAN WOMEN'S CONGRESS I AND II

SYAHIDAH SUMAYYAH RAHMAN & ABDURAKHMAN
History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

Parallel Session 2D (JATI2, Department of Southeast Asian Studies)

Theme: EDUCATION, LANGUAGE, SOUTHEAST ASIAN LITERATURE

Moderator: DR WENDS GLENN CAGAPE, PHD
(University of Santo Tomas, Republic of the Philippines)

STRENGTHENING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN WITH DISABILITIES IN INDONESIA: CASE STUDY IN DEPOK, WEST JAVA, INDONESIA

YANI FATHUR ROHMAN & EMILIA KRISTIYANTI
Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Indonesia

THE *DARUL FURQON* MADRASAH IBTIDAIYAH (ISLAMIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL) AS A "BORDERLAND SCHOOL" MODEL IN THE BORDER OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

NUGROHOTRISNU BRATA
Faculty of Social Sciences,

Universitas Negeri Semarang, Indonesia

THE ABSENCE OF EASTERN PERSPECTIVES IN THE GE ETHICS CURRICULUM OF THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION ON HIGHER EDUCATION

RAEMEL NIKLAUS P. LEYRETANA, MPR
Philosophy Division, Department of Humanities, University of the Philippines Los Baños

DUNG YARD THIP CHA LOAM JAI: THAI KINGS AND ROYAL FAMILY IN NATIONAL LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS OF THAILAND

PITCHAYADA MEKHIRUNSIRI¹ & MALA RAJO SATHIAN²
^{1,2}Department of South East Asian Studies,
²Coordinator of Thai Studies Program
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya.

15.30-17.00

PLENARY 1

**Theme: SOUTHEAST ASIAN SUSTAINABILITY DEVELOPMENT:
 STRATEGIES, IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPACT**

Moderator: MCM SANTAMARIA

AN OVERVIEW OF THE BLUE ECONOMY STRATEGY IN THE MARITIME SECTOR OF SELECTED SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES

KEMALA HUDAYA AND DR. HANIZAH IDRIS
Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
University of Malaya

GPR IN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION ERA 4.0: CASE STUDY OF THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATION AND INFORMATICS IN THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

¹AMRI DUNAN, ²BAMBANG MUDJIANTO
^{1,2}Human Research Resources & Development Agency, The Ministry of Communication & Informatics, Jakarta, Indonesia

STAKEHOLDER PERCEPTION OF LINKS BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL FACTOR FLOWS, LABOUR STANDARDS AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN MALAYSIA

EVELYN S. DEVADASON
Department of Economics, Faculty of Economics & Administration
University of Malaya

PHILIPPINE VALUES IN THE SUPERMODERN/HYPERMODERN AGE OF THE INTERNET

TERESA PAULA S. DE LUNA
Department of Speech Communication & Theater Arts
College of Arts and Letters, University of the Philippines

17.00-19.00: Reception (The Cube, FASS)

programme

DAY TWO

DECEMBER 3, 2019: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS), University of Malaya (UM)

08.30-09.00: Registration (Lecture Hall B)

09.00-10.30: Keynote 2 (Lecture Hall B, FASS)

Moderator: MALA RAJO
(Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya)

TOWARDS DECOLONIAL SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES

PROFESSOR DR. SYED FARID ALATAS

Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore

10.30-11.00: Coffee Break (The Cube, FASS, UM)

11.00-12.30: Parallel Session 3 (Lecture Hall B, JAT11&I2, Dean's Meeting Room 2 & Thai Studies Room)

Parallel Session 3A (Lecture Hall B)

Theme: SOUTHEAST ASIAN SUSTAINABILITY DEVELOPMENT: STRATEGIES, IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPACT (CASES FROM INDONESIA)

Moderator: MAZLAN MAJID
(Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya)

TRANSFORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE SECTOR IN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION 4.0 ERA IN INDONESIA

AHMAD BUDI SETIAWAN, AMRI DUNAN, BAMBANG MUDJIANTO
The Center of Research and Development of Informatics Application, Information and Public Communication, The Agency of Human Resources Research and Development, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, Indonesia

UNDERSTANDING RURAL DEVELOPMENT FOR OFFERING AN ALTERNATIVE NOTION OF SUSTAINABILITY: AN EXAMPLE FROM INDONESIAN PERSPECTIVE

NURSYIRWAN EFFENDI¹ & EKA FAUZI HARDANI²

¹Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIP), Andalas University - Indonesia

²Faculty of Economics, Andalas University - Indonesia

STRENGTHENING ICT AND GOVERNANCE TO ACHIEVE 2030 SDGs: LESSON LEARNT FROM RIDWAN KAMIL AND COMMUNITY INITIATIVE

SRI SUNARTI PURWANINGSIH & NINA WIDYAWATI
Research Center for Society and Culture
Indonesian Institute of Sciences
LIPI, Jakarta, Indonesia

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT AND SUSTAINABILITY FOR TSUNAMI EARLY WARNING SYSTEMS IN INDONESIA: THE VALUE OF WIDER REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN BRIDGING IDEALS, TECHNOLOGY, AND PEOPLE

DAVID ELIJAH BELL, PHD MPH
Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Public Health
St. John Fisher College
Rochester NY, USA

Parallel Session 3B (Dean's Meeting Room 2, FASS)

Theme: POPULAR CULTURE, HERITAGE AND TOURISM

Moderator: RODNEY C JUBILADO, PHD
(University of Hawaii at Hilo, Hawaii, USA)

**ANDERSON'S IMAGINED COMMUNITIES AND THE INVENTION OF TRADITION IN
SELECTED PUBLIC MUSEUMS DISPLAYS RELATED TO MALAY MEMORIES IN
PENINSULAR MALAYSIA**

CHANG YI CHANG
Department of Journalism, Faculty of Arts and Social Science
Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman
Kampar, Perak, Malaysia.

**A COSMOPOLITAN ETHOS IN SUSTAINING AND DEVELOPING CULTURAL
HERITAGE**

BRYAN LEVINA VIRAY
Department of Speech Communication and Theatre Arts, College of Arts and Letters,
University of the Philippines Diliman

**POPULAR CULTURE IN THE HERITAGE EDUCATION OF THE FILIPINO
AMERICANS IN HAWAII**

RODNEY C JUBILADO, PHD
University of Hawaii at Hilo, Hawaii, USA

**"IN WITH THE OLD": COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN HERITAGE PRESERVATION
IN PETALING STREET, KUALA LUMPUR**

RACHEL CHAN SUET KAY
Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA)
National University of Malaysia (UKM)

Parallel Session 3C (JATI 1, Department of Southeast Asian Studies)

**ASEAN, COMMONALITY AND SHARED SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND
VALUES (1)**

PANEL DISCUSSION

MODERATOR: HANAFI HUSSIN
Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social
Sciences, University of Malaya

**SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES TOWARDS ESTABLISHING ASEAN-NESS IN
STRENGTHENING ASEAN COMMUNITY**

Hanafi Hussin¹, Linda Sunarti², Ninny Susanti Tejowasono³, Cecep Eka Permana³,
Abdurakhman², Azhar Ibrahim Alwie⁴, Noor Fatia Lastika Sari²

¹Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University
of Malaya

²History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

³Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

⁴Department of Malay Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore

Parallel Session 3D (JATI2, Department of Southeast Asian Studies)

Theme: POLITICS, HEGEMONY AND CITIZENSHIP

Moderator: THIRUNAUKARASU SUBRAMANIAM
(Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya)

ROBREDO STYLE OF POLITICS IN RURAL PHILIPPINES

ARA JOY PACOMA
Leyte Normal University

THE REPRESENTATION OF SULTAN AND LEADERSHIP IN NORTH MALUKU'S LOCAL MEDIA

TOMMY CHRISTOMMY¹ & NAZARUDIN²
¹Literature Department
²Linguistic Department
Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

A PATRONAGE DEMOCRACY IN MINANGKABAU: NINIAK MAMAK AS POLITICAL BROKERS IN ELECTIONS

ANDRI RUSTA, DEDE SRI KARTINI, AFFAN SULAEMAN, & LEO AGUSTINO
Political Science Department Andalas University, Governmental Studies Padjajaran University, Governmental Studies Padjajaran University, Public Administration Department Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa University.

THE INFLUENCE OF SAREKAT ISLAM SURAKARTA IN ISLAMIC JOURNALISM MOVEMENT IN JAVA 1912-1917

ADHYTIAWAN SUHARTO & ABDURAKHMAN
History Department
Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

SAREKAT ISLAM BANDUNG AND THE DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

FAJAR NUR ALAM & ABDURAKHMAN
History Department
Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Indonesia

12.30-14.00: Lunch (The Cube, FASS, UM0)

14.00-15.30: Parallel Session 4 (Lecture Hall B, JATI1&2, Dean's Meeting Room 2 & Thai Studies Room)

Parallel Session 4A (Lecture Hall B)

Theme: POVERTY, INEQUALITY, PROSPERITY, PEACE AND JUSTICE

Moderator: EVELYN S. DEVADASON,
Professor Dr, Department of Economics, Faculty of Economics & Administration, University of Malaya

INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT: EVIDENCE FROM MYANMAR

FUMITAKA FURUOKA, MA TIN CHO MAR, PUI KIEW LING, & LARISA NIKITINA

University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur

BUSINESSES THAT PUT PEOPLE AHEAD OF PROFIT: THE HUMAN NATURE MODEL AND ITS SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL IMPACT IN THE PHILIPPINES

MELANIE MORAGA LEAÑO

Department of Speech Communication and Theatre Arts
National College of Public Administration and Governance
University of the Philippines, Diliman
Social Entrepreneur (Branch Operator) Gandang Kalikasan, Inc)

ELABORATION OF PATTERNS OF LIVING ENVIRONMENT AMONG ITINERANT ELDERLY IN MALAYSIA BY USING INTERPRETATIVE PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS (IPA)

AQSA QANDEEL & WELYNE JEFFREY JEHOM

Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
University of Malaya

LOCAL MARGINALIZATION OF PARTICIPATION IN BATAM ISLAND: NEW INDUSTRIAL CITIES IN ASEAN COUNTRIES BORDER REGION

FITRISIA MUNIR¹, HAMZAH JUSOH², DELMIRA SYAFRINI³

Department of International Relations, Faculty of Science and Political Science,
Universitas Islam Riau, Pekanbaru, Indonesia ¹Department of Development and
Environment Studies, Faculty of Science Social and Humanity, University Kebangsaan
Malaysia, Malaysia ²Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Science, Padang,
Indonesia³

Parallel Sesion 4B (Dean's Meeting Room 2, FASS)

Theme: POVERTY, INEQUALITY, PROSPERITY, PEACE AND JUSTICE

Moderator: EMY RUTH D. GIANAN
(Polytechnic University of the Philippines)

WATER TRANSPORTATION AND SOCIAL GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY ON WEST AND EAST COAST OF HALMAHERA ISLANDS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

ABD. RAHMAN & TOMMY CHRISTOMY

Faculty Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia, di Depok.

THE OHOIWUTUNS: THE ROLE OF BUTON PEOPLE AS A DERIVED COMMUNITY IN KEI KECIL ISLAND, SOUTHEAST MALUKU REGENCY

SUSANTO ZUHDI & ABD. RAHMAN HAMID

History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

BUTON PEOPLE AT THE KEI ISLANDS: SETTLED FOREIGNER IN THE LAND OF LARVUL NGABAL MIGRATION DYNAMICS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

¹HALIADI SADI, ²SUSANTO ZUHDI

¹Social Studies Department, Faculty of Teaching and Education, Universitas Tadulako

²History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

BUTON PEOPLE AT THE KEI ISLANDS: SETTLED FOREIGNER IN THE LAND OF LARVUL NGABAL MIGRATION DYNAMICS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

¹HALIADI SADI, ²SUSANTO ZUHDI

¹Social Studies Department, Faculty of Teaching and Education, Universitas Tadulako

²History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

POLYGAMY AS A TOOL TO PRESERVE PATRIARCHAL CULTURE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS STUDY

DHEA TISANE ARDHAN
Linguistics Master Program, Faculty of Humanities,
Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya - Indonesia

UNDERSTANDING THE PERCEIVED THREATS, RESPONSES, AND INTERSUBJECTIVITY OF FILIPINO HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATES

MARIELLE JUSTINE C. SUMILONG
Department of Speech Communication and Theatre Arts
College of Arts and Letters
University of the Philippines Diliman
Quezon City, Philippines

WORK IMMERSION: SHARED EXPERIENCES OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS AND SUPERVISORS OF PARTNER AGENCIES IN THE PHILIPPINES

CHARIE ANN CABIDES-PADULLO, LPT, MAT SOCIAL STUDIES
Instructor, Leyte Normal University
Tacloban City, Philippines

Parallel Session 4C (JATI 1, Department of Southeast Asian Studies)

Theme: CULTURE, HERITAGE AND TOURISM

Moderator: ABDURAKHMAN
(Department of History / Faculty of Humanities / University of Indonesia)

IMPLICATION AND IMPACT OF THE SULTAN OF BRUNEI'S GOLDEN JUBILEE CELEBRATION

AMALINA BINTI ABD. KHALID¹ & HANAFI BIN HUSSIN²
¹Department of Anthropology and Sociology,
²Department of South East Asian Studies,
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Universiti Malaya

LOST IN TRANSLATION: CASE STUDIES ON THE PRESERVATION OF HISTORIC CENTERS IN MALOLOS, MANILA AND LAS PIÑAS*

PATRICK JAMES SERRA¹ & JESS IMMANUEL ESPINA²
^{1,2}University of the Philippines - Diliman
¹La Salle Green Hills
^{1,2}International Council on Monuments and Sites Philippines
²Human Rights Violations Victims Memorial Commission (current)

DRESS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY: THE ROLE OF MUSLIM WOMEN IN INFLUENCING THE WAY INDONESIAN WOMEN DRESS DURING 1930-1942.

RAISYE SOLEH HAGHIA & ABDURAKHMAN
Department of History / Faculty of Humanities / University of Indonesia

VISUALIZATION OF NATIONALISM IN BASUKI ABDULLAH'S MODERN INDONESIAN ART IN THE COLLECTION OF PRESIDENTIAL PAINTINGS IR. SOEKARNO: WOMEN IN KEBAYA AND LONG BATIK SKIRT

KARINA WIDYASTUTI & MUHAMMAD WASITH ALBAR
Departement History, Faculty of Humanities
Universitas Indonesia

Parallel Session 4D (JATI2, Department of Southeast Asian Studies)

Theme: WOMEN AND EMPOWERMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Moderator: LINDA SUNARTI
(History Department, Universitas Indonesia)

WOMEN IN THE FRONTIER: AHSUN INAYATI AND NORTH HALMAHERA PROVINCE'S REGIONAL AUTONOMY, ARRANGEMENT, AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

NOOR FATIA LASTIKA SARI, SUSANTO ZUHDI & SARASWATI DEWI
History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

INDONESIAN BUSINESS WOMEN ASSOCIATION AND ASEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

WAHYUNI & AGUS SETIAWAN
Department of History
Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

REALITIES OF WOMEN EMPOWERMENT ON NIKE AD: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

ELVANA PERMATASWARI
Linguistics Program, Faculty of Humanities, Airlangga University, Surabaya 60286
Indonesia

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT TO MODERNITY OF WOMEN: THE INFLUENCE OF SOUTH KOREA'S INDUSTRY IN INDONESIA (1960s) FOR THE INDONESIAN WOMEN'S MODERNITY (2000s)

ROSTINEU & LINDA SUNARTI
History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

Parallel Session 4E (Thai Studies Room)

THEME: MIGRATION AND DIASPORA – MIGRATION DYNAMIC IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Moderator: MUHAMAD RIZA NURDIN
(Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya)

HEEREN STREET: THE ECONOMIC BACKBONE OF THE 19TH (AND EARLY 20TH) CENTURY MALACCA

TAN HUEY PYNG, YVONNE HOH JGIN JIT, MOK SEW KUEN, & MICHELLE WONG
Faculty of Arts and Social Science,
Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman (UTAR)

SUSTAINING UNITY IN DIVERSITY: EXPLORING THE HIMPUNAN SIN BENG KELANTAN (HSBK2019) AS A CASE STUDY OF ETHNIC BOUNDARY-MAKING IN CONTEMPORARY KELANTAN

PUE GIOK HUN
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND NEW PATH OF MIGRATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA; A STUDY IN SABAH, MALAYSIA

NUR WIDIYANTO & EMANUELA AGRA SARIKA KURNIA DEWI.,S.I.KOM.,M.A
Departement of Tourism, Ambarrukmo Tourism Institute, Yogyakarta

15.30-17.00: Parallel Session 5 (Lecture Hall B, JATI1&2, Dean's Meeting Room 2 & Thai Studies

Parallel Session 5A (Lecture Hall B)

THEME: MIGRATION ISSUES AND CHALLENGES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Moderator: HANAFI HUSSIN

(Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya)

EXTRATERRITORIAL MIGRATION CONTROL IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

LOW CHOO CHIN

History Section, School of Distance Education,
Universiti Sains Malaysia

**THE GOVERNANCE OF FORCED-MIGRATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA:
COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES FROM INDONESIA, MALAYSIA AND THAILAND**

MUHAMAD RIZA NURDIN, MALA RAJO SATHIAN & HANAFI HUSSIN

Department of Southeast Asian Studies
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
University of Malaya

**DENIAL OF THE ROHINGYA GENOCIDE: PROBLEMATIZING DAW AUNG SAN SUU
KYI AND THE 'RULE OF LAW' IN POSTCOLONIAL MYANMAR**

WENDELL GLENN P CAGAPE

Centro Escolar University

Parallel Session 5B (Dean's Meeting Room 2, FASS)

THEME: RELIGION AND RELIGIOSITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Moderator: MAZLAN MAJID

(Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya)

**BEHIND THE CONTROVERSIAL IMAGE OF FPI IN INDONESIA: FAIRCLOUGH'S
CDA ANALYSIS**

SINDY ALICIA GUNAWAN

Linguistics Master Program, Faculty of Humanities,
Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya - Indonesia

**MAINTAINING PEACE WITH RELIGION: HAMKA'S ROLE IN PREVENTING THE
INDONESIA-MALAYSIA CONFRONTATION IN THE 1960S**

AKMAL

Faculty of Humanities
University of Indonesia (UI)

**THE COMPLEXITY OF FREEDOMS OF RELIGION IN INDONESIA: ARE WE TRULY
FREE TO HAVE RELIGION?**

SAFARI DWI CHANDRA, ENGGAL PRAYOGA WIJAYA & DEDE MUHAMAD GUFRON
Legal Studies Department, Faculty of Law

Semarang State University

ISTIQAMAH MOSQUE: CADRES REGENERATION AND SUSTAINABILITY OF ISLAMIC ACTIVISM

YUNADI RAMLAN & ABDURAKHMAN

Department of History/Faculty of Humanities/Universitas Indonesia

Parallel Sesion 5C (JATI 1, FASS)

THEME: ASEAN, COMMONALITY AND SHARED SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND VALUES

Moderator: HANIZAH HJ IDRIS

(Department of Southeast Asian Studies
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya)

“BALL IS LIFE” : THE TEMPORARY ECONOMIC MIGRATION OF FILIPINO BASKETBALL ATHLETES AND THE ASEAN INTEGRATION

MICHAEL ANJIELO R TABUYAN

Faculty, High School Unit, St. Scholastica’s College – Manila
Graduate Student (MA), Asian Center, University of the Philippines Diliman

THE IMPORTANCE OF ASEAN’S NEW INDO PACIFIC OUTLOOK FOR INDONESIA’S GLOBAL MARITIME FULCRUM POLICY

ARTHA YUDILLA, S.I.P, M.A

Lecturer of International Relations Department, Faculty of Social and Political Science
Universitas Islam Riau

AWARENESS, PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD ASEAN AMONG GRADUATE STUDENTS IN TAGUIG CITY UNIVERSITY

MARLON B. RAQUEL

Taguig City University, Metro Manila, Philippines

CHINA’S BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE (BRI), AND MASTER PLAN OF ASEAN CONNECTIVITY (MPAC) TO IMPROVE MARITIME CONNECTIVITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN REGION

HANIZAH IDRIS, CHONG WU LING & MUHAMMAD FAIZ RAMLI

Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
University of Malaya

Parallel Sesion 5D (JATI 1, FASS)

THEME: ISSUES, CHALLENGES DAN MOVING FORWARD IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Moderator: CHONG WU LING

(Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya)

MARKETING THE MALAYSIAN, INDONESIA, THAI AND SINGAPORE BADMINTON OPEN CHAMPIONSHIPS AS A VEHICLE TO DEVELOP, GROW AND SUSTAIN A NATIONAL SPORT HERITAGE AND A REGIONAL SOUTHEAST TOURISM INDUSTRY: AN ASEAN COMMUNITY AND STAKEHOLDERS APPROACH

LIM PENG HAN

Blk 32 Marine Crescent, 17-113, Singapore 440032

CLEANER PRODUCTION EFFORTS WITH EMPHASIS OF BUSINESS PROCESS IN AEROSPACE INDUSTRY AND ITS IMPACT TO LOCAL COMMUNITY: DIRGANTARA INDONESIA (PERSERO)

DEWI PERMATASARI⁽⁷⁾, ARINI SEDAWATI⁽¹⁾, HANDOKO SUBAWI⁽²⁾, IWAN TRIANA⁽³⁾, YUSTIONO DWI ARIANTO⁽⁴⁾, EKO DARYONO⁽⁵⁾, & SUKATWIKANTO⁽⁶⁾

⁽¹⁾Corporate HSE Department Head – Indonesian Aerospace

⁽²⁾Department Head of Detail Part Manufacturing - Indonesian Aerospace

⁽³⁾HSE Department Head of Operational Engineering – Indonesian Aerospace

⁽⁴⁾Division Head of Detail Part Manufacturing - Indonesian Aerospace

⁽⁵⁾Division Head Corporate HR & GA - Indonesian Aerospace

⁽⁶⁾Director of Human Resources - Indonesian Aerospace

⁽⁷⁾ Environmental Professional – Renewable and Non-Renewable Energy

THE EFFECT OF PARTICIPATION, MOTIVATION, INTEREST AND ABILITY OF COMMUNITY IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF FOREST AREAS WITH SPECIAL PURPOSE (KHDTK) AT FOREST HOUSE SIMALUNGUN DISTRICT

ROBERT TUA SIREGAR¹, DEMITA NATALITA PERANGIN-ANGIN²,
STIE Sultan Agung Pematangsiantar, tuasir@gmail.com ²Hery Pandapotan
Silitonga STIE Sultan Agung Pematangsiantar, herysilitonga@gmail.com

INDONESIA GOVERNMENT'S EFFORT TO FACE EU DIRECTIVE REGULATION CONCERNING PALM OIL IN EUROPE

DINI TIARA SASMI

International Relation Study Department / Faculty of Social and Political Sciences /
Islamic University of Riau
(dinitiarasasmi@soc.uir.ac.id)

THE IMPACT OF CORPORATE GOVERNANCE ATTRIBUTES ON TAX PLANNING OF LISTED MANUFACTURING COMPANIES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN NIGERIA AND MALAYSIA

SULE BABA^{1*} MAHMUD BASHIRU²

^{1 2} Department of Accounting

Federal University Gashua-Nigeria

**17.00-18.00: Closing (The Cube, FASS, UM)
Networking, Certificate
Free and leisure**