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ISRSF BEST ESSAYS OF 2014

ISRSF Best Essays of 2014

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Preface

ISRSF conducted two national essay competitions in 2014. One focused on the writings of women authors on any topic, while the other was by any author, man or woman, on the topic of Indonesian history. This book contains the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd prize winners, as well as three honorable mention essays, in each category.

The centerpiece of ISRSF's current work is the Arryman Fellows program, which sends talented young Indonesians to Northwestern University in Chicago, USA, to pursue doctoral studies in the social sciences and humanities.

ISRSF sponsors essay competitions as an instrument to attract the attention of bright Indonesians who may not have heard of the Arryman program. Our Foundation wants to find the most promising, talented, and committed young students who are inclined to pursue a life-long devotion to teaching, research, and scholarship. What better way than a national essay competition to find some of Indonesia's best writers and analysts?

The top three essays in each category receive a cash prize. But they are also guaranteed an interview in the Arryman Fellows selection process if they apply.

This year's Essay Competition for Indonesian Women represents ISRSF's endeavor to make sure Indonesia's most serious young intellectuals come forward and walk through the door we have opened to do their doctorate at Northwestern, one of the leading universities in the US. We believe higher education and the cultivation of new scholars is an important part of the struggle to give women a fair and equal voice in education and public life across Indonesia. We are happy to announce that this essay competition for women authors attracted several brilliant minds, as you will see in their essays.

The Indonesian History Essay Competition proved to be an effective tool for finding Indonesians dedicated to studying history and becoming world-class scholars in that field. In previous years, the Arryman program has attracted many political scientists and sociologists. But it is much harder to find young students dedicated to history. This year's essay competition found a strong crop of such students, and we are delighted most of them applied to become Arryman Fellows.

Indeed, eight out of twelve authors contained in this book decided to apply for the 2015 Arryman Fellows program. And although the interviews and selection process are not yet finished, we are confident that several of them will be selected for the doctoral program.

On behalf of ISRSF, I would like to thank the two Panels of Judges who carefully read and assessed all the essays we received. The judges for the women's essay competition were Ms. Maria Hartiningsih, Ms. Antarini Pratiwi, and Dr. Franscia Seda. The judges for the history essay competition were Dr. Baskara Wardaya, Prof. Peter Carey, and Prof. Bambang Purwanto.

Our sincere thanks to everyone who wrote essays and participated in all aspects of these essay competitions. We hope you enjoy reading these short writings, and perhaps they will inspire some of you to join the essay competition later in 2015 and become an Arryman Fellow as well!

Benny Subianto
ISRSF Executive Director

WOMEN ESSAY

Introduction

“One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman,” Simone de Beauvoir’s formulation to distinguish the terms “sex” and “gender,” can be read as an understanding of women as a construct or an idea, rather than women as individuals (Butler, 1986). But in reality, it draws the parallel between women and other oppressed classes of society. So in the academic world.

The history of science shows the occurrence of gender-based discrimination between women and men scientists. Although history also shows the important discoveries in the history of humanity by women scientists, they are nonetheless, in achievement, in the shadows of their male colleagues.

This is also the case in many other fields, including the social sciences. Even the authors of essays in newspapers and magazines are dominated by men. Over 70 percent of newspaper opinion columnists are male. But, in fact, the issues raised by women columnists are no less important and diverse, while the quality is also far from above standard. Some, such as Julia Suryakusuma, a permanent columnist with *The Jakarta Post*, present a different point of view and perspective from the mainstream, as well as applying very sharp analysis in addressing an issue.

But it is not easy to encourage women to write and demonstrate their abilities. So, it was really fulfilling when a competition was held by the Indonesian Scholarship and Research Support Foundation (ISRSF) that succeeded in appealing to 30 women essay contestants. It was pleasantly surprising because some of the essays were really diverse, well-crafted, provocative, and eye - opening.

Sari Damar Ratri, in her essay “When Harm Reduction Has Not Been Accommodating Drug Users’ Needs,” with an anthropological perspective, succeeded in demonstrating that substitution therapy—such as methadone maintenance treatment that dominates harm reduction programs—fails to acknowledge that most drug users practice poly-drug use and suffer from multiple addictions. Even so, these programs are promoted by many international institutions. Her short research shows there are significant flaws in harm reduction programs that do not improve the drug users’ quality of life by enabling a transformation to a more secure life, but instead leave them in a more precarious situation. Apart from that, she has also started down the path toward formulating a more comprehensive harm reduction program guided by empirically informed insights regarding rehabilitants’ socio-economic experiences.

In her essay “Eco-Friendly Technology Innovation for Women As Invisible Home Workers,” Ana Wijayanti Purnomo cleverly found a different angle by using an ecological approach to women’s economic empowerment and a sustainable development in the process of batik manufacturing through an environmental conceptualization. The gender perspective she used sharpened the analysis of the presence of women as housewives and strengthened their position in the batik industry.

Hana Hanifa, in her interesting essay, “Care Drain from South to North: Feminization of Migration and the Nanny-Maid Dilemma,” offers a perspective on social and demographic changes in gender relations and the feminization of migration. In particular, she focuses on female migrant workers from developing countries working as nannies for upper middle-class households. While it is good that the changing context of gender-relations has satisfied women from both developing and developed countries, the feminization of migration has caused a global care drain that has led to a global care deficit in third world countries.

The essay entitled “One-Dimensional Man: Skin Whitening Series, One-Dimensional Beauty Product Selection by Indonesian Women,” by Nafisah provides a novel perspective on the representation of

domination and control, while at the same time indicates a colonialized mind syndrome that is still strong more than seven decades after Independence. In this case, it is related to myths of beauty: that beauty is about having a white skin complexion, a sharp nose, straight hair, and a slender body. But as Naomi Wolf notes, beauty myths are simply a myth, but their existence is a powerful force in keeping women focused on the purest of beauty and providing both men and women with a way to judge and limit women due to their physical appearance. Magazines, posters, television ads, and social media sites are only some of the many platforms today that perpetuate beauty standards for both men and women.

The essay "Reconstructing and Reviving Gerwani's Identity Through the Act of Writing Back", written by Nurhadianty Rahayu, emphasizes the importance of identity reconstruction of the Gerwani, which in its historical value description was identified with wild erotic dances of the Gerwani women in a "Festivity of Fragrant Flowers," a black campaign by the media in Indonesia between October and December 1965. The article is a denunciation of the forms of domination and control of women's gender and cultural identity.

A sharp criticism of the discourse of gender equality in Indonesia was revealed in "Gender Equality in Indonesia: An Analysis," written by Savitri Nurhayati. She analyzed why discrimination against women in Indonesia is still widely prevalent. Many Indonesian women still fall victim to conventional gender stereotypes, unfair wage and employment opportunities, abuses in different forms, as well as cultural traditions and political laws that promote female subordination.

This is a welcome collection of women authors that presents a range of topics written in English, which adds an additional layer of challenge to the compositions. The pieces are creative and illuminating, and the winners and honorable mentions of the essays competition should be very proud of their achievements.

Maria Hartiningsih
Editor, Kompas Daily

1st
Prize Winner

WHEN HARM REDUCTION HAS NOT BEEN ACCOMMODATING DRUG USERS' NEEDS

By Sari Damar Ratri

Anthropology – University of Indonesia, July 2010

Medical Anthropology and Sociology – University of
Amsterdam, 2014



"Harm reduction is a very popular approach in reduce harms associated with drugs users. In this provocative and original approach to harm reduction, the writer shows the limit of harm reduction. This is an excellent essay that has an eye-opening effect to the reader, and well crafted."

Antarni Pratiwi Arna



Abstract

This study attempts to show the practices of harm reduction implementation for heroin addiction in Indonesia. One of the key arguments in harm reduction is to increase user's productivity so they are less likely to use illicit drugs, not anymore involved in criminal activities or to practice 'risky' behaviours related to HIV transmission (Sarasvita 2009). In that sense, drug substitution therapy exists to promote drug users better living condition since they can enter labor market and engage in other social activities. In fact, I argue that instead of ensuring a productive life and transform drug users into 'normal' persons, harm reduction naturally creates mandatory loneliness because it maintains certain exclusionary socio-economic practices. In this essay I would like to operate Butler's (2004) dichotomy conception of unlivable and livable life that consequently make someone live in precarious life. Instead of creating livable life for the users after they enrolling in harm reduction, users keep on living in vulnerable condition. It shows that there is a huge gap between the rhetoric and practices of harm reduction that hampers drug users to achieve better physical, psychological, and social conditions.

Introduction

The numbers of drug user increased significantly after the fall of the Suharto regime in 1997 (Morrison et al. 2012:95). Since 1990s the low-grade quality heroin, or *putau*, took hold in Indonesia as the largest substance use (Davis et al. 2009). However National Narcotics Board (NNB) and Center for Health Research University of Indonesia's (CHR-UI) data suggest that *putau* use has been declining in the past decade. It has been overtaken by cannabis, amphetamines, and psychoactive prescription drugs (NNB and CHR-UI 2011:61). However, the survey says injection use is still the largest administration route for these substances—except for cannabis (*Ibid*). It means, the distribution of *putau* in Indonesia has been declining but drug use by injection has been increasing. This survey also found in 2011 at least 2,2% of the total population of Indonesia, or about 4 million people, have previously used drugs (NNB and CHR-UI 2011:45).

Harm reduction as globally accepted system of knowledge to deal with addiction problematic sets of values to become normatively human. My argument inspired by the harm reduction's definition from the International Harm Reduction Association (IHRA) that states "Harm reduction programs are used to reduce the adverse health, social, and economic consequences of the use of legal and illegal psychoactive drugs *without necessarily reducing drug consumption*," (2010, emphasis by the author). In that sense, drug users do not necessarily reduce their consumption of drugs to achieve better quality of life. Thus, some scientists have examined that harm reduction considered a more practical solution due to a decreasing faith in the government's ability to eliminate drug use (Hathaway 2001; Hawks 1993). Furthermore, harm reduction approaches rely upon the utilitarian calculations of balancing costs and benefits to the government (Pauly 2007; Hathaway, 2001). Thus, harm reduction implementation, for me, is some kind of an instrumental strategy to deal with addiction by switching from illegal to legal substances. Thus I can claim that in Indonesia, addiction problems that goes beyond the practical strategy do not considered as important as switching illegal to legal drug use.

The aim of this study was to seek an ethnographic understanding of harm reduction as therapeutic programs to overcome addiction, based on patients' experiences. It is based on three months of ethnographic research among methadone users in South Jakarta, Indonesia. During February to April 2014, I was 'hanging out' in Fatmawati National Hospital and Tebet Primary Care clinic. The whole narration only makes sense through reflective interpretation—gained from 'being there' as an ethnographer. Through anthropological frameworks, I am eager to hear the patients' opinions and experiences of harm reduction, and how it influences their lives. It stands on a position to discover users' lives from their own point of view. Only through this that I will be able to grasp an ethnographic understanding that is valuable and often missing in the stories of drug users in Indonesia.

By using the concept of a precarious life from Butler (2004), it shows that drug users are live in the *indefinite detention* as repercussion from the strained relation between unlivable and livable lives. Drug users may

encounter common social stigmatization, in which they are viewed as criminals, weak people, or deviants. Therefore, the 'enemy' for the drug user community in harm reduction is not the drug itself, but the shame, stigma, and the sense of powerlessness (Gowan et.al. 2012:1254). Harm reduction is a way in which drug users can be considered normatively human ((Butler, 2004:xv) In that sense, the discourse of harm reduction does not regard drug users as normatively human, but instead its logic builds upon the differentiation of people, which reproduces labels and stigma for addicts. Therefore, labelling and stigmatisation are part of the programs themselves and perpetuate the perception of drug users living unlivable lives. Under these circumstances—the concepts of harm, multiple inequities, and stigma—it is difficult for drug users to transform their unlivable lives to livable ones and become 'normal' people. Through this angle, the implementation of harm reduction in Indonesia makes drugs users life keep on living unlivable life because it never stands on users' needs.

Harm Reduction as The Response of Drug Use: A Discrepancy?

It was a national headline news that the capital city of Jakarta had the highest prevalence of HIV/AIDS cases from 2009-2013 (Tempo 2013). The significant impacts of this statistical data led to the introduction of harm reduction through methadone treatment to prevent the loss of productive members of society (Sarasvita 2009:7). There was a belief that problems of addiction in Jakarta would bring negative impacts on the city's master plan. Thus, in 2003 as a response to HIV and IDUs, the methadone maintenance treatment for replacing opioid dependences jointly introduced policies in Jakarta and Bali (Sarasvita *et al.* 2012). A year after, in the new era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, government agencies embarked on identifying international funding for Indonesia. In 2006, a decree from Ministry of Health No. 567/MENKES/SK/VIII/2006 became a guide for harm reduction implementation. However, according to NNB and CHR-UI's survey in 2011, Jakarta still ranks as the area with the highest population of people using drugs, with men being 3,6% higher than women (NNB and CHR-UI 2011:47). In this respect, I examined the gap between the implementation program and the users' lives, who struggle with their dependence on substances to become 'normal' members of society.

Harm reduction programs in Indonesia rely largely on the amount of money from international funding agencies to combat HIV transmissions. Therefore, the main focus of harm reduction programs is distribution of clean needles for IDUs. In 2010, Indonesia planned that at least 30% of the country's injecting drug users would have access to opiate substitute, and 70% would have access to sterile needle distribution (Morrison *et al.* 2012:96). This goal was a part of the Memorandum of Understanding between NNB and National AIDS Commission (NAC) that witnessed by President Megawati in 2003 (*Ibid*). However, the focus of harm reduction in eliminating HIV transmission among IDUs by distributing clean needles, in fact, is problematic for the Indonesian government emphasizes more on the normalization of addiction through substitution drugs therapy i.e. methadone and subuxone.

In carrying out the National Action Plan 2010-2014, the total funding needed to cover the program to impede HIV transmission is equivalent with US\$ 1.1 billion (National AIDS Commission Secretary 2009:44). Furthermore, the budget is targeting IDUs as the priority population target. In which needle/syringe distribution is the main activity. Local NGOs in Jakarta have their own autonomy to purchase the needles that they want to distribute, although they also have to deliver clean needles from Ministry of Health that are dropped off by Primary Care Clinics (*Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat/Puskesmas*). The problem is that IDUs do not like the syringe from the primary care clinics.

As the example, 'Basecamp PPK-UI'—one of the local NGOs of harm reduction in Jakarta—always buy syringes with the brand name *Terumo* according to what the IDUs ask for, but the primary care clinics buy syringes with the brand name *Fresco*. All IDUs in Jakarta get used to using *Terumo*, and they also mention that the syringes are a better quality than the other brand. Sometimes they find that *Fresco's* needle is not as sharp as the other brand, so they feel pain when they use the needle; worse, they even find that the piston of the syringe is easily broken. One time I found a guy complaining to Veny, "No I don't like *Fresco*, I would prefer to use second-hand *Terumo* than use *Fresco*," said Ronald one time when Veny was

distributing *Fresco*. In this sense a decision to use the money for clean needles supplies was not in favour for the IDUs' since it is not accommodating their needs. Consequently, there might be such waste amount of money that only use to buy boxes of unused clean needles.

Despite the story of low quality clean needles availabilities, I would like to focus on the harm reduction's aims to improve users' living condition by accessing substitution drugs treatment. The designation of substitution use for drug users are to open the same opportunity as non-drug users on employment. Since drug users are no longer using illegal drugs, the government of Indonesia desired to return them into productive members of society which is understood as an appropriate social standard. However, when drug users already in methadone treatment, my ethnographic research among methadone users in Fatmawati National Hospital and Tebet Clinics shows that they are difficult to manage between their treatment and the job they have.

In methadone maintenance treatment, many of drug rehabilitants in methadone center started to use other psychoactive drug. In the beginnings of the treatment, it is common to prescribe anti-depressant for drug rehabilitants. It uses to deal with withdrawal symptoms. However, many of drug rehabilitants are still using benzodiazepine in order to overcome their anxiety and their chronic sleeping problems while they are in the therapy. Because of the use of anti-depressant without prescription is prohibited while rehabilitants are in the therapy, they will lose their privilege to get their take home doze.

Take home doze is the salvation of a patient on methadone maintenance—this privilege is used for patients who cannot come to the clinics to get the methadone on a daily basis. Most of the users take advantage of the take home doze in order to minimize time consumed in going to the hospital/clinics. They use the time instead for other activities such as working. To get take home doze privilege, in the random urine test, the result only allowed to contain one kind substance i.e. methadone. Thus, when the majority of methadone users are using tranquilizer, they automatically lose their take home doze. In that sense, they cannot go to work anymore, since they have to go to the clinics in order to get their methadone everyday.

Beside of that all services are run during office hours and mostly during the day when most of the users are still working—while those who work at night spend the day resting. To be absent from their job—or to lose the possibility to get some rest—in order to access the treatment will only cause another 'harm'. It can be easily found that many drug users quit their job to retain the therapy. In that sense, the harm reduction's goal to increase users' productivity has failed, because it prevents drug users to achieve their better quality of life. Thus, I claim, harm reduction is not a transformation process to become a normal member society, but a continuous reproduction of precariousness for drug users in Indonesia.

The pragmatic program of harm reduction does not only hamper health seeking behaviours among rehabilitants by giving punishment to take away take home doze privilege, but also fails to provide any insights that might be useful to manage their therapy. There is a discrepancy between rhetoric and practice of harm reduction implementation. Substitution therapy in Indonesia stands only on the use of legal substances, neglecting users' aspirations to improve relationships, engaging in meaningful activities, acquiring material possession and achieving better mental and physical health. Therefore, I argue, the implementation of substitution therapy failed to focus on the actions to improve users' quality of life. It might be happening due to pessimism to think about drug users' needs, instead stakeholders most focus only to normalized addiction but never seek further solution that can be best for drug addicts.

Concluding Remarks

Drug rehabilitants may not be addicted to *putau* anymore, but they are now addicted to methadone and some psychoactive drugs as the result of instrumental program that focus only by changing illegal to legal substances. Furthermore, substitution therapy, such as methadone maintenance treatment, dominates harm reduction programs in Indonesia. The government of Indonesia is much more interested in normalizing addiction through substitution therapy. Thus the money from international funding agencies for HIV prevention is used to establish methadone centers and to buy low-quality syringes that are useless to drug users.

Moreover, harm reduction fails to acknowledge that most drugs users practice poly-drug use and suffer from multiple addictions. Methadone only directed at substituting heroin. They do not address addictions to tranquilizers and other drugs. In practice, when engaging in substitution therapy, my informants continue to use a spate of other drugs.

The government health policy makers expect drug users to go back to work when using substitution therapy. However, as substance users, the availability of work is limited—not to mention that the therapy mechanisms often disrupt the jobs they have. While some people can focus on their work, substitution patients struggle to deal with their therapy, too. In fact, the findings show that substitution therapy isolates users from having a job.

My research time for this project was limited, which confined the scope and length of my research. Nonetheless, I hope that with this study, I showed that there are significant flaws in harm reduction programs that do not improve drug users' quality of life by enabling a transformation to a more secure life, but instead leaving them in a precarious situation. With this research, I have set foot on the road to comprehensive harm reduction programs guided by empirically informed insights regarding rehabilitants' socio-economic experiences. Research over a longer period of time would contribute to an even greater understanding of the workings of harm reduction programs and the improvements needed to really enable drug users to make their lives livable.

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2nd Prize Winner

ECO-FRIENDLY TECHNOLOGY INNOVATION FOR WOMEN AS INVISIBLE HOME WORKERS

By Ana Wijayanti Purnomo

Biology – Satyawacana Christian University, 2002

PPs. - Magister of Biology, 2009



"Even though there have been many themes written on batik, this essay takes on a different and smart angle by using ecofeminism, women economic empowerment, and sustainable development approaches. The author employs a very sharp gender perspective to strengthen the position of women. It is a truly exceptional, well crafted, and well argued essay. Superb!"

Maria Hartiningsih
Editor, Kompas Daily



Introduction

Batik has been believed in Indonesia since the days of Majapahit kingdom and became very popular at the end of the 18th century or the early 19th century. At the past time, batik was produced by hand (writing batik) until the beginning of the 20th century. While stamp batik has been known after the First World War or around 1920s (Donaheu, 1981; Tj, 2011). Before enter into the industrialization era and knowing a synthetic material, the ancient people used a natural dye to coloring the textile product (cloth) include for batik. They got a source of natural dye from extract of plant parts like seeds, fruit, leaves, wood, and roots. Based on economic issues lately, batik industry is become one of the economic strength for Indonesia especially in Central Java as creative industrial center like in Yogyakarta, Solo, Cirebon, Tuban, Lasem and Pekalongan (Paramita,2014). The report from Indonesian Trade Ministry (2012), the data about a value of batik production in 2011 are increased became 3.9 quintillion. It also reported that in the period from 2008 to 2012, the average growth of exports of batik became 33,83 % (Hunga , 2014).

Batik has a special meaning for Indonesia, it is like a identity for the country. Batik has been known not just as a fashion, but if looked into the content of the pattern or motif its have a deep cultural values and history. Until now, batik in Indonesia have survived and fit into recent world's high fashion trend (Saddhono et.al., 2014). Sewan (1982 in Tj,2011:73) said that batik is a cultural art which has a special characteristic because constitute a combination of technology and art. The other meaning of batik is a mixture of motif/design and coloring art with dyeing and removing wax processes. Batik cloth in Indonesia has been very popular for especially in Java, that used for special events such as tradition custom, ceremony of marriage or as daily cloth. The characteristics of Indonesian batik are in the production process which used block immersion technique, its used batik wax with special formula and the specific motives are composed from the ornaments which have meaning a beauty, its a symbolic that significance with the personality of Indonesian nation.

According to the manner of sticking wax, the group of batik called handwriting, stamp and painting batik. In the sight of international, some countries also have a production resembles with batik, like in India, Thailand, Turkestan, and Japan. Known by the name kalamkari in India, phanung in Thailand, bhokara in Turkestan, rokechi in Japan and in China called loo chan because the technique is little different that is using sap of plants for blocking and the cloth always dipped in blue color or its called blue cloth (Tj, 2011). Ismunandar (1985 in Tj, 2011:75) Among of the countries, kalamkari from India is the one of technique that still left until now. Different from Indonesia, batik production is still survived and derived from generation to generation. The existence of batik in Indonesia also has been recognized by UNESCO in 2009 and announce that batik is a wealth culture and identity for Indonesia (Menperindag, 2009 in Hunga, 2013:181).

Based on UNESCO announcement will make Indonesia to maintain the batik existence. The impact of that is batik production in Indonesia become increase and in the same time also causing a pollutant especially for producers and workers. In Indonesia batik production process used POS (Putting Out System), where most of the process produced by home-worker (HW) and families. Also the production system majority are do in out of factory or its done in home. In society batik was identical with women and women is became a central role for the process, because its observe associated with the women stereotype. Process of batik need a feminist characteristic, it requires tenderness, patience, and nicety. By POS batik production area performed at home is mean that production process using women area. The effect of that is women area automatically will be tainted by dangerous materials from batik production and also be potential to disrupt for other family members health (Hunga, 2013; Hunga, 2014). The types of waste which may be generated from the process of batik production are derived from solid waste like wax, dust of cotton and dust of chemical dye, then derived from liquid waste are chemical color, washing and boiling process, and the last is derived from gaseous waste are emission, smell, CO, CO₂ and SO₂ (Suhartini, 2011). Several prominent diseases which caused by batik waste are respiratory system disorder, skin disease, kidney disorder, women reproduction system disorder and waist painfull because sitting in short chair (dingklik) for long time (Hunga, 2014).

The characteristic of production by POS is use a labor which known as Home-Worker or Home-Based. In this case, the labor had no formal work ties with their entrepreneur, so its will made a phenomenon that the working relationship was became informal and exploit. The actor of batik production process still separated by capitalism, its mean that the working room, productivity, and income are become the dominant areas for men which have a role as premier wage earner. Based on that, until now women as central home-workers of batik still identified as unproductive workers and just had special role as housewife to serve their husband and child at home. By POS, the house have an overlapping meaning, that have function as batik production and reproduction area (women area). The impact of that phenomenon for women home-workers are production activities in their house cant valued equivalent as work place to produce money. House has not been seen as a dangerous place for industrial waste, production process is regarded as odd, not continuously, and the amount of production is little. Other opinions, work in batik industry for momen considered as add job, different for men that is as main job. Since a long time ago, utilization of women home-workers as a labor with cheap salary is still happening (Hunga, 2013). The other problems for women home-workers of batik are the average of them have a low level of education. So a they still have less knowledge about technology.

Eco-friendly technology innovation with organic waste and non-waste utilization

Environmental pollution in batik production area fact can carrying negative effects for human health. To solve that problem so need a kind of inovation or development study is like sustainable development program. According by Brundtland (1987) the definition of sustainable development is "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". Sustainable development have three principles are social improvement, environmental concern and futurity (Mawhinney, 2002). International conference in Geneva on 20-23 June 1995 also had discussion about Ecolabelling and Environmental topics and the meeting made agreement about prohibition of dyestuffs especially containing an azo because its predicted can cause for skin cancer (Hunga, 2013). The one kind of strategy for eco-friendly technology innovation is resurrect the natural dye resources from waste or non-waste. Indonesia have natural resources plentiful, but sometimes meet several problems like the materials are limited in one place, the existence of materials are difficult, the materials are essential to human life for food and medicine and the materials are endemic in one place. Another alternative for natural dye resources of batik industry is using organic waste like iron redwood (suren) sawdust (Toona sureni), silk tree (sengon) wood (*Albizia folcata*) (Soetjipto et.al., 2013), mahogany wood (*Swietenia mahogany*) (Prayitno, et.al., 2003) and tea waste (*Camellia sinensis*) (Padmasari, 2012). Utilization of organic waste like tea waste is potential for natural dye resource, also its can be one solution for waste treatment. One example is found in tea industry with producing solid and liquid waste. There are many tea companies in Indonesia still made environmental pollution by unprocessing tea waste (Terranet, 2005 in Kustanti, 2007). Tea waste can obtained from tea industries of tea drinks pack, household or other food and beverage stand. Like in case of one tea industry is PT. Sinar Sosro could produce 22.500 kg per month of tea waste and the company could not handled properly so its just stacked at the dump temporary. Other data said that solid tea waste produced by tea factories can be reached 400 kg per day, so in one month can reach to 12 tonnes (Rahayu and Nurhayati, 2005). From the one of cafe in Salatiga city can produce \pm 3 kg per week of solid tea waste.

Tea waste as natural dye for batik industry

In visualization of tea waste has greeny brown color and in chemical its can be categorized as tannin. According by Francis (2002) tea extract has been used as brown coloring especially for food in many centuries. Recently investigated about utilization of tea waste for batik and textile dye are started, which its can be extracted from the green tea leaves waste (Padmasari, 2012) or black tea leaves waste (Wijayapala,2013). The Center of Gender Research and Studies-Satya Wacana Christian University (CGRS-SWCU) is one of the research institution that already doing a research on batik industry issue since 1999. Now this research institute continuing and making a development of the research topic with theme about eco-friendly batik and use tea waste as a natural dye for the workshop. A natural color substance as

mordant group like tea waste extract requires a metal to make a form complex compound, so the color could strongly be bound in the cotton and its process known as color locking/fixation. The common locker/fixer materials used in production are lime (CaCO_3), alum ($\text{Al}_2(\text{SO}_4)_3$) and lotus (FeSO_4) (Soetjipto, et.,al., 2013).

The batikting of a piece of cotton must be performed stage by stage and each stage is worked by a different person (Hamzuri, 1981). The formula of tea waste colorant is 1 kg dried solid tea waste boiled into 3,5 liters in hot water for ± 1 hour or until the water is decrease become 50%. After cooling step, the extract of tea waste is filtered and the liquid part was been taken for precipitated a night. Then the solution of the upper part is used for cotton dyeing. Mordanting of cotton is do before the dyieng process, then cotton cuted become small pieces for catalogue scale experiment. The next is cotton immerse into tea waste solution and rised it with the air. These activities are done repeatedly for 5-15 times. The results of this experiment are: a) brown color in cotton without fixation, b) brown-yellow color in cotton with alum fixation and c) dark green-grey color in cotton with lotus fixation. Other research using tea waste for batik in catalouge scale also has been done by Padmasari (2012).

Invisible women home-workers and eco-friendly technology

Utilization of tea waste for natural dye resource for batik is proven. Based on the research so eco-friendly technology innovation using tea waste is the one example for supporting the sustainable development principles. Using tea waste as natural colorant bring three kinds of important aim are for tea waste treatment, being new technology for home-worker and for eco-friendly batik product labell. Experiment of tea waste as natural dye for batik is done in Salatiga batik comunitiee which build by CGRS-UKSW institution. If this training is succeeded in Salatiga comunitiee so will bring a new study for other batik comunitiees. Eco-friendly labell have high value as health product and will be save to wear for consumer. The implementation of eco-friendly innovation technology using tea waste will build a transfer knowledge for batik communities, women home-workers, consumers, institutions, and national and international organitations. Start from using tea waste will be a trigger for women home-workers to learn about technology, skill, and eco-friendly knowledges. The goals of this training are to bring women home-workers to participate in Fair Trade market and SDGs program in 2015, so women not as invisible home-workers any more.

Conclusion

Based on the first research shows that tea waste extract can used for batik industry as natural dyeing. To improving the utilization of tea waste as natural dye of batik industry still need a continuation research to make sure that tea waste can suport for batik production and ready to compete in the market. Because of in batik process need color variations to get a good product so in the next research will investigate about a treatment of colorant techniques like dyeing process with fixation, wax aplication on the natural color of the cotton and combination of tea waste extract with other natural resources as colorant. By this training in workshop so the women home-workers can learn about technology, skill, and eco-freindly theories.

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3rd Prize Winner

CARE DRAIN FROM SOUTH TO NORTH: FEMINIZATION OF MIGRATION AND THE NANNY-MAID DILEMMA

By Hana Hanifah

International Relations Studies – University
of Indonesia, July 2014



"This is an very interesting writing on social demographic shift of female migrant workers from developing countries working as au pairs (nannies) for upper middle class households. It is a crucial contribution for the general public, activists, as well as policymakers since it has critical consequences for women as well as for society in the future."

Dr. Francisia Seda
Sociologist, University of Indonesia.



"If there's a good woman behind every great man, behind every great woman there's a good nanny." –Susan Cheever¹

Nanny has become a necessity for modern women to sustain their family. As mothers in first world countries pursue their careers, they need somebody else to take care of their children and household. Thus begin the quest of finding nannies and maids to fill in the absence of care that the mothers in first world countries can no longer give to their children and household 24/7. However, not all mothers can afford to pay high qualified nannies or maids from high quality agencies. Therefore, the demand for cheaper nannies and maids rose, pulled women from third world countries to migrate to first world countries to take care of those career-mothers' children. While the children in first world countries now have two mommies, children in third world countries left with none. Indeed, many nannies and maids left their children in third world countries with other family member, such as the grandmother or the aunt, but many reports indicate that the love these children get is not the same. This hidden, and most of the time overlooked, problem is the main issue in the essay.

Feminization of Migration and the Nanny-Maid Dilemma

The term "feminization of migration" commonly understood as a concept to describe the changing phenomenon of migration, in which women have taken the lead. But according to Hania Zlonik, the term is misleading because it suggests an absolute increase in the proportion of women who migrate, when the truth is women already made up nearly 47% of all international migrants by 1960s.² Although it is true that there has been significant increase of the number of women who migrate in some regions, what really changed is the fact that there are more women who migrate independently in search of jobs to sustain their family, rather than as dependant wives who travel to live with their husband abroad.³

In some regions, the record of women migration is even higher than men. From 191 million international migrants registered in 2005, 94.5 million were women, and the number is increasing year by year.⁴ Most of these women traveled from developing countries to developed countries in search of better opportunity for work, just like the men. Around two million Asian women were working in neighboring countries in 2000. More than 65% of migrating population from the Philippines that went abroad for work in 2005 was women. Indonesian women who left the country to work abroad between 2000 and 2003 took over 79% of all Indonesia's population who migrated. Most of these Asian women migrate to the Middle East to work as domestic workers.⁵ The mobility of Latin American and Caribbean, and African women is also high, especially in terms of labor migration.⁶

The increasing number of women who migrate can be related to the changing context of labor market globally. In recent decades, there has been massive demand for cheap women labor from developed countries, especially to fill in the growing demand for caregivers. Other than that, the migration of women can also be related to the failure of economic system or policies in developing countries that caused the increasing number of unemployment, diminishing social services and increasing poverty rate.

The increasing number of women who migrate can be related to the changing context of labor market globally. In recent decades, there has been massive demand for cheap women labor from developed countries, especially to fill in the growing demand for caregivers. Other than that, the migration of women

1. Susan Cheever in Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild (ed.), *Global Woman – Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2002), 31.
2. Hania Zlonik, "The Global Dimensions of Female Migration," accessed from <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=109> in 24th May, 2013, 10.09 AM.
3. Cesar Nicolas Penson, *Feminization of Migration – UN Instraw Working Paper 1*, UN Instraw, (2007).
4. Arlie Russell Hochschild, "Love and Gold" in Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild (ed.), *Global Woman – Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2002), 16.
5. UNFPA, *UNFPA State of World Population 2006 – A Passage to Hope, Women and International Migration*, UNFPA, (2006), 23.
6. Ibid.

can also be related to the failure of economic system or policies in developing countries that caused the increasing number of unemployment, diminishing social services and increasing poverty rate.⁷

Despite all the reasons, the overall development of feminization of migration owed so much to the changing context of gender relations that works as the push and pull factor. Social acceptance to the women who become the breadwinner for the family has made the feminization of migration, especially for the purpose of labor migration, acceptable and sometimes endorsed by the government. Some governments of developing countries even actively encourage women to migrate and become domestic workers in richer countries. The promotion that was done by government relates to the increasing amount of remittances from migrant women, which contributes to the increasing welfare of the society in general.⁸ This explains as the push factor of the feminization of migration.

Gender relations in developed countries also attract migration of nannies and maids. When the number of women in North America, Western Europe and East Asia who enter the workforce increased, the demand for nannies and maids to give sufficient care for their children and their household also increased. In the United States alone, the proportion of working women with children under the age of six increased from 15% in 1950 to more than 65% in 2006. Despite this transformation, the shift of burden that would have carried more men to share equal household responsibility has not yet occurred. Adding to that problem, the lack of family-friendly policy and childcare facilities also contribute to the importance of hiring nannies and maids for those who can afford it.⁹ This explains as the pull factors of the increasing trend of migration for women in developing countries to become domestic worker.

If we look at the big picture, feminization of migration provides a good story. Microscopically, however, it reflects complicated relations between nannies and maids, their employers, and their family at home. While there are still no statistics that can show us precisely the number of migrant women who left their children to the care of other family member, the data shows that most of the women who migrate are between the age of 25 and 34, the range of productive age where women usually expected to get married and have children.¹⁰ Therefore, it is enough to say that along with the global care chain there has been global care drain.

Global care drain is characterized by the increasing global inequality of care. The problem of inequality arose from the condition in which the children of first world countries have so much care from their mother, the nannies and the maids, while the children of third world countries do not receive sufficient care because of the absence of their mother and the lack of ability of the family members who take care of them. An estimated 30% of children in the Philippines, or around eight millions, live in households where at least one parent has migrated overseas. The same condition also happen in Africa, India, Sri Lanka, Latin America and other developing countries.¹¹ These children are reported to have performance issues. It is said that these migrant workers' children more frequently feel ill, more likely to express anger, confusion and apathy, and they also performed quiet poorly in school. Other studies reported that these children have bigger tendency to be involved in delinquency and suicide.¹² This is quite a loss for developing countries that need many brilliant next generation to build the country.

The problem of these children relates to the emotional deprivation that they experience because there are not enough attention and care. The love that they suppose to receive from their mother is exported to the children in first world countries as their mother left them to gain economic benefit. Even though according to Rhacel Salazar Parrenas there have been some efforts of communication between the family members

7. Cesar Nicolas Penson, *loc.cit.*

8. *Ibid.*, 7.

9. UNFPA, *loc.cit.*, 25.

10. *Ibid.*, 358.

11. Arlie Russell Hochschild, "Love and Gold," Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild (ed.), *Global Woman – Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2002), 22.

12. *Ibid.*

and migrant mothers to ease the emotional strain of the children and there are also some children who mature enough to understand that their mother is doing everything only for the sake of the children itself,¹³ we still cannot conclude that the problem of care drain is solved. It is a common knowledge that a mother's love can never be replaced by anything in the world. And as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of the Child signifies, it is important for the global community to fulfill one of the most basic rights of children, which is to have the atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding. Therefore, it is important to call for attention to this problem, and try to solve it.

The Nanny-Maid Dilemma and the Need to Transform Gender Relations

Migration affects gender relations, and vice versa. In the case of global care drain, gender relations have created dilemma in the relations of career mothers in first world countries and the nannies and maids from third world countries. While it is good that the mothers in first world countries have empowered themselves and have sustainable career, they also face the dilemma of leaving their own children with other women from other country. For the nannies and maids, the dilemma is much bigger. While it is also good that they can go across the sea to provide income for their family, these nannies and maids have to leave their own children for years in order to do something to make their life better.

To solve this dilemma, many people believe in government's role. Many people said that government can eliminate discriminatory policies and make better policies so that these migrant women can have better employment opportunity. Government also has to give better attention to the problem of care drain and accommodate the children with emotional problems with better mechanism. Other than that, the government also has been pushed to create better development in developing countries so that people can have wider opportunity of employment as well as better and equal access to social services, and, of course, reduce the number of poor people.¹⁴

We, however, cannot rely solely on government to solve this problem for it is related with much more fundamental problem of gender relations itself. To change the fate of global care drain is to change the link in the global care chain. We need to really deconstruct the idea of gender relations. Of course, it is easier to be said than done and the process will take so much time that maybe the problem will no longer exist anymore because by then human can assign robots to become nannies or maids. But indeed, it is always better to suggest a solution rather than knowing a problem without doing anything.

Basically, if we look at the description of the problem, the trend of women migration from developing countries is mainly pulled by the increasing demand of domestic workers in developed countries. Yes, there are other factors in the developing countries that pushed the women to migrate, but if there is no demand coming from developed countries, these women will not be pulled there and probably will find some ways to survive and sustain their economy in their home country. Therefore, it is important to eliminate the demand from the developed countries. This demand can be eliminated if we change the paradigm of gender relations because the demand itself raises from the problematic and taken-for-granted gender relations.

Many people believe that the current gender relation, which is implemented in most of the Western countries and has inspired women in other countries, is a progress that needs to be celebrated. It is said to improve gender equality because now women can enjoy as many thing as men, from having a career, a family, a social life, and do it all without disturbing one another. The idea that women now can go to work, can pursues a job millions mile away from home to be the breadwinner of the family, is something to be proud of because women now can do things that men do. While it is indeed good that women now have the choices and chances to become independent as men have, this is not represent gender equality

13. *Ibid.*

14. UNFPA, "A Mighty but Silent River: Women and Migration," in *UNFPA State of World Population 2006 – A Passage to Hope, Women and International Migration*, UNFPA, (2006).

because this only signifies the superiority of patriarchal norms. Yes, women are liberated, but they have it by following the standards in the “world of men.” The indicators of success that the society uses right now, which is to have a sustainable and brilliant career, to have large income and own some materials or assets, is as much patriarchal as it was centuries ago. What most feminist do right now to empower women is actually transforming women into more like men – or to use other term, “masculinizing” women, rather than make the world see that being a women is just as good – or even better – as being a man. Global gender relations that the society celebrates are the one that perpetuate the dominance of men.

Then, to solve the problem of care drain is to “feminize” women or “feminize” feminism. The term refers to efforts in order to change the idea of gender relations to be more neutral, in which there is no longer work distinction, especially in private sphere. The society must change their perspective and see the responsibilities of nurturing child, maintaining household and other responsibilities in private sphere are the burden for both women and men that needed to be shared professionally. We have to begin to think that becoming a housewife is just as good as becoming a CEO in multinational company, as long as it was a decision made based on rational consent and sufficient information. Men and women must begin to share their responsibility professionally, not based on the constructed sexist meaning of “natural” gender relations.

Conclusion

Feminization of migration is happening, and has become something that is inevitable because of the changing nature of gender relations across the globe. While it is good that the changing context of gender relations has satisfied both women from developing and developed countries, the feminization of migration has caused global care drain that leads to global care deficit in third world countries. Since the problem is caused by changing relations of women and men, it is also must be solved by deconstructing the relations of women and men. We need to make the job of caregivers as something that is not degrading or embarrassing to do for women or men, and involve more men in the burden sharing of household and child care. This will not only equalize care distribution across the globe, but also equalize women and men, especially in the private sphere.

RECONSTRUCTING AND REVIVING GERWANI'S IDENTITY THROUGH THE ACT OF WRITING BACK

By Nurhadianty Rahayu

Language Art – University of Jakarta, February 2010

Arts – Aligarh Muslim University - India, 2013



The term 'Gerwani' or Gerakan Wanita Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Movement) has been long associated with the idea of debauchery, immorality horrible sexual deprivation as well as perversion. This historical negative identity is derived from New Order regime's representation of the organization toward the killing of army generals during the coup on 1st October 1965. Gerwani was believed to take part in the sadistic immoral sexual mutilation of those generals before eventually thrown to the pit of unused well called *Lubang Buaya* (Crocodile Hole), a training field for PKI affiliated organizations for Malaysia campaign.

The attempts of reclaiming Gerwani's repressed identity have been executed in several research and books, such as those by Wieringa (1985), (1996), (2010), (2009), (2011); Karsono (2005), Roosa (2006) translated to Indonesian language in 2008; Drakeley (2007) and Hearman (2005). Gerwani is believed to be politically used as a tool to justify Suharto's regime's mass killing to combat Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) which he saw as "a tsunami of treason and evil, revealing something profoundly wrong with Sukarno's state." Even though, the target of 1965's people's massacre was to destroy communist ideology and all its activists, sympathizers and affiliated organizations, the focus of the essay will be on the identity killing of Gerwani by New Order regime during the 1965 putsch.

Suharto's regime instilled the society with his massive propaganda through several medium, such as a compulsory film entitled '*Pemberontakan G 30 S/PKI*' (The Treason of September 30th Movement/PKI), which has always been played every year in national television, a historical site called *Lubang Buaya* monument and through school textbooks. Through those two vital propaganda media embedded in the young generation's education, the negative framing of Gerwani to destruct communism is highlighted. Thus the New Order regime's construction on Gerwani as the suspect in the sexual mutilation of six conservative generals in *Lubang Buaya* (Crocodile Hole) was the most essential ideological factor. Gerwani was described performing a dance, named *Tarian Harum Bunga* (Fragrant Flowers Dance) naked while cutting the generals' sexual organs and scattering their dead bodies before throwing them to the well.

I am investigating the act of writing back to challenge the still existing constructed negative identity of Gerwani by The New Order regime during and even after its thirty-two-year rule. The initial identity of Gerwani has to be reconstructed. Saskia E. Wieringa is one of many scholars who dedicated her writing to reveal the forgotten sexual politics played during Suharto's road to presidency (through the 1965 mass killing) in his attempt to beat Sukarno's popularity. Another reclaim of Gerwani's identity is scrutinized in Drakeley's paper entitled '*Lubang Buaya: Myth, Mysogyny and Massacre*'. In his analysis, excerpts from national newspapers are taken as evidence on how unjust Gerwani was immorally pictured by the ruling power. The New Order version of 1965 mass killing is also challenged in Hearman's research (2009), taking interviews and memoirs writing to be the tool of reconstructing history by challenging the oppressed politics of memory fabricated by the ruling power.

Historical Construction and Reconstruction

Gerwani was initially named Gerwis, which stands for *Gerakan Wanita Sedar* (Alert Women's Movement),⁶ which was initially established to be a non political movement. However, because both PKI and Gerwani

1. Wieringa (1985), (1996), (2010); Drakeley (2007); Karsono (2005);

2. John Roosa (2006) p 17

3. Rio Apinino. *Gerwani dan Perjuangan Politik Perempuan*. Left Book Review Edisi XV Indoproggress. 2013. Taken from indoproggress.com accessed on November 24th, 2014.

4. Wieringa (1996); Drakeley (2007)

5. Saskia E. Wieringa. *Sexual Metaphors in the Change from Soekarno's Old Order to Soeharto's New Order in Indonesia*. The Hague, Institute of Social Studies: 1996. P 7. Also see Wieringa 1985.

6. It was founded in June 4th, 1950 and consisted in six women organization: *Rukun Putri Indonesia* from Semarang, *Persatuan Wanita Sedar* from Surabaya, *Isteri Sedar* from Bandung, *Gerakan Wanita Indonesia* from Kediri, *Wanita Madura and Perjuangan Putri Republik Indonesia* from Pasuruan. (Rio Apinino. *Gerwani dan Perjuangan Politik Perempuan*. Left Book Review Edisi XV Indoproggress, 2013.)

shared similar ideology, i.e focused on dismissing feudalism and capitalism⁷ that caused a big social gap due to unjust distribution of prosperity, they got affiliated. I underline the pattern in this proposal as the awareness of PKI that sees Gerwani or women's organization as an essential motor to generate a more massive socioeconomic and sociopolitical change. I argue that it is because of women's psychological diplomatic approach that can touch the shared feeling of injustice toward women's oppression by patriarchal society in particular and capitalism in general.

Gerwani had a big amount of followers; this could happen because of its closeness with little people (*orang kecil*), such as peasants' organization (*Himpunan Tani Indonesia often abbreviated as HTI*) and particularly oppressed women who had no choice other than accepting polygamy. Its members actively played their roles in political arena to propose a more democratic marriage law, open a broader women's literacy movement and persuade a more distributed prosperity.

The 1965 mass killing is thus seen as the end of women's progressive movement for it annihilated Gerwani for the representation of 'Red Whore'⁸, perversion and immorality. Black campaign was spread out to the whole nation that Gerwani was accused as showing sexual debauchery toward the dead bodies of army generals in *Lubang Buaya*, which Wieringa found untrue.⁹ Van Dijk stated that "dominant institution may influence the structure of text and talk in such a way, that as a result, the knowledge, attitudes, norms, values and ideologies of recipients are affected in the interest of the dominant group through access to and control over public discourse and communication."¹⁰ Therefore, through mass media framing and black campaign manifested in school text books, four-hour documentary film about PKI Treason and Lubang Buaya monument, Suharto and his cronies fabricated the presentation of Gerwani as the most dangerous and disgusting element of godless and immoral communism.

Referring to Fairclough, the discourse, through which Gerwani was constructed, was "an important form of social practice which both reproduces and changes knowledge, identities and social relations including power relations, and at the same time is also shaped by other social practices and structures."¹¹ Suharto and his New Order regime were the reproducer and the change maker of society's initial knowledge about, identity of and social relation with Gerwani. This is a form of Suharto's reinforcing his power while Gerwani's continuous movement to reveal its destroyed identity is the challenge to the oppressive power of the ruler. The struggle of Gerwani as the motor for Indonesian women's movement should be reclaimed and Suharto's attempt to drag women to be behind their husband's back should be contested.

Drakeley (2007) also writes his anatomization on *Lubang Buaya* myth that contains many misogynous themes.¹² He argued that "misogynous themes are absolutely indispensable to the propaganda campaign's success".¹³ The horrible scenes of sexual orgies, gouging off of the dead army generals' eyes, immoral atheistic behavior of Gerwani is highlighted to be the danger of PKI and its communist ideology. It is obvious that through Drakeley's argument that the destruction of communist ideology will be most effective through the false presentation of its women affiliations. Wieringa (1995); (2011) also questioned why that among other PKI affiliated organizations only Gerwani that was picked to be severest target of fear and hatred. According to Ruth Indah Rahayu, "*gender analysis in politics will be very helpful in explaining what was actually happened. Destroying a movement can be initiated by destroying the image of its women. This was an effective way particularly in a religion normative society like in Indonesia.*"¹⁴

7. *Ibid.*

8. Red is the color of communist party's flag, this terminology is stated in Karsono (2005) p 82

9. Wieringa (1996) p 12

10. Van Dijk in Texts and Practices Reading in Critical Discourse Analysis. Edited by Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard. (1996)

11. Jorgensen, Marianne., Pillips, J., Louise. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: Sage Publication, Ltd. 2002.

12. Drakeley (2007) p 22

13. *Ibid.*

14. Quoted and translated by me from Rio Apinino's interview with Ruth Indah Rahayu (29 September 2013) in Indoprogess Left Book Review XV Edition: *Gerwani dan Perjuangan Politik Perempuan*. The original statement quoted from the article is: "*analisis gender dalam politik akan sangat membantu menerangkan apa yang terjadi. Dalam menghancurkan sebuah gerakan, dapat dimulai dengan menghancurkan citra terhadap kaum perempuannya terlebih dahulu. Hal ini amat efektif terutama dalam kaum yang legalis normatif seperti di Indonesia.*"

Therefore to destroy an ideology, it is required to attack and deconstruct the image and position of the women. And by the research conducted in the gender study of 1965 mass killing, the people are given opportunity to come to know the constructed reality created by the New Order dominant power and fight against such construction through cultural struggle of the writing back.

Another fight back is shown by Vanessa Hearman who investigates *The Uses of Memoirs and Oral History Works in Researching the 1965-1966 Political Violence in Indonesia*.¹⁵ In the paper, Hearman analyzes the importance of less formal writing pieces of ex-political prisoners' memoirs and oral histories toward the reconstruction of 1965-1966 mass killing. Hilmar Farid through Hearman admitted that to write about violence, the focus should be put on the stories of the victims.¹⁶ Since the New Order's constructed history plays with the manipulation of identity, the oppressed should be able to talk according to the framework of the memory. A shortcoming of reconstructing history through the eyes of the victims, Hearman argued, must initially overcome the trauma that entails the political victims' fear of coming out and retelling their experiences.¹⁷ Hence, she creates an alternative historical construction through the identification of ex-prisoners' perception of truth which practically can't be considered as empirical facts. On the other hand, the politics of memory is hard to be considered truth since it may contain embellished cognitive remarks.

The gender examination of Gerwani's identity's concealment by the new order dominant discourses for 32 years is contested by Wieringa, Drakeley, Karsono and Hearman's analysis. It shows that the attempt to reclaim the oppressed identity of Gerwani can be achieved through the act of writing back. This act of writing back unveils that Indonesian people's perception of New Order version of Gerwani as immoral, godless, violent and barbaric organization must be evaluated, if not altered.

The horrible politics of memory through such representation of Gerwani as illogically portrayed as the performer of ancient sexual ritual is found untrue, Wieringa (1996) p 12. And that misogynous representation of *Lubang Buaya* myth is the core of negative propaganda to wipe out communist ideology from Indonesia and to warn women to step aside from political arena as well as to ease Suharto's way to presidency. Hearman also observes that the image of Gerwani and other political accused leftists are unjust, thus the memoirs and oral history of the ex-political prisoners need to be revived to challenge the instilled negative image of 1965-1966 political slaughter and, I add, Gerwani's negative image fabricated by Suharto's regime.

15. A paper published in IJAPS, Vol 5, No. 2 (July 2009)

16. Farid (2006) p 269-270) as mentioned in Hearman (2009) p 30

17. *Ibid.* p 29

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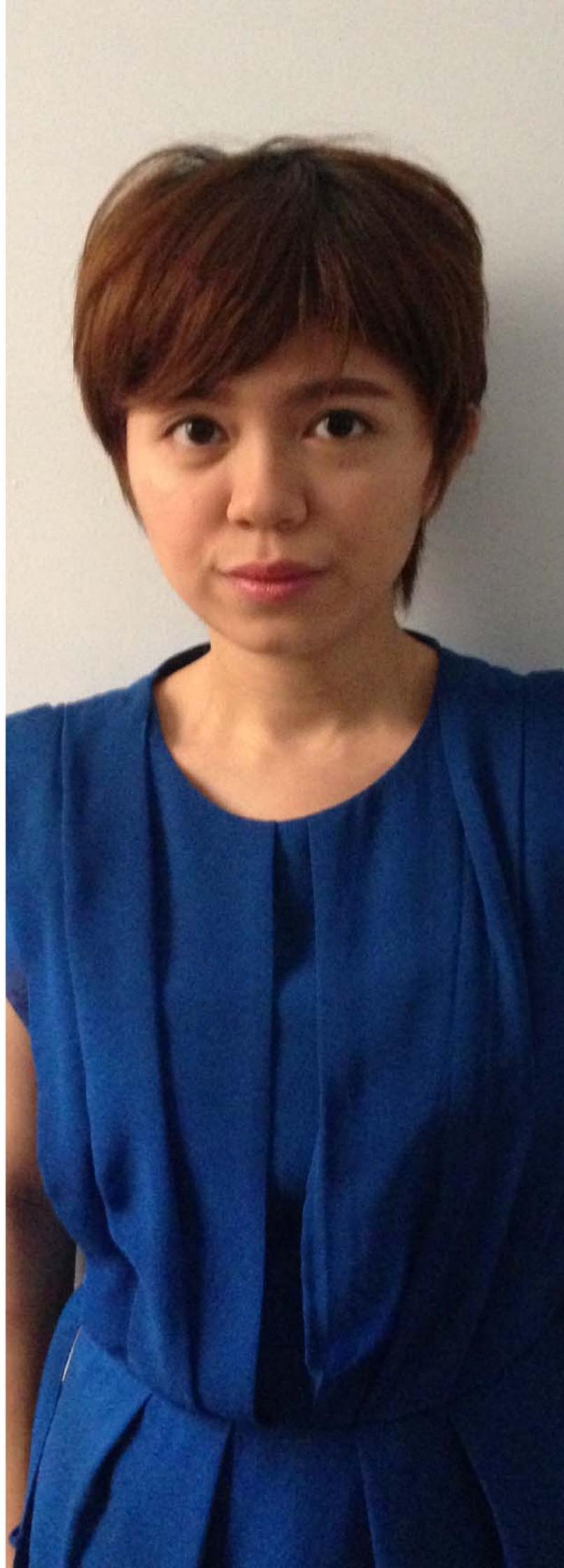
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GENDER EQUALITY IN INDONESIA: AN ANALYSIS

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No society is ever exempt from gender-based disparities, though the gaps that separate the two sexes across the globe have varying degrees of magnitude, depending on the different attributes found in each respective community. Biologically, males are the more dominant species; their high testosterone levels make them more prone to aggression than females -- a pattern that is observed in almost all cultures. Even so, gender issues in all societies are more than just a result of different hormone levels. There are other interweaving forces that knit a culture's distinct way of treating the two genders. Many comparative studies have been dedicated to examine the cross-cultural differences in gender relations. Western countries today are often known for their fairer gender treatments by means of providing equal opportunities, rights, and resources to both male and female citizens. Though individual cases of gender discrimination still happen in the West every now and then, they are much less rampant and blatant than the ones found in many Middle Eastern countries, for example, where a lot of females are denied their basic rights due to their inferiority to males (Roded, 2001).

Being home to more than 240 million people from different ethnic groups, Indonesia's position in the spectrum of gender equality is difficult to pinpoint. Each race, each tribe, and even each household has its own set of standards when it comes to gender roles and expectations. It seems almost irrational to draw a conclusive judgment that reflects the country's stance as a whole. Besides, Indonesia's rapid development can only mean that gender roles are constantly redefined with time. As a nation, Indonesia has definitely come a long way from the pre-Kartini years where women mostly existed as mating partners and child-bearers, stripped off of their rights to education and proper employment, to the contemporary era characterized by the ever-increasing number of females who now have access to schools, workforce, and politics.

Nevertheless, discriminations against women in the fourth most populated country in the world still very much prevail. Many Indonesian women still fall victims to conventional gender stereotypes, unfair wages and employment opportunities, abuses in different forms, as well as cultural traditions and political laws that promote female subordination. The disparity may be much less extreme than it was in our great-grandparents' time, but it still lingers pervasively in the nooks and crannies of the vast archipelago. The focus on this paper will be divided into two: the evidence of gender discrimination, and the few plausible factors that might have contributed to the normalized gender ideal in Indonesia.

Before discussing the causes, it seems only fitting to observe some prominent examples that serve as evidence of the gender division that puts women in a less favorable position than their male counterparts. The cases below vary in terms of severity -- some are downright sexist, while others are so subtle and ordinary that they are rarely questioned and criticized, even by the females.

Political Perspective

It's probably best to start by analyzing the worth of women from a political lens. The apple doesn't fall far from the tree, so examining the governing authorities' attitude toward gender equality can possibly serve as a gauge to measure a country's overall take on the issue. It is also imperative to mention that there is a significant difference between written laws and the ones that are actually exercised. Just because a certain law that promotes gender equality exists, it is by no means a guarantee of its rightful implementation.

Victims of sexual coercion in Indonesia often receive little to no legal aid. On the contrary, sex offenders are often uncaught; those who are arrested may not face the fullest extent of the penalty, and some are even acquitted. In recent years, there have been cases of sexual assaults, including rapes, on public minibuses (angkot). One case, in particular, caught the nation's attention when a female employee was gang-raped on a minibus on her way home from work in September of 2011. Fauzi Bowo, then-governor of Jakarta, responded to the unfortunate incident by reminding women not to wear mini-skirts so as not to arouse any unwanted sexual attention from males. While it sounded like a sensible advice, it was undeniable that most of the emphasis was placed on women -- Bowo made it seem like it is the ladies' responsibility not to get sexually assaulted. His comment provoked an outrage that condemned the government's indifferent

and sexist attitude. The criticisms were voiced mostly by women protestors, some of whom went as far as rallying on the streets, while others used social media as a platform to lash out their disappointment in Bowo's victim-blaming attitude. In contrast, many male "netizens" sided with Bowo, commenting that it was solely the female employee's fault for getting raped on a minibas.

In another instance, while applying for a Supreme Court position, Judge Muhammad Daning Sanusi blurted out that rapists should not face a death penalty because the victims might have enjoyed having intercourse with the attackers, causing the court room to burst with laughter at his remark that was deemed as funny. His comment and that of Bowo's are clear hints of a rape culture, where violence against women is trivialized and sometimes made fun of as a joke, therefore encouraging male aggression against women (Pearson, 2000). The ramifications of the rape culture are far too real and damaging: sexual violence is normalized because it is accepted as part of the culture; victims are often blamed for the attacks, and aggression is seen as a macho trait in males (Buchwald, 1995).

Earlier this year, a woman in Aceh was found living under the same roof with a married man. The practice of domestic partnership violates the Sharia law that governs the autonomous province of Aceh. Eight male civilians broke into the woman's house and took turns raping her as punishment for committing extramarital affair. The raped woman is now facing a risk of a public caning for her promiscuity. This example differs slightly from the two aforementioned cases due to its deep religious influence, but it still reveals how differently the authorities deal with men and women.

These are only a few of many more similar cases where the system failed to: (1) acknowledge the severe consequences of sexual violence that the victim has to go through, (2) provide them with legal assistance, and (3) serve justice by punishing the sex offenders accordingly. It should be noted, however, that these examples are not representative of all politicians' beliefs on the subject of gender equality.

Personal and Public Perspectives

Personal observations might arguably be considered unfit to be included as evidence due to lack of documentation, yet I cannot exclude my own background and perspective of this subject because my personal experience is what ignited the questions in me surrounding gender relation. It made me reassess my perception of women's worth and prompted my pursuit of identity in regard to my gender.

Growing up, I was constantly exposed to stereotypical messages about my roles as a female. Being a tomboy child, I was often reprimanded for behaviors that apparently violated the gender standards that had been imposed upon me by the adults in my life. When I rested my legs on the table, swore profanities, or even folded my clothes sloppily, I would get that stern reminder that it was inappropriate for a girl to display those manners. I was often lectured for my inability to cook, sew, and other things a girl should be able to master. The advices that I got when I was young were not entirely wrong. For instance, I admit that sitting with my legs on the table may not reflect the most eloquent table manner, but what's faulty is the fact that this behavior is considered as rude only when it is done by a girl. Likewise, while cooking and sewing are great skills to have, it troubles me that only the ladies are expected to acquire these abilities.

As I got older, I often conversed with my peers about my personal thoughts on gender ideals, most of which would deviate from the conventional norm. I would say things like: a woman should be allowed to make however much money she can make, even if it equals or surpasses her husband's earning. Most of friends were appalled; some even took offense. Interestingly, both my female and male friends expressed a similar response. They repeatedly cautioned me to reduce my "dominance" and "independence" levels because assertive and highly ambitious women may intimidate and even turn off men.

These are ordinary, day-to-day personal recollections that exemplify how gender inequality is subtly yet deeply entrenched in the culture that it becomes normalized and embraced as it barely looks like gender

discrimination at all. In fact, attempts to challenge these preconceived gender roles will not only prove futile, but may even raise fierce opposition from both sexes alike.

In every progress, there are there are obstacles that hinder growth. Gender disparity in Indonesia, without exception, has such bridges that serve as resistance to gender equality. Due to the word limits, this paper will only examine three factors that affect gender relation in Indonesia: religion, education, and collectivism.

Religious Influence

To date, Indonesia stands as the biggest Muslim country in the world. Although the Islamic law is not the primary force that regulates the country, its patriarchal influence is still prevalent, setting an invisible boundary around women's privileges in many families, offices, schools, and other communal settings. It is essential to recognize that the practiced Islamic deeds may differ from the actual teachings of the Quran. This essay will analyze the most commonly implemented Muslim customs in Indonesia that influence women's roles, regardless of the extent of adherence to the Quran. Any discrepancies found between the behaviors of Muslim in Indonesia and the actual Quran texts may reflect misinterpretation or lack of understanding of the true Islamic teachings, which will not be discussed in the paper.

The Indonesian Marriage Law, which is purportedly derived from an Islamic law, only recognizes men as the heads to the families, giving them the patriarchal privilege to make legal decisions, notwithstanding the wives' possible objections (Blackburn, 2011). A wife has the unspoken responsibility to submit to her husband's final call regarding any matters.

Though most Muslims in Indonesia practice moderate Islam, there are some conservative groups of Muslims that teach and practice Radical Islam, which not only restricts women's rights, but also promotes violence against them. The teachings allow men to use physical force on their wives as punishment for their disobedience, giving the husbands religious impunity for the abuse. They are also entitled to polygamy, temporary marriage, divorce, sexual relation with female slaves, subjecting women to emotional and physical distress as they become victims of marital infidelity, temporary marriage, and sexual violence, all of which are justified by religion.

Educational Opportunities

The Indonesian Marriage Law has far more implications than they seem. Many households who struggle financially opt to send their sons to school and their daughters to the workforce, reasoning that sons will need to have the proper education to get better jobs to prepare them as heads of their future families. These parents seldom see the importance of high education in their daughters because they fail to see the girls' potentials other than being an extra source of income before finally getting married to a man and becoming obedient housewives and mothers who will raise their children the same way they were raised.

When women are deprived of education, their employment opportunities are automatically reduced to low-paying jobs, thus wasting their actual talents. This is of course not true for all girls in Indonesia. Many fortunate Indonesian women have access to education, but the fact remains that there are far too many female domestic workers and cheap labors who might have led very different lives had they been given the chance to go to school and discover their abilities.

Collectivist Society

Sigal et al. (2005) conducted an experiment to evaluate and compare the different responses from people of various ethnic backgrounds when presented with a scenario involving sexual harassment by a male aggressor. The results suggested that there were more participants from individualist cultures than those

from collectivist cultures who judged the male aggressor to be guilty, revealing that collectivism and individualism have a profound effect on gender treatment.

Indonesia, just like any other Eastern countries, is built mainly on collectivism rather than individualism, which is usually associated with the Western world. In a collectivist society, an individual is expected to prioritize others' needs at the expense of his own because his identity as a person is not found in himself, but in the society that he is a member of.

Collectivistic ideas and beliefs are very instrumental in defining gender roles and expectations in Indonesia. The goal in a collectivist society is to achieve the "greater good" or the interest of the society, even if that means taking away or suppressing personal goals and rights, including women's privileges.

Unlike in an individualist nation, any form of self-expression is less appreciated in a culture with a collectivist ideology. Collectivism encourages people to conform to the already established social hierarchy. In Indonesia's gender context, this means that the system that dictates female submission and male dominance is maintained because the collectivist individuals prefer to abide by the ideal without questioning any flaws in it.

Although this paper only discusses three specific factors that are fundamental in shaping Indonesia's attitude toward gender treatment, there are other influences to consider, such as economic development, media influence, and political intervention. Indonesia is a vast country with a population that's diverse on many levels. When it comes to gender issues, this country may not be where it used to be, but it absolutely is still very far from where it needs to be. Hopefully, this brief discussion of gender disparity in Indonesia has shed some light on the unique relation between men and women in this country and also sparked further interest to dig deeper into the subject.

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ONE DIMENSIONAL MAN : SKIN WHITENING SERIES, ONE DIMENSIONAL BEAUTY PRODUCT SELECTION BY INDONESIAN WOMEN

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Background Research

The last few days I tried to watch a variety of beauty products were sold in various outlets in beauty shops and malls in Yogyakarta, the results were quite surprising because the products were labeled 'whitening' commonly referred to as the highest position among the various beauty products. In other words, we will find these products easily because all beauty brands in Indonesia – from famous to not famous brands, from highly to the cheaply prices provide it. However, not all the beauty brands provide 'skin whitening series' (complete skin whitening product), but sometimes they only provide it in a few items, for example, only hand and body lotion, cream, scrub and so forth.

It is inevitable; indeed many skin whitening products were sold in the Indonesian market lately. Various beauty brands competing for releasing whitening products with a variety of innovations, for example PT. Unilever Indonesia released a product named 'citra night whitening'. This product was used to treat skin at night. So this was trying to make an innovation that when a person was sleeping or resting at night, it also requires a skin care to keep her skin moist and fresh. Even her skin not only maintained but it will be brighter, because this product contains whitening effect.

So it is not surprising that the demand for skin whitening product in Indonesia was ranked the highest in Asia. A research has shown that this product was one of the cosmetic products that were growing well in Indonesia, because every year it has increased significantly. Furthermore need to be underlined that the research conducted by a group of cosmetics business, named L'Oreal from France in 1997 showed that 85% of Indonesian women in Jakarta, Bandung, Medan, Surabaya, and Semarang tends to have dark skin, and 55% among those want to have the white skin. This research had been conducted a long time ago, but it was still relevant enough to be presented now.

One of the causes of this phenomenon was an assumption and a doctrine that pretty means having white skin. Although, it cannot be denied that the standard of beauty was not only it, but nevertheless white skin were always placed at a high standard in Indonesia community. Furthermore, Indonesian women became indoctrinated to have white skin. For example when I tried to observe and conduct a small interview on some of my female friends, the results indicate that most of them used skin whitening product. They do not care whether the product actually works or even vice versa. I have a close friend who is always uses skin whitening products. She has dark skin, and was obsessed to have white skin, so she bought skin whitening product completely (whitening series) from a beauty brand. Unfortunately, she strongly believes that someday, she would has white skin by using it continuously.

In general, skin whitening series typically consists of three parts in Indonesia market, they are: (1) cleansing, (2) protecting, and (3) lightening. The first part (cleansing) usually consists of: milk cleanser, gentle wash, face toner and facial scrubs. Furthermore, the protecting consists of: protecting, day cream, two way cake, and body lotion. The part (lightening) consists of; night cream, and a facial mask. All beauty products above are whitening series that released by Wardah cosmetics brands. On the other hand, it is not much different that the other beauty brand such as Sariayu cosmetic, Mustika Ratu cosmetic also released a skin whitening products, and their products are almost similar to Wardah cosmetics. For example: Sariayu released products such as body lotion plus relaxing aromatic, two way cake plus refreshing aromatic, moisturizer, facial foam, and scrub for spa. All of these products have the effects for whiten skin.

However, what's interesting is Sariayu not only used the word white in the labeling of their products, but also used "the word (langsar)", so become "white langsar". In my opinion, this is what distinguishes whitening products from Sariayu compared with other. This is getting the attention from Indonesian women, because in addition they want to have white skin, of course, they also still want to have a special characteristic of Indonesian women.

In addition, some beauty products labeled whitening also try to incorporate elements of Indonesian natural resources, such as spices/herb (rempah-rempah) or fruits that grow in Indonesia. The most

commonly example we found was 'Bengkuang'. Bengkuang or bengkoang (*pachyrhizus erosus*) known as bulbs white that can be eaten, or as ingredients to make a salad and rujak (Indonesian fruit salad), or to freshen and whiten skin also. Besides bengkoan, several other fruits used in the skin whitening product are papaya, mulberry, almonds, tomatoes, and so forth.

Nevertheless, bengkoang become one of the icons used by Mustika Ratu for releasing whitening products. These products derived from ancestral recipes kesultanan Surakarta (Sultanate of Surakarta palace). This brand was the first to examine and released bengkoang for skin whitening series, as a safe solution for facial series and body skin lightening. *Bengkoang Whitening Series* from Mustika Ratu came from bengkoan extract that were often used by beauty experts to help maintain healthy skin and body to make it look fresher, firmer, and whiter. Another formula that supports the effectiveness of these products Bengkoang Whitening Series was the akar manis extract which served to brighten the skin. Mustika Ratu's skin whitening Series consists of; 1) facial cleansers and toners that includes 2 in 1 whitening, whitening moisturizing, whitening foundation, whitening powder, whitening night cream and whitening facial soap, 2) body treatments that include herbal whitening cream soap, hand and body lotion whitening. All of these products for whiten the skin.

The explanations above were a few examples of some skin whitening that released by beauty brands in Indonesia. Nevertheless, in the real there were many skin whitening products were presented in the Indonesian market. Even there were some products released by a beautician such as doctor. For example 'whitening facial cream' released by dr. Fajar. SpKK. This cream was composed of morning and evening cream, soaps, anti-irritants, soaps and serum.

In fact, now days skin whitening products started to increase the innovation, because whiten of the face or underarms seems to be not enough for women. Furthermore, skin whitening products for intimate areas also often are searching by women now. Though this case not found in Indonesia but it was in Thailand. A product named Lactacyd White Intimate devoted to whiten intimate area of women became a trending topic among women there. They believe that the product can whiten genitalia, folds of the thighs and around intimate area of women within four weeks. Despite it become target of women, it was also become controversy, especially in advertising and marketing because the ads considered too vulgar and exposing the women intimate.

Furthermore, to increase sales of it, some beauty brands using various advertising both print and online media vigorously. Advertising on television for example, usually telling about a beautiful woman but her face looks dull and dark, and then she became sad because she shunned the man, perhaps even men who loved her to stay away from her. Furthermore, there was one of her friends who tried to tell her in order to use whitening beauty products labeled as she used. After using it, the women was getting white, clean, and not dull anymore. Finally, many men were amazed when seeing her and even men who crush becomes love her. This was just one example of the various advertising ads on skin whitening products on television. I believe that you can find it more.

Research Question

Based on the background research that have been described above, I found two questions; (1) why do Indonesian women prefer and need to buy beauty products labeled whitening than other beauty products? (2) How does the theory one-dimensional man of Herbert Marcuse look at this phenomenon?

Theoretical Framework

As already mentioned above, this paper will use Herbert Marcuse's theory 'one dimensional man' to look at the phenomenon of skin whitening products in the Indonesian market, and why it became popular and required by many women in Indonesia lately.

Herbert Marcuse was born on July, 19, 1898 in Berlin, Germany, and died in Starnberg on July 29, 1979. Marcuse was a German-Jewish philosopher, political theorist and sociologist, and a member of the Frankfurt School. He is also known as the "Father of the New Left movement". Some his famous works are; *Eros and Civilization*, *One-Dimensional Man* and *The Aesthetic Dimension*. Marcuse was an intellectual who influenced on the New Left movement and the student movement in the 1960s. The book entitled *One-dimensional Man* is one of the most important books in the 60's. This book first published in 1964, and was soon recognized as a book that has important diagnostic and still significant until now. It was collated and written in the 1950s and early 1960s; this book reflects and provides a strong criticism of the new model of a domination and social control. Nevertheless, this book reveals the radical expectations of philosophers that human freedom and happiness can greatly expanded beyond the one-dimensional thinking and behavior prevalent in the established community.

In brief, one-dimensional man was a criticism from Marcuse when he saw the condition of modern society in America. This theory seeing that what is true in all communities is one dimensional in every aspect. These aspects related to science, art, philosophy, daily thought, political system, economy and technology. From here, this aspect that missing was the second dimension; this aspect was seen as negative and critical principles. Second dimension is always seen as a habit which is always contrasted the world as it is with the real world according to normative and philosophical concepts.

Furthermore, according to Marcuse, science has removed the ideas of goodness, beauty, justice of universal validity. Science only discussing how something can work and what does it do. This thinking which made a one-dimensional society works with driven system and the formalities. They become victim of false consciousness, and they take it for granted, without an effort so that the work becomes rational. The ability of this system is in satisfying human needs but the needs are the *bogus* needs, and this was provided to perpetuate injustice and poverty.

Most of the needs of society whether it for fun, relaxing and taking things all in accordance with the advertisement. Furthermore people will tend to like and hate what is liked and hated by others. All these categories are false needs that gradually have been implanted in the minds of society. Marcuse also said that one dimensional man is a human with minimal resistance. Modern human feels that they already satisfied by all the things that are offered by the capitalists. They felt it was granted independence in various aspects, even not just limited to the economic aspect alone. They feel that the freedom given by the capitalists is true freedom, without realizing that the apparent freedom, and it used by the capitalist as a tool to control and dominate society. By the time people feel that their needs are met then their entire attitude that shows resistance and non-conformity of no benefit anymore. This is by Marcuse called repressive tolerance, as the main characteristics of modern society. Marcuse also says that not because of the dictatorship of the capitalist that made oppression but the system had oppressed and made people trapped in false consciousness.

Analysis

One of the Marcuse's theories also says that the industry only sell items that can be sold on the market. The method used is manipulate and suggesting of the public that they really need these items through advertising or publicity of products in various ways, such as advertising, as already mentioned at the beginning of this paper. One of the strategies of skin whitening product marketing such as by giving consumers the impression that if you want to be accepted or popular you must have white skin.

Furthermore, in the minds of Indonesian women already indoctrinated that the skin whitening product is a quality product to improve their standard of beauty, even it will not disappoint them. They already liked skin whitening beauty products; this was evidenced by the high demand for these products in Indonesia. Both demand on beauty products that have well-known and the not well known brands.

Meanwhile, to further attract the attention of Indonesian women, beauty brands that releases skin whitening products manipulated and indoctrinated Indonesian women by using elements of the treasures of Indonesia's natural resource, such as herbs/ spices (rempah-rempah) and fruits as one ingredient in making these products. This is designed to manipulate the Indonesian women thought that this is a product that is really needed by them because these products using Indonesian natural resource. In fact, unconsciously, in this product, Indonesian women search white skin as skins displayed by advertising on television, media, internet, etc.

In addition, various beauty brands are also using publications awards they have received. Furthermore, every award they receive will be published in the media, and delivered to the community, especially to women in Indonesia. For example, this skin whitening product trusted by the majority of women in Asia, or the product is awarded as the best whitening products (top brand) in Asia, and so on. One-dimensional man will increasingly believe that the whitening product A or B is good by looking at the amount of recognition that comes from the public on the product. Thus, one-dimensional man will agree on an idea if the idea has been objectively measured and recognized together.

One of the striking ideas of the capitalist system in making of one dimensional man is, because they are able to satisfy the human needs. Although actually the needs are the bogus needs that are inserted by the capitalists that are not really needed them.

In the case of skin whitening product, as if this product is already considered to fulfill the needs of the community (read: Indonesian women), because it was able to provide what is needed by Indonesian women. They feel satisfied because they have stuck with one-dimensional skin whitening products that influenced by various doctrinal. So they do not see other dimensions, such as the health of their skin. They were never aware that the Indonesian women's skin is not white, but brown which is of course difficult to change. Even by using this product continuously will make their skin becomes irritated and thinning. In fact, according to experts from Gajah Mada University dr. Arief Budiyanto PhD, SpKK, many skin whitening products using hydroquinone. According to some studies, if it used for long periods can lead to cancer and is very harmful to the health of the skin. These effects may include irritation, erythema, hyper pigmentation, and more severe disorders such pigmented contact dermatitis, and cancer.

Nevertheless, according to Marcuse, one-dimensional man who feel their needs are met will avoid critical attitude, because they considers that such an attitude will only create chaos and useless. They are indeed minimal resistance, so that the capitalists can constantly run their industry without question by the public. Communities have to feel comfortable with their needs met, and even felt that there were an increase in the standard of living.

Marcuse also said that there are genuine and false consciousnesses in human beings. False consciousness is awareness of the need to relax, have fun, to behave and consume something relating to advertising, and then love and hate what is liked and hated by others. The false consciousness is the awareness that is always influenced by other people, while the original consciousness is the awareness of the needs that is really needed by him/herself without any influence of other people or the media. This means that other people will not affect any of the self-consciousness of people who have a genuine will needs.

Marcuse asserts that one-dimensional man is a human who confined his/her consciousness, or false consciousness not original consciousness. If this is applied in the case of skin whitening products, it will show that lot of humans enclosed in the false consciousness. Therefore it could be a lot of women actually does not require of the product, maybe even they depressed because their skin becomes irritated, or no change (the skin is still dark) and so on, but they still buy as many people who say that the skin whitening products is a good product to support female beauty. Thus, they still buy as many people who say that the skin whitening products are a good product to support female beauty. Even, they do not like with a brand whitening products A, they can replace by whitening product B. So, here also creates what is called freedom are chosen. Indonesian women have been trapped in their false consciousness, because they only

satisfy their false needs. They might feel left behind in supporting and enhancing their beauty if they do not buy and use skin whitening products that bought as such by many women in Indonesia.

Nevertheless, one-dimensional man will continue to feel happy even though trapped in false consciousness, though their happiness is false happiness. They feel that the industry already provide a good service for them. Furthermore, they agree that all are rational because they have been recognized and measured objectively.

Furthermore, because of technology, one-dimensional man often stuck on something irrational becomes rational. For example, the Indonesian women's skin is basically brown, if we thinking rationally, it may be difficult if turned into white as shown by the ads, but a one-dimensional man do not believe the idea. Even the various inventions and innovations from various beauty brands associated with whitening product is considered a good thing and rational. From here one dimensional man lost her/his inner dimension because damped by the *idea of reason*. They could be opposition but they do not able for doing it. They let the capitalists shaping their lives and accept what has become a community consensus. It is also happen in the case of whitening products, in fact they were able to criticize not only as lovers, but also muted by the collective agreement which says that, however, skin whitening products are good.

Conclusion

In choosing beauty products, Indonesian women has become one-dimensional, they are confined in a choice that skin whitening product is quality beauty products that can improve their beauty standard. Hence, the presences of them are considered as something positive rather than the negative. Some things that might harm their skin such as irritation, peeling, thinning and so on, are ignored by them because they feel their needs for quality beauty products have been fulfilled with a variety of these products. Finally, they do not have critical attitude and they 'do not' or minimal resistance. This can be seen, however, Indonesian women still obsessed to have white skin than black or brown skin. A resistance which says that 'black is also beautiful' nearly often not heard, even beauty products in Indonesia almost rarely provide products to darken skin.

INDONESIAN HISTORY ESSAY

Introduction

“Don’t ever—not even once—abandon your history!” (*Jangan sekali-kali meninggalkan sejarah*). Every educated Indonesian knows the words of their country’s first President, Ir Soekarno (in office, 1945-67), especially his last independence day address of 17 August 1966 now immortalised as the “Jasmerah”.

But nostalgia is not enough. If Indonesia is to survive and prosper it must again become a country with a strong sense of its own history. The generation which fought and won merdeka was an historically literate generation. For them history was not an optional extra. It was essential for their survival.

“Only the person who is prepared to look centuries back into the past”, Sutan Sjahrir would later recall of these turbulent revolutionary years (1945-49), “in other words, who has truly developed an understanding of history and of society, will be able to deal with the atmosphere of history which takes a revolutionary form with a proper understanding and certainty regarding that history’s direction and meaning.”

[“*Hanja orang jang telah sanggoep menindjau ke belakang dengan hitoengan abad, dengan lain kata, jang memang berpengertian tentang sedjarah dan masjarakat, akan dapat berhadapan dengan soeasana sedjarah jang beroepa revoloesi dengan pengertian serta kepastian tentang arah dan toedjoean sedjarah.*”]¹

Yet a recent estimation that those residing outside Indonesia (both non-resident Indonesians and foreigners) account for ninety percent of all scholarly articles published on Indonesia overseas may serve as a wake-up here. If true, this makes Indonesia one of the countries least effective in explaining itself to the outside world (Reid, 2011).² Such a situation cannot bode well for the Republic. Even if the McKinsey Global Institute’s September 2012 economic forecast³ that Indonesia will move from sixteenth to seventh largest economy in the world by 2030 proves correct, it will be a ship without a compass. Without a love and appreciation of their own history, Indonesia will be a rootless nation, its citizens condemned to live forever on the margins of a globalizing world without a true sense of who they are or where they are going.

This is why the Indonesian Scholarship and Research Support Foundation (ISRSF’s) annual historical essay prize competition is so important. At a time when Indonesia has fallen far behind its closest ASEAN neighbours Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore in terms of the number of peer-reviewed journal and conference papers published,⁴ ISRSF draws on some of the brightest talents of Indonesia’s younger generation, thus identifying the country’s future public intellectuals, who will be at the forefront of their country’s ‘second struggle for independence’ against the mental colonization of the West and their own society’s homespun culture of corruption. These will be the new Diponegoros, Sjahrirs and Bung Karnos, architects of Indonesia’s intellectual renaissance. They will provide the essential historical context for their country’s belated coming of age as a nation which knows how to value excellence. Eighty-six years after the Dutch pathologist Christiaan Eijkman (1858-1930) won a Nobel Prize in Medicine (1929) for his

1. Antara News Agency, Jakarta.

2. Reid, Anthony, “Indonesia dan Dunia sesudah 66 Tahun” (Indonesia and the World after 66 Years), Tempo (Indonesian edition), 14–20 November 2011.

3. MGI [McKinsey Global Institute] (2012). *The Archipelago Economy: Unleashing Indonesia’s Potential*. Downloaded 18 December 2012 at: www.mckinsey.com/.../McKinsey/.../The%20archipelago%20economy/MGI_Unleashing_Indonesia_potential_Executive_Summary.ashx.

4. SCImago Journal & Country rankings, which compiles its statistics from the Scopus academic publishing database, shows that between 1996 and 2007 Indonesian academics published 12,776 citable documents, i.e. peer-reviewed journal and conference papers, which is far less than neighbouring countries like Malaysia (53,979), Thailand (57,509), and Singapore (105,665), and insignificant in comparison with research powerhouses such as Japan (1,429,881), the UK (1,392,982), and the United States (4,972,679).

pioneering research in the Netherlands Indies Microbiological Research Centre (post-1930, Eijkman Institute) which identified Vitamin B-1 deficiency as the cause of beri-beri (Ricketts disease), a new generation of Indonesian researchers will emerge as the nation's future Nobel Prize winners.

ISRSF's annual Indonesian History Essay Competition is central to that process. Attracting contestants from cities across the archipelago and from widely diverse educational and professional backgrounds, candidates are allowed to submit essays on any historical subject. The only conditions are that their work is based on original research, eschews all plagiarism, and shows an historian's eye for detail and reasoned argument. This year, thirty-six candidates came forward and of these six were deemed outstanding. Three were ranked as prize-winners: respectively – Sammy Kanadi; Norman Joshua Soelias and Hendri Yulius Wijaya – with essays on the Dutch 'Ethical Policy [1908-1920s] and Indonesian Nationalism', '[The US] Marshall Plan and Mutual Security Program in Indonesia, 1948-1952', and 'Women, Islam and Nation-Building: Examining Transnational Frictions'. Three others were selected for honourable mention, namely–Maiza Elvira, Irfan Nugraha and Muzayin Nazaruddin–with essays respectively on 'A Comparative Study of Dutch and British Colonial Methods of Control', 'How should the History of Religious Conflict be Written?', and 'Disaster and Landscape Rhythm: A Case Study of Mt Merapi, Indonesia'.

We are sure that all these candidates will make their mark in different ways on the intellectual life of their country and we wish them every success. Some may go on to become Arryman Fellows at Northwestern University which will launch their careers as respected international academics. It has been a delight and a privilege to have worked with them through participation in this year's ISRSF's selection committee. Next year in Jerusalem!

Peter Carey

Emeritus Fellow Trinity College, Oxford; and YAD Adjunct Professor Faculty of Humanities (FIB), University of Indonesia

1st
Prize Winner

THE ETHICAL POLICY AND INDONESIAN NATIONALISM

By **Sammy Kanadi**

International Relations - Parahyangan University,
2003

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2008



"A well-written and stimulating study on how the ill-prepared colonial policy was transformed by Indonesian elites in Java to be national inspiration for being independent nation."

Prof. Bambang Purwanto
Historian, Gadjah Mada University

Abstract

The history of Indonesian nationalism can hardly be understood in its entirety without taking into account the episode known as the Ethical Period. The general convention seems to consider the Ethical Policy as *sine qua non* for Indonesian nationalism, *i.e.* no nationalism could emerge in the archipelago without adoption of the Policy. While this essay makes no attempt to challenge that understanding, it does attempt to examine the Policy deeper to assess the possibility of flaws existed in its design. If the Policy was true to the spirit that made it possible to exist, why the execution went into demise after barely two decades in operation? More fundamentally: if the Policy was an embodiment of the spirit to make life better for the colony's indigenous population, why then a desire for a complete break from the motherland emerged *after* they experienced the supposedly better standard of living resulting from the Policy adoption? This essay examines the Policy at design as well as execution aspects and concludes that there were fundamental flaws with both. When the rise of nationalist sentiment ceased to become mere incident rather than pattern, there was nothing about the Policy that can overcome the surge—a product, ironically, of its own being.

Keywords: Indonesia, history, nationalism, Netherlands East Indies, Ethical Policy

IN the history of Indonesia a certain socio-political phenomenon occurring in the first half of the twentieth century is particularly important. The short thirty years of “Ethical Period” is distinct in the annals of Indonesian history for it significantly altered the course of Dutch-indigenous relationships in the Netherlands East Indies. The period provided a favourable environment for the birth and growth of a force never previously known to exist in the colony—a sense of unity among the archipelago's numerous ethnicities *i.e.*: nationalism.

The Ethical Policy in Indonesian history

The Ethical Period (1901–31)¹—with its slogan: irrigation, emigration, and education— occupies a special place in Indonesian history for several reasons. Firstly, of Dutch colonial policies up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there was simply nothing comparable to the Ethical Policy in spirit. During the early period of Dutch venture in the archipelago, the East India Company (VOC) acted largely within the confines of mercantile activities—their involvements in indigenous affairs were limited, random, and mostly profit-driven. The following passage describes the situation well:

1. On the starting year: The author considered the Ethical Policy Period began in 1901 when on 17 September of that year the newly crowned Queen Wilhelmina spoke of the Netherlands' moral obligation to the peoples of the Netherlands Indies. The Queen's speech came about following a request made by the newly formed Calvinist-Catholic cabinet. The rightist cabinet—almost immediately after its formation and in concord with Christian principles—pleaded for the Queen to publicly announce that Holland had moral obligations to the peoples of the Indies. See Harry A. Poeze, *Di Negeri Penjajah: Orang Indonesia di Negeri Belanda 1600–1950*, trans. Hazil Tanzil and Koesalah Soebagyo Toer (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia and KITLV–Jakarta, 2008), p. 25. The complete text of the relevant passage reads: “As a Christian Power, the Netherlands are duty-bound better to order the legal position of the native Christians in the Indian Archipelago, to lend firmer support to the Christian mission, and to permeate the entire governmental system by the realization that the Netherlands has to fulfil a moral obligation towards the population of these areas.” See note 11 in Harry J. Benda, “The Pattern of Administrative Reforms in the Closing Years of Dutch Rule in Indonesia,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 25, no. 4 (1966): 592.

On the ending year: although historians on Indonesia seem to have differing opinions on the exact time the Ethical Policy ceased to be implemented (some even consider the Policy to be still in effect up to the dawn of Japanese occupation), the author considers that it was practically non-existent, in spirit at least, after 1931. By the mid-1920s the Policy had already suffered from heavy criticism concerning its implementation. Toward the end of the decade, and especially after the Communist revolt of 1926–27, Dutch population in the Indies generally displayed an anxious and hesitant attitude to the idea of providing the indigenous population with opportunities for social, and especially political, advancement. From 1927 onwards it was only in the figures of Governor General de Graeff and, to some extent, his Adviser for General Matters in the *Volkstraad* Kiwiet de Jonge that one could find the Ethical spirit still alive. With the liberal Governor's return to the Netherlands in 1931 and the increasingly frequent purges of nationalist sentiments that followed, the spirit of most Dutchmen in the Indies was no longer Ethical. See Robert Van Neil, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite* (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1960), pp. 100, 244; Ruth T. McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965), pp. 353–355, and John Ingleson, *Road to Exile: The Indonesian Nationalist Movement, 1927–1934* (Singapore: Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1979), pp. 37–42, 109–110, 155–158.

The East India Company had been a profit-conscious mercantile enterprise, concerned to the exclusion of nearly everything else with buying and selling. It possessed no *mission civilisatrice*, no urge to interfere with the way of life of the people with whom it carried on business.²

The post-VOC period saw a very different approach in Dutch colonial management. Toward the end of the nineteenth century there developed a change of perspective: what was a relationship between conqueror and the conquered was to be transformed gradually into that of government and citizens (third-class citizen the indigenous population was designated as, but citizen still instead of conquered people). The Ethical Policy's main objective was to improve the welfare of the Netherlands Indies indigenous population. To devise a policy lacking the profit-driven element so typically featured in previous Dutch policies was a sharp deviation in the way the Dutch traditionally managed their overseas possessions.³

Secondly, it was the adoption of the Ethical Policy that created a space so critically needed for nationalist movements to survive and grow, especially during their infancy. The turn of the twentieth century presented no opportunity for any effort to expel Dutch presence from the East Indies to succeed. The British did not make any attempt to expand the Straits Settlements further south; they would otherwise have already done so when the opportunity was present in 1816. Externally, the only real threat to Dutch presence in the region came from Japan which at that time still focused to secure its footholds in the Orient.⁴ Internally, rebellions did occur, however they were local in scope and aim and as such only rarely did they pose serious threats to Dutch rule. It holds then that by 1900 Dutch presence in the archipelago remained strong and unless opportunities surfaced as a result of Dutch colonial practices itself, no nationalism in the colony would have possibly emerged, let alone thrived.

Thirdly and most importantly, the Ethical Policy created an opportunity for the indigenous population to receive proper education. Had Dutch perception about the indigenous population remained unchanged, there would hardly be any rationale for the colonizers to provide the colonized with aspects of better life, especially: education. It was because of the changed perception—*inlanders* should be governed (*bestuurd*) instead of subjected (*overheerscht*)⁵—that the Dutch opened for the indigenous population access to modern education. Such access proved to be vital in moulding the first generation of Indonesian nationalist who's who.

Growth of nationalism and demise of the Policy

The promise of modern education to advance quality of indigenous life, however, did not materialize. Not only job was difficult to find, the ones available usually were no higher than clerical positions. This is mainly because the number of indigenous person who had access to secondary education or higher was so small,⁶ thereby preventing access to well-paid jobs. To make situation worse the tiny number of Indonesians who actually made it to get good jobs soon found themselves as subjects of discrimination.⁷

For the indigenous graduates, the Dutch refusal to treat them as equal served as a source of deep dissatisfaction; in this attitude they saw lack of commitment in government's implementation of the Ethical Policy. Furthermore, the experience of participating in a colony-wide education programme had

2. Graham Irwin, "Dutch Historical Sources" in *An introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, Soedjatmoko et al., ed. (Jakarta: Equinox, 2007), p. 245.

3. John Legge, however, notes that the intention of the Ethical Policy "meant different things to different people. Some saw it as making possible an expansion of Indonesian economic development so that the gap between the two sides of the dual economy [that is, of Holland and the Indies] could be closed." See J.D. Legge, *Sukarno: A Political Biography* (London: Allen Lane, 1972), pp. 38–39. But even if it was the case, the motive remained not fundamentally commercial: it simply means employing economic means in order to improve the indigenous population's standard of living; the profit-driven element, therefore, was still absent.

4. See Kees Van Dijk, *The Netherlands Indies and the Great War* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), p. 7.

5. J.S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1944), p. 231.

6. This was partly because of financial reason and partly because discriminative policy in student admission to government schools. See George M.T. Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952), p. 54.

7. Sartono Kartodirdjo, "Political Transformation in the Nineteenth Century" in Haryati Soebadio and Carine A. du Marchie Sarvaas (eds.) *Dynamics of Indonesian History* (New York: North-Holland, 1978), p. 249.

brought them to meet and befriend with other indigenous students of various backgrounds—something that circumstance of that time rarely allowed to happen. Through this experience the indigenous student learnt to understand that the fate he had to endure was not only his; he shared with others his bitterness toward Dutch discrimination, they developed a sense of brotherhood out of differences, and found in each other loyal comrade for the imagined, yet strongly expected, struggle to come.

The Dutch would have done better with handling the nationalist movements had they formulated the Ethical Policy with much thought ahead rather than the euphoria of altruism. The case with the first nationalist organisation, *Indische Partij*,⁸ reveals the pattern of Dutch indecisiveness that was apparent throughout the Ethical Period. Both Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo and Soewardi Soerjaningrat (later Ki Hadjar Dewantara) were the very products of government-sponsored education. The Dutch should have realized that if they did not want thoughts such as the one Soewardi expressed in “Als ik eens Nederlander was”⁹ surfacing, they should have never allowed any indigenous person to receive western education at the first place. It is difficult to consider the Ethici being unaware of the fundamental association between freedom of thought and western education. Preventing one from being educated the Dutch could easily do; preventing specific thought from developing in the mind of an enlightened individual no one could ever succeed.

Throughout the first quarter of the twentieth century the colonial government continually displayed that gesture of ambivalences and indecisiveness,¹⁰ they were trapped between idealism and what it had actually produced, between what they persistently wished for and the reality they rejected to embrace. This was a recipe for trouble; situation did grow worse and by the latter half of the 1920s the government could not afford displaying ambivalence anymore. At the one hand European community in the Indies became increasingly worried with the developing situation. At the other hand the nationalists grew bolder and began to take radical actions to gain wider support.¹¹ Between the two extremes the colonial government became more isolated and as such it became an easy target for criticisms from both sides. Communist Party uprising in late 1926 alarmed everyone and served as proof to what the European community had been trying to convey. Not too long after the incident was crushed a young and charismatic nationalist, Sukarno, began to make public impression with his fiery speeches. Sukarno’s increasingly offensive speeches, his party (*Partai Nasional Indonesia*—Indonesian Nationalist Party) rapid growth, and the persistently tense atmosphere finally forced the government to take preventive measures. On 29 December 1929, with great reluctance Governor-General de Graeff finally approved Sukarno’s arrest.¹²

With memories of the PKI rebellion and Sukarno’s agitational speeches fresh in mind—as well as activities of certain indigenous, Dutch universities students, to embarrass Dutch colonial practices before other Europeans—from 1931 onward the government became stricter in their dealing with the nationalists. In 1931 recentralization occurred in the form of redistribution of administrative powers from indigenous officials back to their Dutch counterparts.¹³ Thereafter repressions to non-cooperating parties as well as

8. The author does not consider *Boedi Oetomo* as the first nationalist organisation. Only during the latter period of its existence that *Boedi Oetomo* displayed a somewhat nationalist character. During its early days, however, it concerned itself almost exclusively with the revival of Javanese culture. See Akira Nagazumi, *Bangkitnya Nasionalisme Indonesia: Budi Utomo 1908-1918*, trans. Pustaka Utama Grafiti and KITLV (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1989), p. 62.

9. Translated loosely as “If I was a Dutchman”; an essay written by Soewardi and was published in *Indische Partij* publication in 1913. The essay criticizes (and highlights) the irony of funding a Dutch national festival from the pockets of the colony’s indigenous population.

10. If the government was aware with the course situation was developing toward, they would probably have acted differently when Tjipto, Soewardi, and Enest Douwes Dekker returned from exile. Instead of banning them completely from any organisational activity, the government let them to become even more influential individually. Such confusing act was repeated in many instances, e.g.: in Idenburg’s refusal and acceptance to Sarekat Islam’s request for legal recognition and in de Graeff’s reluctance to take any action toward Sukarno until the end of 1929. Additionally, Governor-General van Limburg Stirum’s reply to a request for advice made by the Resident of Priangan on Douwes Dekker’s plan to teach in a private school in 1919 is an interesting case showing how deluded the Governor-General was of the character and development of the nationalist sentiment. See Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo, “National Education in a Colonial Society” in Soebadio and Sarvaas (eds.), p. 299.

11. See, for example, account of strikes which occurred throughout the latter part of 1925 in McVey, *Rise of Indonesian Communism*, p. 308–10.

12. Ingleson, pp. 108–110.

13. Benda, p. 599.

the press became harsher and more frequent. With de Graeff's return to the Netherlands gone was the last dominant figure with genuine sympathy to the Indonesian cause; there was nobody left between the nationalist movements and the increasingly repressive colonial government. When on 12 September 1931 de Jonge assumed the office of Governor-General, the Ethical Spirit ceased to exist in the Netherlands Indies.

Analysis: The Ethical Policy as an ill-prepared project?

At this point it would be a good idea to assess the Policy accomplishments. On the one hand, the Policy did bring some improvements. Through its adoption extensive reforms in colonial administration, economy, and social policies were instituted.¹⁴ For European community in the colony, better living conditions not unlike that in Europe were made possible.¹⁵ For the Chinese modern facilities now served their business interests better (although resentment toward their business practices also grew stronger). For the indigenous population, after two and a half centuries of foreign domination attention to their wellbeing was finally being paid. On the other hand, there are also indications suggesting that the Policy did not achieve its goal.

One can measure the degree of policy accomplishment by assessing the congruence between aim and result. If the ultimate aim of Ethical Policy was to provide indigenous population with welfare, when the first quarter of the twentieth century ended the bulk of that population—in Java and the Outer Provinces alike—still lived in a way not dissimilar to how their grandparents did fifty years earlier. By the early 1930s the indigenous masses was still a poor, rural-based community;¹⁶ Dutch control was tighter (and at times harsher);¹⁷ and even the traditionally privileged Javanese *priyayis* found their power and influence much reduced.¹⁸ There were certainly some problems with the Ethical Policy.

The first problem was that of funding. As with populist policies elsewhere the Ethical Policy too required huge amounts of money—something that the colonial government often lacked. Although a credit of f40 million was granted in 1904, it did not help much in realizing many of the Ethical projects. Firstly, the credit was a “watered-down version of honour-payment.”¹⁹ Secondly, as a loan it was essentially a liability in the

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14. For examples: during the Ethical period the size of irrigated rice land multiplied by about 1.7 times (Furnivall, p. 324). Emigration was begun in 1905 with Lampong as destination. Subsequently Benkulen and the East Coast of Sumatra were also chosen as destinations. By 1930, however, population of the three areas totalled approximately 36,000 while that of Java approximately 41.7 million (Furnivall, 352, also Widjojo Nitisastro, *Population Trends in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Equinox, 2006), p. 6). The emergence of Dutch schools for the natives (HIS, MULO, and AMS) also begun during the Ethical Period, as well as many indigenous institutions for education; the most famous of which is *Taman Siswa* (for description about *Taman Siswa* by the founder, see Ki Hadjar Dewantara, “Some Aspects of National Education and the Taman Siswa Institute of Jogjakarta,” *Indonesia* vol. 4 (Oct. 67): 150–168. For an independent analysis, see Ruth T. McVey, “Taman Siswa and the Indonesian National Awakening,” *Indonesia* vol. 4 (Oct. 67): 128–149).
 15. A portrait of how the European community in the Indies lived in the early twentieth century can be found in Jean Taylor's *The Social World of Batavia*. A particular chapter (Ch. 6: ‘The Inner Life of Late Colonial Society’) analyses the community way of life in the colony vis-à-vis that of their counterparts in Europe. Her work therefore deals more with social rather than physical aspect of colonial life that the author of this paper refers to. See Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Colonial Indonesia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), pp. 135–158.
 16. According to *Volkstelling, 1930* (“Population Census, 1930”) the number of indigenous peoples working in agricultural sector in 1930 amounted to 67.7 percent of the total population. See Nitisastro, p. 84.
 17. See note 1, specifically: on ending year of the Ethical Period.
 18. Van Neil, p. 45–46. With regard to colonial administration, one of the most notable Ethical projects was the effort to make the post of *bupati* (regent) a non-hereditary one. This caused strong resentments from the *bupatis* and although the proposal was finally defeated in the *Volksraad*, the public way in which the issue was debated (beginning in 1918) had badly damaged the image of those social elites. It must also be noted that administrative reforms also affected European bureaucrats of the *Binnenlandsch Bestuur* (interior administration), whose powers during the course of the Ethical period were gradually transferred to the *Pangreh Pradja* (Java's native civil service corps). See Heather Sutherland, *The Making of A Bureaucratic Elite: The Colonial Transformation of the Javanese Priyayi* (Singapore: Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1979), pp. 79–80, 118–123.
 19. Van Neil, p. 31. The term “honour-payment” (*eeerschuld*) itself refers to a sum of f67 million which one pioneer Ethici, Conrad Théodor van Deventer, claimed in 1899 as a sum to be paid back to the indigenous population in the colony for the hardships they endured during the *cultuurstelsel* (forced cultivation) period of 1830–c.1870. The payment was to be in the form of the most sympathetic colonial policy. See Chr. L.M. Penders, ed. & trans., *Indonesia: Selected Documents on Colonialism and Nationalism, 1830–1942* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1977), p. 62. The f67 million is in addition to another f187 million that the Dutch owed the people of the Netherlands Indies for *cultuurstelsel* revenue contributing directly to the Netherlands' state budget between 1867–77.

colonial budget and as such hardly relieving to the colony's finance. With the outbreak of the Great War situation worsened. Although the Netherlands remained neutral throughout the War and no military action took place in the East Indies,²⁰ economic activities between the two were seriously disrupted as shipping routes became increasingly dangerous. As external trade was restricted, the colonial government was forced to survive independently from Holland. The situation demanded the most careful measures that the government could possibly take. The colonial budget was so severely curtailed that "money was often lacking to execute much of the colonial program."²¹

The second problem related to the question of suitability. The Western concept of welfare that the Ethici sought to achieve was alien to the Javanese masses. Education, in particular, emphasizes on personal enlightenment and through it, personal advancement. But the Javanese of the early twentieth century was a society featured by feudalism and a rigid system of hierarchy. Although polarisation within Javanese society occurred in the late nineteenth century,²² in essence it did not transform society character so radically as to shift it toward the egalitarian model of liberal European societies. Despite differences in aspirations and cultural orientations did exist, the Javanese society of the late nineteenth century was still a deeply hierarchical, community-based institution. It was into this society that the Ethici attempted to bring fundamental changes modelled after the European experience. The concept of welfare that the Ethici sought to achieve was that of the European model, alien to its native equivalent which emphasized on collective rather than individual accomplishments. Ki Hadjar Dewantara described the situation aptly:

"We can say of all the Ethici that from the bottom of their hearts they aimed at doing good; however, with all due respect to their pioneer work, they identified us too much with themselves and measured us against their own western standards, so that many of their ideals and much of their labor were doomed to strand on the invisible rocks of our uncomprehended inner life."²³

It is of little wonder then that in the course of its implementation, the Ethical Policy was marked by apathy, lack of coordination, reluctant cooperation, and incidents—such as indigenous nationalism.

The third was the presence of economic motives. For the business community the Ethical Policy's goal of raising the indigenous people's standard of living was certainly beneficial to their businesses—even if it simply means greater spending. The Ethici themselves continued to include private capitals in their plans for the colony.²⁴ They realized that the more projects they carried out, the more money they would require. While there is logic in viewing increase of wealth as contributory to welfare attainment, to some degree it also brings the risk of distracting focus. Which comes first: capital or compassion?

But what made the Ethical Policy fundamentally flawed is the fact that it was not prepared to endure pressures from a force of which the emergence was, ironically, attributed to the adoption of the Policy itself. In fact it was the growth of Indies nationalism and subsequent Dutch reactions that swept away the Ethical spirit: while the former was growing stronger during the 1920s, the latter, as we have seen, was slowly decaying until it perished completely from the colony in the early 1930s. The uneasy and hostile attitude shown by the colonial government toward Indonesian nationalism can only serve to confirm the fact that the architects were not prepared to embrace the consequences of their own design.

20. This does not mean that the colony managed to escape effects of the War. General atmosphere in the Indies throughout 1914–18 was tense and its population would have no difficulty picturing battles eventually reach Java. Discussions on the necessity to prepare an indigenous militia called *Indië Weerbaar* (Resistant Indies) illustrate the anxiety of the time. For accounts on plans of that militia, see Van Dijk, pp. 255–286.

21. Van Neil, p. 101.

22. See M.C. Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese society: Islamic and Other Visions (c. 1830–1930)* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2007), pp. 28–29.

23. Ki Hadjar Dewantara, p. 155.

24. Van Neil, p. 39.

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2nd Prize Winner

**THE PRICE OF
CONTAINMENT:
MARSHALL PLAN
AND THE MUTUAL
SECURITY PROGRAM
IN INDONESIA,
1948-1952**

By Norman Joshua Soelias

History - University of Indonesia, 2014



"Well-researched and eloquently written, this is a well-argued paper that deals with a topic rarely studied by Indonesian scholars."

Dr. Baskara T. Wardaya
Historian, Sanata Dharma University



Background

During the final days of the Second World War, the subjects of the former Netherlands East Indies declared its independence. The proclamation that took place on 17 August 1945 in Jakarta officially ended colonialism in Indonesia. Conflict erupted after Dutch civil administration units, accompanied by British forces, landed in Jakarta on 29 September 1945, hardly one month after the proclamation.¹ After a prolonged conflict, the Dutch and Indonesians signed the Linggadjati Agreement on the end of November 1946.²

In July 1947, the Dutch launched an attack against Republican forces. The military campaign immediately attracted much attention from the international community and the United Nations. The UN Security Council immediately took the problem in Indonesia into account, resulting in a ceasefire agreement between the Indonesians and the Dutch in August 1947.³

The participation of the UN Security Council ultimately paved the way for the United States to participate on the issue. The US is a permanent member of the UN Security Council, and therefore has a great influence on the Council's decision-making. However, the Soviet Union is also a permanent member, so the Indonesian dispute is therefore partially or even wholly affected by the upcoming schism between the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc.

Meanwhile, the United States and the Soviet Union are moving towards a new political tension. After Germany surrendered in 7 May 1945, the Soviet Union has occupied most of the former German territories in Eastern Europe. Most of these territories were "liberated" by the Soviets to form governments under heavy Communist influence.⁴ These actions led to the deterioration of diplomatic relations between the West and the Soviets.

This sense of diplomatic distrust escalated in February 1946, when George F. Kennan, Deputy Chief of the US Mission to the USSR, sent a telegram to Washington concerning Soviet views and motives.⁵ The telegram helped the Truman Administration consolidate its view on a new policy towards the Soviets. In March 1947, President Harry S. Truman announced a new policy to "support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures".⁶ The Truman Doctrine and therefore the US foreign policy of containment were officially brought to life.

In May 1947, the US Congress agreed to send \$400 million to Greece and Turkey, with the former being embroiled in a civil war against Communist-backed forces.⁷ The policymakers in the Department of State realized that aid, both military and economic, are a realistic and effective form of containment against further Communist expansion. In April 1948, President Truman initiated the European Recovery Program (ERP) or the Marshall Plan. Administered by the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), the plan consists of a massive economic, military, and technical aid to allied European countries.⁸ The program also included countries currently fighting in colonial wars, such as the French in Indochina and the Dutch in Indonesia.

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1. Osman Raliby. *Documenta Historica*. (Jakarta : Penerbit Bulan-Bintang, 1953). Page 14.
 2. George McTurnan Kahin. *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY : Cornell University Press, 1955) Page 196.
 3. Yong Mun Cheong. H.J.van Mook and Indonesian Independence : A Study of His Role in Dutch-Indonesian Relations, 1945-1948. (The Hague : Martinus Nijhoff, 1982.) Page 132.
 4. John Keegan. *The Second World War*. (New York : Penguin Books, 2005). Page 593.
 5. George F. Kennan. *Telegram, George Kennan to George Marshall February 22, 1947. Harry S. Truman Administration File.* http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/coldwar/documents/pdf/6-6.pdf. Retrieved 25 July 2014.
 6. Michael Beschloss. *Our Documents : 100 Milestone Documents from the National Archives*. (New York : Oxford University Press, 2003.) Page 194-199.
 7. Stephen E. Ambrose and Douglas G. Brinkley. *The Rise of Globalism : American Foreign Policy Since 1938*. (New York : Penguin Books, 2011.) Page 83.
 8. *Ibid.* Page 92.

This essay will elaborate how containment policy shaped US-Indonesian relations and to what extent this affects Indonesian domestic politics during the early days of the Cold War. The argument here is that an early form of containment policy has a negative effect on US-Indonesian bilateral relations, which will continue to deteriorate well until the 1960s.

Containment Policy in Indonesia

On December 17th, 1948, George F. Kennan told US Secretary of State George C. Marshall, that Indonesia was the most crucial issue in the struggle against the Kremlin.⁹ However, the US has put her foot in Indonesia long before Kennan brought up the issue. In October 1945, after the Allied landings in Indonesia, the US reinstated its Consul-General for the Netherlands Indies, Dr. Walter A. Foote. His views were primarily pro-Dutch at that time.¹⁰

After a prolonged conflict between Republican forces and the Allies, the Indonesians and the Dutch signed the Linggadjati Agreement on November 1946. However, in July 1947 the Dutch attacked the Republican forces in a full-scale military operation. The news of the aggression shook the international world. The operation eventually halted after it was brought up in the UN Security Council.

In December 1947, the UN Security Council assigned a "Good Offices Committee" (GOC) to assist with the dispute.¹¹ Headed by an American intellectual, Frank Graham, the role of the GOC culminated in 19 January 1948 when a major agreement was signed onboard a US Navy ship, the USS Renville. After the Renville Agreement, Coert Du Bois, a particularly renowned diplomat among State Department circles, replaced Frank Graham.

During a visit to Jogjakarta, Du Bois and other members of the US delegation were convinced that the Republic are a 'real force' and represented the 'spearhead' of the Indonesian struggle for independence.¹² The successor of Du Bois, H. Merle Cochran, submitted a plan to settle the Dutch-Indonesian dispute with the full support of the State Department. The Dutch rejected the plan.

In September 1948, the Indonesians succeeded in crushing a Communist rebellion in Madiun, with most of the hard-liner Communist leaders executed.¹³ Consequently, this incident serves a double purpose concerning relations with the US. It shows that the Republic is not a Communist country, and it also serves as a warning for the Americans that a prolonged state of war and chaos makes the country susceptible to Communism.

Indonesia has paid its price for further American support. After Madiun, the US policy towards Indonesia is more supportive towards decolonization. This is in lieu with the American containment policy against Communism. After the initiation of the Marshall Plan in Europe, it was widely believed that the Soviets would try to seek supporters from other areas, such as Southeast Asia.¹⁴ Therefore, prolonged support towards a colonial nation fighting a colonial war would be fairly disadvantageous to American interests.

In 19 December 1948, the Dutch launched another military action against the Republic. This time, the Dutch succeeded in overwhelming the Republican capital of Jogjakarta and capturing most of its leaders, including Soekarno.¹⁵ However, the Dutch failed to annihilate the Republican government in a single swift

9. Frances Gouda and Thijs Brocades Zaalberg. *Indonesia Merdeka Karena Amerika?: Politik Luar Negeri AS dan Nasionalisme Indonesia, 1920-1949*. (Jakarta : Serambi, 2008). Page 35.

10. *Ibid.* Page 198.

11. George McTurnan Kahin. *Op.Cit.* Page 217.

12. Gerlof D. Homan. *The Netherlands, The United States and the Indonesian Question, 1948*. *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol 25, No.1 (Jan.1990), pages 123-141.

13. Harry A. Poeze. *Madiun 1948 : PKI Bergerak*. (Jakarta : Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2011.) Page 297.

14. Frances Gouda and Thijs Brocades Zaalberg. *Op.Cit.* Page 313.

15. George McTurnan Kahin. *Op.Cit.* Page 337.

stroke. Because the Dutch aggression is a violation of an UN-sponsored truce, the UN Security Council called for a cessation of hostilities. This was followed by a ceasefire on 5 January 1948.

In 7 February 1949, the US Senate passed a resolution to halt all ECA aid and other financial aid allocated for the Dutch until a cessation of hostilities in Indonesia.¹⁶ A report published by the CIA also noted that the Dutch military action in Indonesia would bring more harm than good toward US interests in the area.¹⁷

Eventually, the Dutch open up a new stream of negotiations and acknowledged Indonesian sovereignty in 27 December 1949. After the transfer of sovereignty, the State Department immediately reconsidered all economic aid formerly destined for the Netherlands Indies administration to be sent to the new Republic of the United States of Indonesia (RUSI). This includes a US\$100 million development loan by the Export-Import Bank which were held back during the Revolution.¹⁸ The Export-Import Bank finally agreed to provide the funds in 10 February 1950.

The US regarded Indonesia as a country with potential anti-Communist orientation. This is shown in the amount of economic and military aid supplied by the US at that time. In 6 October 1949, President Truman signed the Mutual Defense Assistance Act, the first US foreign aid policy of the upcoming Cold War.¹⁹ The act established a Mutual Defense Assistance Program (MDAP) that administered military and economic aid to countries that are considered friendly or beneficial for American *containment*-based foreign policy. Indonesia was one of the countries listed to receive the program. In May 1950, the Hatta government of the RUSI signed a bilateral agreement regarding military assistance from the US.²⁰

The agreement consists of an aid package for the Indonesian National Police, which includes equipment, armaments, ammunition, and also training. The amount of the aid was approximately US\$ 5 million, which will be used to train and equip 20.000 police officers in Indonesia.²¹ In return, Hatta promised that the Republic would not sell war-potential materials to any enemy of the United States, either directly or through intermediary countries or channels.²² Politically, this was a very sensitive issue at that time, so Hatta and the US Ambassador Merle Cochran decided not to publish any documents concerning the deal.

In 17 August 1950, The RUSI was disbanded and replaced by a unitary Republic of Indonesia. The first Prime Minister for the new unitary republic was Mohammad Natsir. The new Natsir cabinet has a different approach towards foreign aid by carefully selecting offers of aid, particularly from the US. This is because the cabinet has been bound by the terms of an already well-established consensus on independent foreign policy in Indonesia.²³ During that time, the Natsir government rejected a MDAP survey mission led by John F. Melby of the State Department and Major General Graves B. Erskine of the USMC.²⁴ This is partly because of the view that accepting such an offer can be translated as siding with the United States.

However, the MDAP was already well underway in Indonesia. Contrary to the public knowledge at that time, the US had established a Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) in Jakarta to supervise the MDAP aid in Indonesia. In 16 October 1951, the chief of MAAG Jakarta, Lieutenant Colonel Gordon L. Beach, stated

16. Panitia Penulisan Sejarah Diplomasi Republik Indonesia. *Sejarah Diplomasi Republik Indonesia dari Masa ke Masa*. (Jakarta : Departemen Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2004). Page 236.

17. CIA Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) – CIA Historical Review Program Collection. *Consequences of Dutch "Police Action"*. http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/89801/DOC_0000258552.pdf. Retrieved 27 July 2014.

18. Pierre van der Eng. *Marshall Aid as a Catalyst in the Decolonization of Indonesia 1947-1949*. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol 19 No.2 (September 1988). Page 337.

19. Chester J. Pach, Jr. *Arming the Free World : The Origins of the United States Military Assistance Program, 1945-1950*. (Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press, 1991). Page 130-135.

20. United States Department of State. *Foreign Relations of the United States : 1950, Volume VI – East Asia and the Pacific*. (Washington : The United States Government Printing Office, 1976). Page 1025.

21. *Ibid.* Page 964.

22. *Ibid.* Page 1053.

23. Herbert Feith. *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*. (Jakarta : Equinox Publishing, 2007). Page 175.

24. United States Department of State. *Op.Cit.* Page 1078.

in a report to the State Department that at least half of the aid was already delivered to the Indonesian Police, where it was used to strengthen its capabilities.²⁵ At that time, it is unclear why the Indonesian public is not aware regarding the placement of MAAG units in Jakarta.

In April 1951, Sukiman replaced Natsir as Prime Minister. The new cabinet's attitude on foreign relations is fairly different from Natsir's. The Sukiman administration is known to be more pro-American in their approach towards diplomacy. This is particularly evident when Indonesia sent a delegation led by Foreign Minister Ahmad Subardjo to sign the Japanese Peace Treaty in San Francisco in 8 September 1951. The treaty was mostly designed by the United States, so it invited vigorous opposition from the Eastern Bloc, especially the Soviet Union.²⁶ Most Indonesians interpreted this as a breach of the independent foreign policy approach, because the controversial treaty was not signed by any Eastern Bloc state.

The tendency of a pro-American foreign policy in Indonesia brought the Republic closer to the US. After signing the treaty, Foreign Minister Subardjo met with US Secretary of State Dean Acheson to discuss a \$50 million loan and having Indonesia put in a special category of countries eligible to receive US economic and technical assistance despite the fact that they were engaged in trade with Communist bloc countries.²⁷ These negotiations eventually led to Indonesia's signing of the Mutual Security Program (MSP) in 1951.

In 10 October 1951, President Truman signed the Mutual Security Act of 1951. The bill authorized approximately \$7.5 billion for foreign military, economic, and technical aid to Allied and friendly nations, particularly the European allies. The act also abolished the ECA, and therefore the Marshall Plan.²⁸ After this date, all aid coming from the US must be administered by the Mutual Security Agency. This includes the economic aid that was under ECA supervision and military aid under the MDAP program. Therefore, if any countries want to continue receiving aid from the US, they must conform to the new Mutual Security Act.

The Sukiman cabinet took this course. In a diplomatic note addressed to US Ambassador Merle Cochran on 5 January 1952, Foreign Minister Subardjo committed Indonesia to Mutual Security aid on the basis of Section 511A of the Act.²⁹ It is clear that the Sukiman government allowed this decision to ensure the continuity of American economic and military aid currently underway in Indonesia. However, in contrary to Hatta's action couple of years before, the action was leaked to the public.

The decision immediately invited public uproar on the subject. This was caused by the clauses enforced by the new Mutual Security Act. It emplaced potential or current recipients of US foreign aid under new responsibilities. One of the clauses that invited a lot of controversy in Indonesia was Section 511a. The section obliged that the recipient country had to commit itself to the following:

1. To take joint steps to further international understanding, goodwill, and security;
2. To take steps as agreed upon for the abolition of international tensions;
3. Fulfill the military obligations which it has already accepted in bilateral or multilateral treaties of which the US is a partner;
4. Make a full contribution, consistent with its political and economic capacity, its population, natural resources, facilities and general economic situation, to the development and maintenance of its own defenses and to the defensive strength of the free world;
5. Take the necessary steps to develop its own defensive strength;
6. Take reasonable measures to ensure the most effective use of the economic and military aid provided by the US.³⁰

25. United States Department of State. *Foreign Relations of the United States : 1951, Volume VI : Asia and the Pacific*. (Washington : The United States Government Printing Office, 1977). Page 717-719.

26. Herbert Feith. *Op.Cit.* Page 194.

27. *Ibid.* Page 197.

28. US House of Representatives. *Mutual Security Act of 1951*.

<http://history.house.gov/HistoricalHighlight/Detail/35416?ret=True>. Accessed in 30 July 2014.

29. Herbert Feith. *Op.Cit.* Page 199.

30. *Ibid.* Page 199.

There was a lot of parliamentary opposition against the matter, especially the term “*free world*” in point 4 and “*military*” in point 6. Both were regarded crucial because it was viewed as siding with the US in the Cold War, therefore contradictory with the official line of Indonesian independent foreign policy.

Although Minister Subardjo tried to negotiate on an alteration of the document via a phone call to Ambassador Cochran in 11 February 1952, the political crisis was already in a serious stage.³¹ The Sukiman government was already under great pressure in the Indonesian parliament. As a result of this crisis, Subardjo himself resigned on 21 February 1952, and the Sukiman cabinet fell two days later. Consequently, the US MAAG mission in Indonesia immediately shut down its operations.³² After this date, US-Indonesian relations were relatively strained.

Conclusion

The adoption of containment in American foreign policy subsequently affected foreign relations with Indonesia, especially during the early years of the Cold War. When the Indonesian government successfully suppressed the Madiun Incident of 1948, Indonesia’s need of arms and economic aid was immediately taken into account as an opportunity to undertake a US foreign aid policy based on containment. At that time, Indonesia was considered as a potential friend for the West.

At that time, the ERP, MDAP, and MSP were already widely known as an instrument of American containment policy. Therefore when the Hatta government accepted MDAP aid, it was recognized as a potential threat towards its internal political stability, so they decided not to make it public. However, when the Sukiman government accepted economic aid under the auspices of MSP without prior parliamentary consultation and it was subsequently publicized, domestic political crisis followed.

Eventually, Indonesia subsequently received economic aid in a more limited amount and under a different agreement. US-Indonesian relations deteriorated more after several events in Indonesia, such as the Bandung Conference in 1955 and the advent of Guided Democracy in 1959. The MSP crisis in Indonesia eventually forced America to seek new ways on conducting its containment-based foreign policy towards Indonesia.

31. US Department of State. *Foreign Relations of the United States : 1952-1954, Volume XII : East Asia and the Pacific*. (Washington : United States Government Printing Office, 1987.) Page 255-257.

32. A.A.Allison. *To Spurn The Gods : A Viet Nam Memoir*. (Bloomington, IN : Booktango, 2012.) Page 86.

3rd Prize Winner

**WOMEN, ISLAM, AND
NATION-BUILDING:
EXAMINING
TRANSNATIONAL
FRICTIONS OF
INDONESIA'S EARLY
FEMINISM**

By Hendri Yulius Wijaya

Business Administration - Kwik Kian Gie School of Business, 2010

Public Policy - Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy - National University of Singapore, 2014



"This thoughtful study shows how Raden Ajeng Kartini and President Sukarno reconfigured Western feminist discourse to fit dominant nationalist and Islamic ideologies in the era of National Awakening and the early Republic."

Peter Carey
Emeritus Fellow Trinity College, Oxford; and YAD Adjunct
Professor Faculty of Humanities (FIB), University of Indonesia



Introduction

This essay examines transnational frictions as a result of interactions between global and local discourse in the case of Indonesia's early feminism. Although it is greatly influenced by the West, Indonesia's feminism discourse itself has been translated and reappropriated with the local context, reflecting the refiguration of meanings across cultural spaces. It is also important to note that the English term 'feminism' I use in this essay is contested because its meaning is not always fixed. A myriad of interactions and encounters with different discourses and locality can combine and collaborate to produce new meanings. To make sense of this claim, it is necessary to briefly go through feminist contributions in history tradition and then locate the relevance of the notion of *transnational* as an attempt to complement existing feminist historical approaches.

Feminist theory has successfully challenged the conventional writing tradition of history which is often dubbed as *androcentric*, or male-centered. As a consequence, it has several implications for re-reading and recognizing women whose new 'visibility' is based on uncovering their roles, concerns, and efforts as integral member of their respective societies. In Indonesia itself, feminist scholar Saskia Wieringa argues that the historiography lacks emphasis on gender issues and women's roles and positions (Rizal 2007: 21). Having emphasized the importance of women's perspectives, Kuntowijoyo, the Professor of history from Gajah Mada University, however warns us not to fall into *gynocentrism* and subsequently proposes the *androgynous* approach highlighting the roles of both sexes, rather than privileging one over another (Adam 2007:17).

Nevertheless, since Indonesia's feminism has always been a transnational discourse (Wieringa 2007), the above historical approaches often does not factor in the complex relationships between the global and the local discourse foregrounding the history of feminism in this post-colonial state. The term 'feminism', despite its interchangeable meaning with 'women's movement', here is used to refer to "the articulation of the desires of Indonesians—whether it is male or female—who are concerned to improve the women's status and speak on behalf of women in general, including the sympathizers who may not formally be the part of women's organizations" (See Blackburn 2004: 11).

One of the quick examples of transnational Indonesia's feminism is Kartini who has been hailed as the first Indonesian 'feminist' learned about women's empowerment from her correspondences and interactions with her Dutch friends. In this regard, one must notice that this transnational encounter does not always result in the dominance of the global over the local, but along with the convergences and collisions, it potentially produces frictions. Inspired by the anthropologist Anna Tsing, Lim (2014:13) defines the notion of 'friction' as "the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference through the sticky materiality of practical encounters around the world". It thus provides the critical view on how universal terms and discourses derived from outside—in this case, the 'West'—are rearticulated in the local context and constitute a mutual awkward engagement between universal/local, dominant/other: "one changes over place and time through contact and the other [plausibly] stakes out claims beyond its locality" (See Lim 2014: 13, Tsing 2005).

Understanding Indonesia's feminism in multiple historical contexts is therefore crucial to examine how Indonesia's feminism strongly influenced by the Western discourse interacts with the locality and dissolves the boundaries between the 'West' and the 'non-West', producing transnational frictions. In this paper, I am making an attempt to explore how Indonesia's feminism is defined in a particular time. By doing so, I am going to show the 'ruptural components of cultural discourse', particularly the notion of feminism, which is not stable, but rather constitutes complex global-local interactions and changes over time.

The transnational analysis in this paper is explored through 2 (two) Indonesia's prominent figures, such as R.A. Kartini and Ir. Soekarno. The former has been hailed as the first Indonesian feminist. Meanwhile, the latter, in addition to his concerns on women's issues, was celebrated as one of the most important forces behind the idea of Indonesia who subsequently became the country's first post-independence president

(Fukuyama 2015: 326). Both left writing documents that serve as key references to the earlier idea of Indonesia's feminism, as well as nation-building.

Kartini: The Oscillating Desires

Historian Cora Vreede-De Stuers (2008: 45) argues that since Indonesia depended mostly on agriculture, more than 80 percent of its citizens were farmers, including women who also played active role in the economy. Women's positions in society were however strongly governed by traditions. They had less power than men (De Stuers 2008: 45). Yet one must note that in a few cases, Indonesian women remained having access to high status or position. For some instances, before colonialization, Aceh was led by women (1641-1699) and many Acehese women also participated in local forces to combat against Dutch colonialization, while in Java, some women also became leaders (De Stuers 2008: 49-50).

In Stuers' argument, the penetration of modern economy and Western education had significantly contributed to the changes of Indonesian society's landscape (2008: 52). On the other hand, Lombard as cited by Rizal (2007: 24) explains that "the emergence of ports, urban society, and Islam had come along with a tendency to limit women's freedom". Furthermore, he also contends "although the early reactions always accused Islam as the main cause of gender inequality, but it might be important to scrutinize the customs of urban society itself and examine whether they have a certain tendency to confine women and perpetuate any kind of sexism" (Rizal 2007: 25). The subjugation of Indonesian women was then arguably perpetuated by traditions as well as religion, prohibiting women to enjoy equal opportunity as opposed to their male counterparts.

While the term 'feminism' and 'gender' have been popularly used in the middle of 1990s, the spirit of Indonesia's feminism itself could be traced back to a Javanese young woman named Kartini, who lived at the end of the 19th century (Sadli 2010: 363). Born in 1880 to a feudal family, Kartini was dreaming to study in the Netherlands to obtain a teacher's certification and establish a boarding-school (*sekolah pondokan*) for young women. Nevertheless, because of traditional customs that prohibited girls from going to school when they reached adolescence (Sadli 2010: 364), she had to abandon her dream and left school at the age of twelve. She then entered confinement in her house without losing her ferocious desire to read and opportunities to write letters to her Dutch friends, including E.H Zeen Handelaar and R.M Abendanon-Mandri (See Kartini 2014). Her anxieties, desires, disappointments, as well as protests against the traditional customs were obviously expressed in these letters.

These letters recorded transnational encounters between Kartini and her Dutch friends, representing the convergence between the West and non-West. In her first letter to E. H Zeehandelaar (May 25th, 1899), she wrote that her late grandfather, Pangeran Ario Tjondronegoro from Demak had been fascinated by the European progress and civilization. Additionally, this inclination was then followed by Kartini associating Europe with "the center of civilization and advancement"¹ (Kartini 2014: 135).

Despite her favor toward Europe, Bandel (2014: xix) argues that Kartini, as a female native living under colonial rule, also witnessed severe injustice, unfairness, and exploitation against Indonesians as a direct effect of colonialization. Furthermore, she also asserts that Kartini's desires to fathom Western knowledge coincided with her love and respect toward her family and nation and it made her soul oscillate between her own desires, Islam, and Nationalism (2014: xix).

Although she was somehow fascinated by the Western feminism, she still could not detach herself entirely from both Javanese culture and Islamic value. She believed that the advancement of women could not be easily separated from its role as a mother and a man's partner. Some resources also mentioned that Kartini

1. "Di Eropa saja, pusat peradaban dan kemajuan..." (Kartini 2014: 135).

was one of the disciples of Kiai Saleh Darat as-Samarani (1820-1903), one of the famous Muslim scholars (*ulama*) in the country (See Bandel 2014). In one of her letters, she wrote:

“God created woman to be man’s partner and her ultimate purpose in life is to have a husband. This is the hard fact. I gladly declare that women’s ultimate happiness for now and the next centuries will be to live harmoniously with men!”(2014: 85).²

In relation with these believed assigned roles by God, Kartini viewed that women’s empowerment would be beneficial for the progress of the children and family since “...women are the pillars of civilization. Not because women are considered capable of the task, but because I myself strongly believe that from women great influence might emerge...that women have the most contribution to the advancement of human morality” (See Kartini’s letter to Mrs. Abendanon, 21 January 1901, 2014: 121). Additionally, she explained:

“It is from women that humans receive their first education—on a woman’s lap, a child gradually learns to feel, think, and speak; I came to realize more and more that the effect of the first education is not insignificant to human life in the future” (2014: 121).³

By highlighting women’s roles as a mother and the first educator—or *Iboe Bangsa*⁴, she associated women’s education and advancement as an essential part of nation-building as well as the development of human morality. Feminism, in her eyes, could not be separated from motherhood. Unfortunately, in 1903, Kartini was forced to marry a Regent of Rembang—a much older widower with three wives. Only a few days after the birth of her first child, she died.

Soekarno: Women’s Duties in Nation-Building

Similar like his predecessor, Soekarno was also truly inspired by Western knowledge and progress, particularly socialism which puts greater emphasize on ‘collectivism’. He defined socialism as a situation where “there is a collective factory, industrialization, production, distribution, and education.” (Soekarno 2014: 268). His thoughts on women’s advancement, nation-building, and socialism were obviously documented in *Sarinah*—a collection of his lectures in women’s courses (*kursus wanita*)—published two years right after the Indonesia’s independence.

Soekarno’s thoughts were built upon the texts of European socialists—the ones spread widely in the Soviet Union, declaring that women would have not been able to be good wives and mothers if they worked full time outside the house (Wieringa 2010: 147). Thus, he suggested a socialist solution to turn most of the domestic work into a collective work (Wieringa 2010: 147). Socialism would eventually free women from their shackles. In order to achieve this ideal, Soekarno stated that women also must participate actively in the National Struggles.

Despite the strong influence from Western socialism and feminism, Soekarno actually did not want to fully adopt the Western practice of feminism since he also questioned whether European women were satisfied with their own feminist achievements:

“Has the feminist movement in Europe satisfied the European women themselves? Additionally, has the neofeminist movement satisfied these European women? I know that in Indonesia there

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2. “Allah menciptakan perempuan untuk menjadi teman laki-laki dan tujuan hidupnya adalah bersuami. Betul, tidak dapat disangkal. Dengan senang hati, saya mengakui, bahwa kebahagiaan perempuan yang paling utama, juga berabad-abad kemudian dari sekarang adalah hidup selaras bersama laki-laki!” (Kartini 2014: 85)
 3. “Dari perempuanlah manusia itu pertama-tama menerima pendidikan. Di pangkuan perempuanlah seseorang mulai belajar merasa, berpikir, dan berkata-kata. Dan makin lama makin jelas bagi saya, bahwa pendidikan yang mula-mula itu bukan tanpa arti bagi seluruh kehidupan” (Kartini 2014: 121).
 4. Literary means “Mother of the Nation”, this term is used to address Kartini by Komnas Perempuan (See Komnas Perempuan 2009: 14-15).

are feminist and neo-feminist women. But, I would like to ask these women: Do you know that European women themselves are not satisfied with the results of their feminist and neo-feminist movements?"(2014: 6-7).

Moreover, he also asserted that European feminist movement had been excessive (*kelewat batasan*) in generalizing and forgetting different natures of both sexes. The notion of nature here basically refers to the biological determination of different gender roles attached to both sexes which arguably rooted in monotheism teaching, particularly Islam and Christianity. Monotheism generalizes that the division of the sexes was inevitably pre-ordained by God. Soekarno cited Yasin verse 36 and al-Zuchruf verse 12 from the Quran about how God has created men and women in pairs: "Nature created humans to live in pairs. Men cannot exist if there were no women, women cannot exist if there were no men" (2014: 16).

Having considered that this 'misconception', which was encouraged by Western feminism, potentially destroyed the nation, Soekarno then proposed for Indonesians to critically examine the European feminist movement before slavishly imitating their strategies and objectives. In addition, European feminism would not successfully detach women entirely from subjugation if they could not transform capitalist industrialization into socialism. He believed industrialization makes "man works from rise to set of sun, while women's work is never done" (Soekarno 2014: 79).

Soekarno thereby claimed that women's total independence did not always satisfy her since she was also a woman, a wife, and a mother. She could work in factories or companies, but her love, duty and responsibility to husband and children could not be easily forgotten. Women could be modern and 'feminist', but she still needs love, affection, and desires to please her husband and kids. Consequently, women's roles here are naturalized; it coheres with her *kodrat* (biology determination). Dualism persisted in Soekarno's thoughts, perpetuating a binary between women and men.

His belief on the different natures of both sexes was inevitably influenced by Islamic teaching. Although he was not a *fiqh* expert, Soekarno had gone through many books about women's status in Islam, making him well-aware of various interpretations and debates on this topic (See Soekarno 2014:9).

To address the debate, he cited Prophet Muhammad's saying, "Women are the pillar of a nation! When women thrive, so will their nation. When women corrupt, so will their nation" (2014:10). It clearly shows not only socialism, but also Islamic discourse exerts its influence on his thought on women. The strong influences of Islam actually had even appeared in his short published pamphlet in 1927 titled *Nationalism, Islam, and Marxism* seeking to synthesize Islam and Marxism by "claiming that the messages of Islam and Marxism were similar insofar they both opposed usury." (Fukuyama 2015: 326).

Although he was not in favor with the objective of radical Muslims to achieve a theocratic state, he also realized that the doctrinaire Marxism itself would breed hostility to religion (2015. 326). Soekarno hence synthesized these frictions to define the Indonesia nation in the broadest possible terms—a multiethnic nation with reference to generic monotheism that is articulated in *Pancasila* (Five Pillars).

Soekarno's apparent adherence to socialism, Islam, and nationalism therefore led him to call upon all Indonesian women to participate and work collaboratively with men in achieving National Revolution; women to build the state, while at the same time, to not abandon their God-given nature as what

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5. "Adakah misalnya hasil-hasil pergerakan feminisme di Eropa sudah memuaskan,-memuaskan kepada kaum perempuan Eropa sendiri? Adakah pergerakan dan neofeminisme memuaskan pula kepada kaum perempuan Eropa itu? Saya mengetahui, di Indonesia ada wanita-wanita feminis dan neo-feminis. Tetapi, kepada mereka itu saya ingin bertanya: Tahukah tuan, bahwa kaum perempuan Eropa sendiri tidak puas lagi dengan hasil feminisme atau neo-feminisme itu?" (Soekarno 2014: 7)
 6. "Alam membuat manusia berpasang-pasangan. Laki-laki tak dapat ada jika tak ada perempuan, perempuan tak dapat ada jika tak ada laki-laki" (Soekarno 2014: 16).
 7. "Perempuan itu tiang negeri. Manakala baik perempuan, baiklah negeri. Manakala rusak perempuan, rusaklah negeri." (Prophet Muhammad cited by Soekarno 2014: 10).

'excessive' Western feminists did. In spite of his critique on Western feminism, Soekarno still hoped that different streams of women's or feminist organizations could be united and synthesized into "one big torrent which flows toward one direction, to combat against colonialization" (2014: 329).

The reappropriation of feminism discourse by Soekarno and Kartini to fit Islamic and nationalism exemplifies the way discourses are refigured to conform to particular dominant ideologies. Kartini and Soekarno collaborated with dominant meanings to reflect women empowerment as a crucial part of nation-building and independence, celebrating women's potential as an agent of change without fully submitting to Western feminist discourse.

Conclusion

Reflecting these 'feminist' discourses, Western feminism is clearly not translated perfectly into local context since transnational frictions produced in the translation process is inevitable. These frictions are mostly produced through the encounter with three lines of knowledge production—the discourses of women, Islam, and nation-building.

The early Indonesia's feminism coalesced around a binary in which men and women carry different bodies and natures which determine their roles in society. With their distinctive given-natures, equality is defined as 'a situation where both sexes respect and collaborate for nation-building'. Because the term 'gender' had not yet been used during this time, there were still no distinction between sex and gender as reflected in the later modern Indonesia's feminist thought.

Kartini and Soekarno's approach to feminism thereby open our eyes to the ways women's empowerment are embroiled in a set of interconnecting issues on Islam and the nation-building, creating transnational frictions. Hence, it is no exaggeration to say that a particular flow of meanings produced across cultural spaces creates a specific discourse and knowledge that is never purely local nor purely global.

8. "Jikalau umpamanya di Indonesia ini ada bermacam-macam perserikatan-perserikatan wanita atau partai-partai wanita, -entah dari tingkat kesatukah, atau feminiskah, atau neofeminiskah, atau sosialislah-dijadikanlah perserikatan-perserikatan atau partai-partai wanita itu sedapat mungkin berfederasi atau beraksi-bersama, menjadi satu gelombang maha-besar yang di bawah panji-panjinya sintesis program itu menggelombang ke satu arah,-ke arah benteng penjajahan, yang harus diremuk-redamkan bersama-sama, dihantam hancur-lebur bersama-sama" (Soekarno 2014: 329-330).

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**A COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF DUTCH
AND BRITISH
COLONIAL METHODS
TO CONTROL
EPIDEMICS IN THE
EAST INDIES FROM
1880-1940**

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At the turn of 20th century, Western medicine responded to a series of epidemiological challenges in the world's tropical and temperate regions. The fields of pathology, immunology, and pharmacology made great scientific advances in curbing deaths, helping to make the world a safer place not only for Europeans but also for indigenous populations.

In recent years, it has become apparent that the interactions of colonial authorities with disease management efforts, medical research, and the administration of health policies are considerably more complex. Medicine is a primary vehicle for the spreading of colonial ideas, offering richly suggestive insights into the general character of European expansion. Colonialism highlights the fact that medicine is an ideology as much as a practice. It represents a particular way of viewing relationships between human beings and their environment. In the East Indies, the Dutch and British colonizers contracted diseases like *cacar*, beri-beri, malaria, and tuberculosis. These epidemics began with an outbreak of beri-beri, which had become a deadly terror in the East Indies. It struck multitudes, from the laborers that worked in the plantations and mines dispersed throughout the Indies to prisoners in jails, including the soldiers assigned to guard them. Poor sanitation caused the epidemic to spread. Additionally, malnutrition and deteriorating individual health standards contributed to the crisis.

This article focuses on both the West and East Sumatra residencies as well as the British colonies of Penang and Singapore. This project argues that the success or failure of the methods to control epidemics not only depends on the colonialists' decisions but also on the topography of the infected areas and human characteristics.

West Sumatra residency is the official name of Minangkabau's land. As in other places in Indonesia, Minangkabau was a Dutch colony. West Sumatra means west coast of Sumatra Courant, in the region of Padang. The other region under study, the East Sumatra residency, encompasses the east coast of Sumatra Island. Both of the residencies expanded their power with the development of trade in coffee, tobacco, and rubber. The topography of this area is similar to that of West Sumatra, with mountains and tropical forests. The other side, Malaya means the Malayan peninsula and the islands of Penang and Singapore. Most of Malaya is covered by tropical forest and mountainous areas, similar to Sumatra Island. The British colonies in Malaysia were located in the Malacca Strait, Penang, and Singapore.

West Sumatra, East Sumatra, Singapore, and Penang share similar cultures and languages. The Malays are the majority while many Chinese, Indian, Arabic, and Javanese also reside in this region. Half of the Chinese and Javanese were laborers or *kuli kontrak* (Breman:1992), working in the minefields and plantations in Sumatra. Many people from different places and cultures lived there. In both West and East Sumatra residencies, Islam is the principle religion. The Minangkabau and Malays are conservative Moslems, but also follow their ethnic traditions or *adat*. Malays *adat* derived from the animist beliefs that thrived before the arrival of Islam. Remnants of these animist beliefs (paganism) exist still, even among some practicing Moslems. Basically, the Minangkabau and Malays are very kind and friendly peoples, sharing similar cultures and traditions (Marsden:1966). But in relation with the Dutch they are very closed, because the Dutch in Sumatra had a bad reputation because of the Paderi (1821-1838) and Aceh Wars (1873-1904) there (Amran:1985). Violent confrontations between the Dutch and the people there produced indigenous rancor against the Europeans. In addition, Sumatra contains the most Moslems in the region; thus, there was considerable animosity toward European Christianity. Because of that the people in Sumatra didn't trust the Dutch.

The British colonies of Penang and Singapore had some Chinese inhabitants that lived and dressed in native style. They were portrayed as places of dread for traders, infertile and unproductive. In 1819, Singapore had approximately a thousand inhabitants that tended orchards, collected jungle produce, fished, and participated in small-scale trading and piracy (Turnbull:1989). Singapore was particularly attractive to the Chinese, who for many years had settled throughout the region as traders, farmers, and miners, and operated a business network in Riau, Malacca, Penang, Batavia, and other ports in Java. Malays in Penang and Singapore share similar characteristics with those in Sumatra, but rather more welcoming for the foreigner like Chinese, Bugis, Arabs, Indian, and European.

For the first time, Beri-beri disease infected other Dutch and British colonies in East Indies at the end of 19th. The coming of beri-beri disease to West and East Sumatra was on 1873 (Loedin:2002). At the time a half of a crew of streamer ship, Hertog Bernard, was treated in military hospital in Padang after the ship stayed in the Lampung bay for a long time. The Lampung bay was known and feared because of beri-beri epidemic. In 1876, in the journal report titled *Beri-Beri te Atjeh* (Niclou:1887), said that epidemic infection in Aceh was very bad. However, not only in Aceh, but also in other places and areas that were affected by epidemic, like Malacca strait, Penang and Singapore.

Penang and Singapore was infected by some of the tropical disease like *cacar*, beri-beri, and malaria also. This infection are similar with Sumatra diseases infection, because the similar geographic between Penang, Singapore, East Sumatra and West Sumatera. Thomas Cristie, a doctor of military British colonial government, said that since the end of 18th, British colonies like Sri Lanka, India, Malaysia, and Singapore was infected by *cacar*. The mortality rate about this disease was very high (Manson:1898). W.L. Braddon, epidemiology staff in British government said Malaya and Singapore was infected by beri-beri as a mysterious diseases in 1898. At the time, medical places which had been established by British colonial government to controlled malaria epidemic before, always full with the beri-beri patient.

Besides beri-beri and *cacar*, in 1939, the Dutch journal said that tuberculosis had infected West Sumatera, even the important city like Fort de Kock. Dr. Thuenissen, a chief of healthy department in Dutch colonial, travelled to Sumatra on 1939, and he reported tuberculosis infected on west Sumatra (Thuenissen:1939), as one of the impact of global economic crisis or *Maleise* Period, surged almost around of the world. The Dutch and British colonial in the East Indies did not escaped from the *Maleise* Period impact because the colonialist survived with the row materials in the colony.

For the treatment and medicine, the people in Sumatra had a *Dukun* for the traditional medical treatment. *Dukun* was a human who has a mystical powers. The meaning is adjacent to shaman in English. The people there believed that a disease was given by a spirit and ghost, and *Dukun* had a power to kick the spirit out from the patients. Their believed that *Dukun* could cure them when the epidemic infecting. Consequently, many people die because they did not get a good medicine, and correct treatment. Similar with a people in Sumatera, in settlement of Malaya, they believed *Bomoh* (for man) and *Bidan Kampong* (for women). The meaning of *Bomoh* same with *Dukun*. *Bidan Kampong* usually help women in her parturition. She always used a plant for a medicine. Similar with Malays there, the Chinese had a traditional medical treatment as their culture. They called traditional doctor as *tabib*. *Tabib* always used traditional medicine like herbal plant. *Tabib* is a hereditary skills, because the ability to make a medicine is transmitted through the family. Chinese medicine also became popular medical treat in Penang and Singapore, because many Chinese lived there.

When beri-beri started infecting people in Sumatra, the Dutch government was not prepared to control it. The Dutch epidemiologist tried to find out this disease, but it was not successful because colonial government did not have some of medicine to treat the patient. To control this epidemic, Dutch colonial had no other way except to order indigenous people to clean their environment. The Dutch also gave their army who infected by beri-beri a good food and vitamin. In consequence, the problem of beri-beri epidemic in Sumatra finished for a long time, since 1873-1914.

On the other hand Singapore and Penang, Dr Kerr, The Chief of British Health Officer said that all those who were infected by beri-beri disease—Europeans or not, should be admitted to the hospital until they recovered. It was to address the spread of beri-beri epidemic, because it did not only infect indigenous people but also are Europeans. The swelling number of the patients, and the lack of hospital facilities became a problem to them, so the British colonial issued a decision, permit to use a traditional medicine (Malay and Chinese) to control beri-beri epidemic under colonial government control (Manson:1898). In 1883, Chinese community established Traditional Chinese Medicine Community at Munin street in Penang. This community cooperated with colonial government to control beri-beri epidemic in Penang and Singapore. Therefore a epidemics had finished since 1884-1908, this was lower than the Dutch in Sumatra.

Cacar become scary disease in East Indies In 1873-1939, because many peoples was died (Reid:1988). Cacar coming to West Sumatra in 1912, when the Dutch still busy to extinguish the scraps of the rebellion tax (Amran:1985). In the same time, the worker and health professional in West Sumatra was overwhelmed to blocked a spread of epidemics. In Padang, cacar epidemic spread faster and massive. This epidemic predicted occurred for a long time. Therefore Dutch colonial healthy department necessary to keep existing vaccines. But the available vaccine insufficient to treating and preventing an epidemic (Johan:1980).

The Dutch colonial Health Department tried to increase cacar vaccine. They raised vaccine from a children who infected this disease before, which had a festering boils in their self. They found the children around the city. Bahder Johan, was one of the children. He was a "seeds of vaccine." In his memoirs *Pengabdian Kemanusiaan*, recorded that in epidemics period he visited by *mantri kesehatan* (indigenous healthy officers), and take him to the place making seed of vaccine,

Actually, vaccination introduced by the British regard cacar as a preventable disease. Before in East Indies British had earlier experienced with cacar In India in 1849 (Arnold:1950). Indian use traditional treatment to control cacar epidemic for the first time, like ritual in Hindu's temple. But it is not working to cure the victims, so British tried to develop the vaccine in the large quantities, therefore British not too worried to encounter cacar in Singapore and Penang. Beside vaccination, they provided good facilities to treat cacar's victims. Same with beri-beri epidemics, British supported Chinese medicine and Malays medicine to blend with Western medicine, because British believe it was help them to finished beri-beri epidemic before. Previous British experiences with cacar in the colonies of India, as well as a willingness to encourage traditional Chinese medical treatments, ultimately made their campaign of disease prevention more successful than that of their Dutch counterparts in Sumatra.

Tuberculosis infected Penang and Singapore on 1918. The Institute for Medical Research contributed to the discovery of the cause of tuberculosis. Beside western medicine to treat the victims, they use traditional medicine like Chinese and Malayan medicine because the treatment success to control beri-beri and cacar epidemics before. Moreover British has a policy to quarantine the tuberculosis victims in same hospital. This policy similar with the Dutch policy to control tuberculosis epidemics. The chief of Healthy department of Hindia-Belanda (*Hoofd van den Dienst der Volksgezondheid*) Dr Thuenissen visited Sumatra on 1930, and report that tuberculosis in Sumatra especially West and East Sumatra very dangerous, and he make a policy to build tuberculosis hospital.

British and Dutch had good methods to control epidemics in their colonies. However, they had different periods to finish the epidemics because of different topography and human characteristics. West and East Sumatra have large areas that skipped by *Bukit Barisan* path from Aceh in the north of Sumatra until south of Sumatra. Almost all of indigenous peoples lived there because *Bukit Barisan* is suitable for planting coffee, tobacco, tea, gambir, rubber, so the Dutch had trouble to control this situation, because the access to the path is very difficult. Consequently, many people who were infected by epidemics did not get good medicine. In addition, the human characteristics of Minangkabau and Malays as indigenous people there were different with Malays in the Penang and Singapore in their interaction with colonials. Indigenous people in Sumatra distrusted the Dutch after the Paderi War. Most of the people in Sumatra assumed that the war was a religion war between Moslem and Christian. Consequently, when an epidemic infected almost all of Sumatra inland, they did not believe in modern medical treatment and prefer to used traditional medicine and treatment.

The difference with Penang and Singapore is thus have a small area and plural population there. The people in Penang and Singapore are not only the Malays, but also Chinese, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans, but the indigenous people there were accustomed for foreigners, so when the British East Indies Company opened branches office there, the people received it. When a epidemic infected Penang and Singapore, especially cacar epidemic, British colonial had similar experiences in India before. Beside vaccination and western or modern medicine, the British tried to blend a traditional medicine like Chinese and Malay medicine with western medicine to eradicate all of the epidemics which ultimately made their campaign for disease prevention more successful than that of their Dutch counterparts in Sumatra.

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DISASTER AND LANDSCAPE RHYTHM : A CASE STUDY OF MT. MERAPI INDONESIA

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Mount Merapi (2965 m) is the most active volcano in Indonesia, with over 23 eruptions in the last 100 years (Voight et.al. 2000). This volcano erupts effusively (non-explosive) almost continuously, not exceeded 3.5 years, explosively every 8-15 years, and violently every 26-54 years (Thouret et.al. 2000). This periodic eruption is already a natural rhythm, which further creates a set of cultural rhythm on Mt. Merapi. In this essay, I would argue that this continuity or rhythm, on the basis of eruption cycles and local people's adaptation to these eruptions, is the landscape identity of Mount Merapi.

Merapi has a very long history of eruptions. Unfortunately, the ancient histories of its eruptions were unexplained due to lack of historical records. The oldest record has noted that a large eruption has happened in the past 7000 year, or probably between 10.000 and 12.000 BP, when a lake shaped around the present Borobudur temple (Lavigne et.al. 2008: 280). A brief description of Mt. Merapi's long eruptive history was described in the Merapi Special Issue of the Journal of Volcanology and Geothermal Research (2000, vol. 100).

The huge numbers of victims have been recorded following many eruptions. For example, the 1672 eruption has claimed 3000 human victims. Two centuries later, in 1872, Merapi erupted and destroyed three villages and caused 200 human deaths. In 1930, this volcano erupted again, claimed 1300 human lives, destroyed many villages and thousands hectares of fields and forests. Then, the 1994 eruption has killed 69 people at Turgo village and has made 2000 people were homeless (Thouret et.al. 2000, Schlehe 1996). The last 2010 eruption was also deadly, killed 386 people in Yogyakarta and Central Java, ruined some villages, and forced more than 15.366 people to be evacuated (Hudayana, et.al. 2012: 36).

Obviously, the slopes of Merapi are not appropriate for human settlement. But, in fact, in 2008, According to the National Disaster Management Agency (NDMA, or BNPB in Bahasa Indonesia), the total population in the whole disaster-prone region are 94,225 people, spread across several sectors, i.e.: 51,228 people in the southern sector, 40,209 people in the western sector, 1,419 people in the northern sector, and 1,369 people in the eastern sector (Hudayana et.al. 2012: 73-74). Immediately, we have a question in our mind: what kind of factors that drive people to dwell on this dangerous place?

This strange choice of dwelling should be understood in the context of a long history of their adaptation to the mountain and all its activities. There are two adaptation patterns related to each other, namely socioeconomic adaptation in the form of certain types of agriculture and animal husbandry, and cultural adaptation in the form of local beliefs about Merapi and its eruptions.

The first adaptation pattern is the livestock and dry farming system as the main economic resources. The locals generally dwell and cultivate permanently a certain limited areas, usually next to the border of the forest, called as '*tegalan*' (Triyoga 2010: 89, Dove 2008: 333). Usually, they establish residential area in groups, located in the center of the village, surrounded by their field or *tegalan*. The common crops in this system are maize, tubers, vegetables, tobacco, and '*salak pondoh*' (a specific variety of *salak* – *salacca zalacca*). Meanwhile, most of residents who live in the highest villages rely on their livelihood from cattle (Hudayana et.al. 2012). These two systems, dry farming and livestock, are in fact cannot be separated from one another; the breeders also have *tegalan* (dry fields), on the contrary, the farmers also keep cattle.

In order to maintain soil fertility, the local use certain cropping schedule. Within a year, although maize and other crops could be harvested three or four times, people do only twice cropping period, in order to maintain soil fertility. The other strategy is producing natural fertilizer originating from cattle manure. In this area, livestock are not free-grazing in the forest because it is prohibited by the government; they therefore are kept in a stall that usually located near to the house. On one side, this stall-fed made easy to collect their waste, and then processed into manure. On the other hand, this system has created a new everyday routine activity for the villagers, namely grazing. The local people usually do it on the yard around their houses. When the grass in the yard out, they will move on to the field, which not being cultivated. Then, the sod will be carried out in the woods when the grasses on the moor were exhausted (Triyoga 2010: 89-97, Pranowo 1985: 69-74, Dove 2008: 333, Pranowo 1987). Hence, the livestock and the grass have

been integrated in the agricultural cycle, have been placed as important and fundamental assets for the survival of villagers.

In this pattern of adaptation, the eruption was not merely seen as a disaster, but instead as a blessing, because the ash from the eruption would increase the soil fertility. Likewise, the volcanic ash will create fertile forest area, growing fresh grass for animal feed. The first harvest after the eruption generally would be a difficult time because the top layer of soil still contained volcanic ash that was still pretty hot. However, the second harvest onwards after the eruption would be great harvests because of the ash was mixed with the soil (Triyoga 2010: 92-93). Then, the sixth planting season will again decrease as a result of soil fertility begins to decline. But, exactly after the sixth, seventh, or eighth planting season, usually the eruption happens and brings back the soil fertility. Here, eruption period is an important period to restore the soil fertility; to make balance of their life, when they could take a rest for a moment.

When the eruption occurred, they would remain in their house, or if necessary they would move down to the more secure villages. Immediately after the eruption subsided, they would back to their villages. However, if their village was completely destroyed, they could move to the other places, still on the slope of Merapi. For example, the 1930 eruption completely destroyed some villages, which are Bangkong, Patuk, Blubuan, and Semin. Most of the residents then moved to Turgo, as a more secure village. Likewise, the next major eruption in 1961, 1969 and 1976, has damaged one or several villages. Until the eruption of 1976, Turgo was seen as a safe place, its population therefore has increased along with the eruptions.

The second aspect of local people's adaptation is their cultural believes. Generally, local people consider that the place in which they live in is also inhabited by various kinds of *makhluk alus* (unperceivable creatures). They believe that Merapi is not just a mountain, but also a kingdom of spirits, where the crater is the palace of this kingdom. So, they speak that the crater of Merapi is the '*kraton makhluk alus*' (the palace of the spirits). The life of spirits resemble the human life, they also have social structure, division of labor, government, and so on. The residents can usually name the king and some of the officers or leaders in this kingdom (Triyoga 2010: 56-70, Schlehe 1996: 404, Dove 2008: 332, Donovan 2010: 122, Hudayana 1993: 13).

The spirit could be disruptive to human life, but can also be the helper or positive companion. People therefore should live in harmony with them, not conflict against them. To express this will of harmony, villagers then periodically conduct the '*slametan*' (traditional Javanese ritual). Perhaps, the most important *slametan* is *Labuhan* (literally means 'offering'), annually conducted in a specific place, next to the peak, led by the *juru kunci* (care taker) of Merapi, and attended by almost all villagers; which has specific purposes, that is to get blessings from the god and to offer good relationships with the ancestors and spirits on the peak of Merapi (Levigne et.al. 2008: 281, Dove 2010: 122). By performing the rituals and avoiding some taboos, residents will feel safe living on the slopes of Merapi because they have become good citizens of '*kerajaan makhluk alus Merapi*' (Triyoga 2010: 105, Donovan 2010: 122, Lavigne et.al. 2008: 281, Hudayana 1993: 17).

When the eruption occurred, local residents believe that the eruption was actually a process of maintaining and cleaning of the spirit's palace, which done periodically every year in '*wulan suro*' (the first month in Javanese-Islamic calendar). Volcanic ash or lava flowed out from the peak is believed as the trash from this activity. A large eruption was usually regarded as the '*hajat*' (ceremony) being conducted in the spirit's palace, such as wedding ceremony of its family. Then, the villagers believe that damage in their crops is caused by the spirits, as their crops are being borrowed by them for their ceremony, which would be returned soon in greater numbers (Triyoga 2010: 83-84, Hudayana 1993: 14).

Before the eruption, usually the spirit will tell people about when the eruption occurred, in which direction, and sometimes accompanied by an explanation of how to save them selves. This message from spirit is called as '*wisik*', which is usually obtained by the *juru kunci* (caretaker), the shamans, or the elders, who has an inner sensitivity and could understand the sacred-symbolic messages from the spirits. They usually get

the sign through dreams, feelings, mystical events, animal behaviors, and other natural or mystical signs (Donovan 2010: 122, Lavigne et.al. 2008: 280, Hudayana 1993: 15). With such a belief system, during the eruption periods, people will last in their house, waiting for wisik. If no wisik that ordered them to evacuate, residents believe that their village is safe.

We may say that the eruption has shaped the landscape rhythm on the slopes of Merapi, started from one eruption, then followed by a lot of planting seasons, usually between six and eight, and ended by the next eruption, which also means the beginning of the next planting season. As a natural rhythm, the eruption has generated a set of cultural rhythm, as well as has become the basic boundary of it. According to Antrop (2003: 3), which understood landscape as a unique synthesis between the natural and cultural aspects of a region, we may understand the landscape rhythm on Mt. Merapi is marked by the eruption as natural rhythm and local people's adaptation to the eruption as cultural rhythm. Hence, the eruption cycles, not the seasons (dry and wet seasons in the Indonesian context), become the basic rhythm on Mt. Merapi.

I suggest that this conclusion could be more generalized: in the disaster-prone area, which the disaster happens periodically, the disaster itself, not the seasons (for comparison, see Bunkse 2004: 74), becomes the grand rhythm of the landscape in question. Hence, we may suppose that the 'normal' annual flooding in some countries in Bangladesh has shaped the landscape rhythm on those countries. Bankoff (2004: 111) has emphasized, "In some societies, natural hazards occur with such historical frequency that the constant threat of them has been integrated into the schema of both daily life and attitude to form what can be called 'cultures of disaster'."

An important point should be stressed here: the disaster has been integrated into daily life. In this notion, we may conclude that the agriculture system on Mt. Merapi is a way of local people to integrate the disaster into their economics-cultural schema. Dove (2008) has emphasized that the villagers have domesticated, naturalized, and even utilized the mountain and its hazards (see also Lavigne et.al. 2008: 280). Also, we should say that the belief system is another important way to integrate the eruption: a perspective that makes them capable of understanding natural events that occur, including the eruption, a set of rules which give them the way how to keep mutual relationships to their environment.

Carefully paying attention to this integration, we will find a set of double-opposite relationships between human being and its environment on Mt. Merapi. On the one side, already suggested in the concept of 'agriculture', the villagers have manipulated their environment; they 'controlled the reproductive cycle and the lives of plants and animals' (Bunkse 2004: 75). On the other side, their agriculture system is also controlled by the environment through the eruptions. Both of these relations constantly shape the landscape rhythm on Mt. Merapi.

Besides forms the rhythm or continuity, the eruption also forms landscape change. This happens when a big-violent eruption occurs, which will totally break and erase one or more villages. The landscape of the affected-area will fundamentally change; the settlements, the tegalan, the forest, and all kind of life on it are lost; the survivors move to the other villages. Here, Antrop's identification (2005: 25-26) that calamity is an unpredictable factor that drive the landscape change is absolutely true. But, several decades later after the eruption, this affected-area would be the virgin forest, and then returned to be opened as new villages. Obviously, there is a constant fundamental change of the landscape, as well as a long period of continuity, namely: villages - totally broken because of big eruption - forest - and opened as villages again. Hence, we may say 'change in continuity'; or perhaps 'continuity in change'.

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HOW THE HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS CONFLICT SHOULD BE WRITTEN? A ROLE OF HISTORY IN PEACE-BUILDING AGENDA BY “ VOICELESS VICTIM” PARTICIPATION IN WRITING PROCESS

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Introduction

Ambon, 19 January 1999. A fight between gangs of youth in Batumerah transport terminal sparked the religious violence conflict in Spice Island, Maluku. Unlike previous fights, Klinken (2001: 3-4) saw, "this disturbance soon spread throughout the city.... At first it tended to be defined as an attack by 'indigenous' Ambonese against non-Ambonese 'newcomers'. But it quickly acquired a purely religious character and developed into a fight pitting Muslims against Protestants." Furthermore, the vortex of conflict attracted no-local and global combatant, such in the case of connectivity between local and global Islamic militants in conflict, made it complex (see Azca: 2011).

In 2002, the government was sponsoring Malino II peace agreement to put an end to the conflict. Despite the conflict took time in three years, the violence claimed almost 5000 lives, 70.000 refugee families, or over 300.000 people, 160.000 fled to other provinces, mainly Southeast Sulawesi (UNDP, 2005:38). However, the impact of conflict is not only about representation of number. The significance impact is alteration of society after conflict.

In post-conflict society, past violence become specter which is influencing society's way of life. As the case, Ambon city landscape is segregating into "Christian" and "Muslim" territory. The caution and suspicion are coloring the everyday life social interaction. The conflict itself is not fully vanishing. A sequence violent incident occurred though peace-agreement was settled, as in 2004 and 2011. Notably 2011's incident, as Escalante (2013: 30) describing, some people believe that it was the mostly children who were victims of conflict during 1999 to 2004 who were responsible for recent [2011's incident] of burning house. A local pastor and peace builder was told [by the children who have grown up as youth]: "You had your turn to fight, it is our turn." A spiral of conflict conception - an observer of conflict becomes participant, in this case conducted by future generation, seems proven to be.

So, how the history of religious conflict should be written?

This essay wants discuss a role of history in peace-building agenda by "a voiceless victim" participation in writing process.

The Burden of Indonesia's Historiography

As we known, in late of 1990's, the religious violence conflict was not only take place in Ambon, but also happened in Maluku, North Maluku and Poso region. The religious conflicts were accompanying Indonesia's political transformation. In late 1990's, Indonesia was faces the monetary and political crises that have set in motion a complex of interrelated processes (Nordholt and Abdullah, 2002: 3). The democratization agendas reconfigured local structure. In the case of Maluku, Maluku Utara, and Poso, the reconfigured of local structure was exacerbate friction between local interest groups and led to crystallization of primordial aspect, or SARA, popular term in Indonesia to described ethnic, religion, and ideology tendency, as a resource to gain the political objective. As illustrated in introduction, the impact of local political transformation in some regions led to religious conflict. However, the religious conflicts are not a part of Indonesia's historiography.

Escalante (2013, 34-38) describing, "Schools have not incorporated any reference to the conflict into the curriculum for the history of the Moluccan islands. Teachers only talk about *pela* and *gandong* in reference to relationships between religious groups." We could guessing, the possibility reason to avoidance the conflict is not to remembering violence moment in Ambon society. The *pela* and *gadong* content in history curriculum want to teach the children about the importance of toleration and harmony relationships between religious groups.

However, "[by] avoidance of referring to the conflict has created further confusion on the causes of the violence in the religion... thus children would generally only know that there was violence between Christians and Muslims that affected their family and themselves in varying degrees, but not why they

fought." So, "for the most children in Ambon who have not experienced conflict hand thi is their perception: people from another religion are different and that difference associated to the history of the island means that those differences place them on opposing imagined 'sides.'" Briefly, in children perspectives, the segregation of Christian and Muslim territory in Maluku today was not because of the conflict, but consisting as a rivalry opposition. So, it could be explained why mostly the children who became a victim in conflict participated in 2011's incident in Ambon.

The absent and avoidance of religious conflict history could be trace in Indonesia's historiography itself. Writing the history is not about intellectual works, but also a political means. In Indonesia's context, "national development" is a main theme that cannot separate in the history writing process. Since 1950's and New-Order regime, notably, the dominant perspective in Indonesia's historiography is state (see Nordholt, Purwanto, and Saptari, 2013: 33-66). State's perspective became a framework that focused in interpreting on the development of national and nation identity. The diversity of historical themes was becoming simplified, apolitical, and trying to supporting the State's perspective. Furthermore, Indonesia's historiography writing is focusing in capture the static aspects in memory, not in the process to memorize. If we related it to Escalante's description about the how the Ambon's children memorize and history of the conflict is absent in schools curriculum, we should be concerned that the violence is the static aspect which is memorizing in their mind.

"Voiceless Victim' in History Writing

The historiography in Post-New Order era showed to us difference perspectives in history's writing. Despites, there is not a comprehensive framework, the elaboration in methodology, themes and perspectives could give an idea in writing religious conflict history. The tendency to capturing "marginalized" subject, popular history, and advocating issues in some of history subject today could be a framework in writing the history of religious conflict. As I said before, the significant process in the writing of history of religious conflict is how to historically writing the alteration in societies and then promoting the peace-building agenda.

First, I would like to broaden the events or periodization in history writing. The conventional approach in periodization in history writing could lead to "major event" and biased representation. As example, the initial event that led to Maluku conflict is still debating, some people said it started in before 19 January 1999 and problematic who is the religious group who's started it? Furthermore, the events and periodization could focused our perspective to the dominant actor, institutions and how they influencing the way of conflict, such as describing disability of local government, the presence of Laskar Jihad, ineffectively action by security force, or sequence of national government experiment to ceased the conflict. What I suggest, the events or periodization should be positioned as introduction to how the conflict was impacted to everyday life of society itself. Besides that, it would be a space of representation of society to voice their perspectives. In simple words, if we agree that the most suffering subject in religious conflict is society, so how if they who write the history of society in religious conflict? Are society itself who experiencing the conflict?

Second, we should consider who are the subjects of the society? Society is generic term to represents various groups and individuals which socially integrated. In the religious conflict context, groups or individual are representing their religion, such as by lived location or simply just by their name which is in a glance someone religious attributes could be traced. In my perspective, the children and women could be an ideal subject. Despite they are sometimes also participating in conflict, as I observed in video footages, either help in logistic or join into war, the children and women could give us different perspectives about the conflict. The conventional descriptions about conflict, either popular or scientific, seem to neglecting the complex and various experiences of women and children. They are seeing as passive and voiceless victims; however they were alienated from the conflict. As an example, in Maluku conflict, in late 1999, several Maluku women formed the Concerned Women's Organization that promoting reconciliation between the Muslim and Christian women and spreading the peace massage.

However, when it came for formal talks, women were woefully underrepresented as in Malino II peace agreement (Hd, 2010: 25).

Third, what are the themes? The everyday life of society should become “grand narratives” in history of religious conflict to promote peace-building. If we put perspective on everyday life, some details which are not represented in “conventional or dominant framework of historiography in Indonesia” writing could depict. As I described, through the lens of children and women, the everyday life or popular history of society could give various different angle. The children could tell a story how they lost the friend, the women hard to access the market, or how their interaction with neighborhood, and so on. In other words, the perspectives by children and women become bridge of understanding between the impacts of conflict in structural aspects and their life. Then, with the understanding, how their life becomes miserable, how they could adapt, and realize their neighborhood from different religion also facing the same problems, the moment of reflection came up. In other words, the everyday life which being a main themes in history of religious conflict should be reflection and encouraging the understanding in society. The peace-building agenda works successfully if there is understanding between the rivalry groups.

Joint Writing: Conclusion and Suggestion

History is not a neutral knowledge production. Reflected in Indonesia’s historiography, history cannot be separated with the past paradigm, state’s perspectives. It was impacted that the history were not always addressing some particular issues. However, the development of the science itself has giving space to elaborate.

Writing the religious conflict would be a challenging issue in Indonesia’s historiography. We cannot neglect the sensitivity of religious issue in Indonesia’s context. However, as I illustrated, the religious conflict in Indonesia cannot concluded as ceased. The future generation in post-conflict region is still shadowing by the memory of past conflict violence. So, based on that condition, the history should have a role in breaking the cycle of conflict. Engaging “voiceless victim: women and children” in the writing of religious conflict history could be one of approach. The history of everyday life women and children are great contribution to understanding and reflecting how the religious conflict was changing and influencing the society’s way of life. Furthermore, the history also could promote the peace-building agenda to dissolve the potency of conflict.

As a suggestion, joint writing should be practical implementation of peace-building agenda. For the post-conflict society, writing their history should not being about glorified and mourned their past experience, but should be a moment to constructing their future collectively.

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