

Society



Émigré Creativity in a Historical Context ✿

Hegemonic Practices of Upperclassmen to Freshmen Within College Life ✿

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A Social Mapping of Fishermen Resource and Accessibility for Coastal Tourism Development Policy ✿

The Childless Couple Efforts to Harmonize Their Marital Relationships ✿

Fatalism and Poverty in Fishing Communities ✿

Accommodating Religious Practices in the Workplace: The Case of Indonesian Workers in Taiwan ✿

✿ The Process of Migration and Communication Technology Roles among Labor Migrants in Batam - Indonesia

✿ Domain Dimension of Family Relationships in the South of Johor through the Family Well-Being Index 2017

✿ A Symbolic Interaction Analysis of Waria (Transgender Women) in Makassar - Eastern Indonesia

✿ Malay Political Tradition: The Appointment and Succession Analysis of The Sultanate of Palembang Darussalam

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Émigré Creativity in a Historical Context

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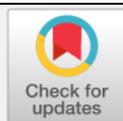
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ABSTRACT

Émigré writers such as Kahlil Gibran and Mikhail Naimy proved that it is possible to transcend their historical limitations to become leading literary figures. An examination of the historical context of these writers is important for a rich understanding of their works. The themes addressed in such literary works are better appreciated within their cultural environment, and not as objects detached from their times, author and readers¹. It can be rightfully argued that such works cannot be fully appreciated without delving into the intricacies of the political ideologies and economic crises of previous centuries. This article does not aim to perform such an undertaking, regardless of its literary merit; however, it presents an overview of the historical context surrounding the Émigré literary movement as a product of two cultures bridged by immigration at the turn of the 20th century. This is based on the belief that a profound critical engagement with Émigré works is better achieved with an examination of their historical and literary background. Thus, this article serves as a foundation for profound literary analyses of Émigré works.

Keywords: Culture and Creativity; Émigré writers; Émigré Literature; Kahlil Gibran; Literary History

¹ Payne, 2005: 3-4, on the importance of a historical context.

1. Introduction

Émigré writers such as Kahlil Gibran and Mikhail Naimy were part a great literary movement that flourished in the Americas. The relationship between their works and historical context is undoubtedly a subject worthy of historical-literary analysis. Émigré creativity was characterized by aspects of the two cultures that hosted it. It is important to present a historical overview of the climate of political turmoil, economic misfortune, and social upheaval that engulfed Lebanon before the birth and during the life of Émigré literature. This is contrasted to the boom witnessed in the United States after Reconstruction (1865–1877), inviting great waves of migration from Ottoman Syria that included various writers. Émigré writers represent the intertwining of two cultures and perhaps the most significant event in their lives was immigrating from Lebanon to the United States of America. The immigration of these writers to the New World was part of a great migratory movement around the world in general and a relatively considerable one from Ottoman Syria in particular. This paper addresses the most important historical aspects in the period before and during the life of prominent émigré writers.

2. The Historical Context in the Levant

The historical roots of this immigration date back to the middle of the 19th century in a climate of political instability, economic uncertainty, and social tension.² Prior to that defining period, what is known today as Lebanon was part of the Ottoman Empire, which was on a steady rise since the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed the Conqueror in 1453. Lebanon and the Levant in general fell to the Ottomans under the rule of Selim I upon his sweeping victory in the battle of Marj Dābiq in 1516 against the Mamluk Sultanate. The Ottomans ruled by dividing the lands in vast *vilayets*³ such as the *vilayets* of Aleppo and Baghdad.

Due to the sectarian demographical structure of Lebanon with its Maronites, Druzes, Shites, Sunnis, etc., the Ottomans acknowledged its existing local feudal lords who maintained their partial de facto autonomy, such as the great Fakhr 'Al-Dīn II, who ruled vast lands in Lebanon and Syria. In general, the Ottomans did not try to impose their culture or language on the people of the region, and the society maintained its existing structure and relations. Thus, religion rather than race remained as the key factor in social unity. Non-Muslims maintained their civic freedom and usually followed their religious leaders in such affairs.⁴ Due to the complexity of the political order of the day, corruption was rampant at all levels of government, starting from the feudal lords, up to the *vali*⁵ and the upper echelons of central government in certain periods. The region witnessed relatively weak economy and culture, with high taxes and widespread poverty and illiteracy.

Contact with post-Renaissance Europe mainly took place through merchants, banks, and companies that had extensive presence in the region largely due to the export of sericulture. Additionally, Catholic and Protestant missionary schools and colleges were on the rise, and a special Maronite seminary was established in Rome to train monks who would go back to prominent positions within the Maronite church. Beirut flourished as an international trade port for the whole region, and later as the point of departure for thousands of immigrants. Telegraph

² Issawi, 1992: 13-31.

³ Vilayets and sanjaks were administrative divisions, provinces and districts, of the Ottoman Empire.

⁴ Hitti, 1951: 668

⁵ Governor of a vilayet; an administrative division or province.

lines reached Beirut in 1863, which enabled the blossoming newspaper industry to cover global events on a daily basis, enabling constant contact with the West.⁶

Earlier in the 19th century, the region witnessed marked prosperity, especially when compared to other regions in Syria, under the leadership of the local prince Bashīr Shihāb II. The Maronite prince also allowed the church to increase its influence, especially with its direct contact with Rome and Paris, at the helm of the social and economic structures.⁷

The successors of this prince were not as effective, which negatively affected the people of the region. Various other factors including sectarian instability, heavy taxes, and foreign intervention also had a negative effect on Lebanon. Ibrahim Pasha's conquest of Damascus in 1832 led to instability across the region, before he was forced to retreat in 1841. Additionally, the Tanzimat policy⁸ of Sultan Mahmud, adversely affected the people of Lebanon. The Druze minority was dissatisfied with the division of Mount Lebanon into two districts under two *kaymakams*⁹ and their lack of political and economic privileges. All of these factors led in 1860 to a civil war that resulted in the massacre of 11000 Maronites and the displacement of 100,000.¹⁰ The conflict extended to Damascus where hundreds of Christians were murdered.¹¹ To quell the clashes, Napoleon III sent 6000 French troops, saving the Maronite majority. The Maronites were not as organized as the Druze minority, who were backed by the English and Ottomans, and thus suffered more losses.

In the *Reglement Organique* of 1861, Mount Lebanon's autonomy was recognized by the Sublime Porte, with the protection of France, Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The *kaymakams* system of 1841 became a Mutasarrifate governed by a *Mutasarrif* who was by law a catholic non-Arab Ottoman appointed by the Sultan,¹² and assisted by an Administrative Council of 12 elected members, eventually seven of whom were Christians.

With foreign protection and autonomy, the Mutasarrifate witnessed great prosperity with development in silk production and modern artisan work, in addition to trade, financial services, and road building.¹³ In short, the Maronite military defeat turned into political gain, and later economic gain, with the new government system.¹⁴ This agreement officially ended the old system, and power was divided between the *Mutasarrif* and the Church that controlled more than one third of the lands. However, this economic upturn did not affect all Maronite villagers and peasants. The "persistence of large landed holdings and the church waqfs" coupled with rapid population growth became important push factors for immigration to the West.¹⁵

In general, the economic, social, and political climate witnessed some improvements, with calls for decentralization, officialization of Arabic, and reform of military service becoming more pronounced in Beirut. However, the First World War (1914-1918) and the Arab Revolt (1916-1918) ushered in some of the darkest years in the history of the region, especially with the

⁶ Hourani, 1992: 4.

⁷ Hitti, 1959: 213-227.

⁸ Started in 1839 and ended 1876. It aimed to modernize the administration of the empire and secure it against nationalist movements.

⁹ A Kaza, or district, was ruled by a kaymakam.

¹⁰ Issawi, 1992: 21.

¹¹ Mishaqa, 1988: 30.

¹² Abu Khalil, 1998: 177.

¹³ Naff, 1993: 29.

¹⁴ Traboulsi, 2007: 42-43.

¹⁵ Traboulsi, 2007: 45-47.

appointment of Ahmed Djemal Pasha as governor in 1915. Conscription, war bonds, expropriation of agricultural produce, drop in trade, epidemics, and famine made Beirut and Mount Lebanon suffer in despair. Around 100,000 of their inhabitants perished in these years.¹⁶ The defeat of the Ottomans resulted in the French Mandate for Syria and Lebanon (1920-1940s), a period of military occupation, and political and economic instability that gave birth to the modern Lebanese Republic.

3. The Historical Context in the United States of America

A defining event in 19th century America was the Civil War in the 1860s, the culmination of a tumultuous period that witnessed the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln and the abolition of slavery through the 13th Amendment to the US Constitution. Gibran reached the American shores at the end of the century to a country defined by immigration and war, but transformed by industrial progress. Politically, the Progressive movement was gaining control of the scene with its activism for eradicating political corruption and corporate monopoly, while advocating pure democracy that stresses citizen initiatives and referenda, as compared to constitutional or representative democracy.

Immigration in the 19th century was marked by the rise of Nativism, which is antagonism towards new immigrants by native-born citizens. However, the arrival of immigrants continued to increase with the arrival of millions seeking refuge from want and persecution in Europe. Historical data reveal that almost 50 million Third Wave immigrants entered the United States in the decades preceding and succeeding Gibran's arrival.¹⁷ The enormity of the number of immigrants is clarified by the actual number of residents in the US around that time. According to the Twelfth United States Census, conducted by the Census Office in 1900, the population was approximately 76 million, compared to 62 million in the 1890 Census.¹⁸

Economically, the United States witnessed great progress over the second half of the century, with periodic shocks and depressions such as the Panic of 1893. The railroad industry, with funding from booming Wall Street, provided numerous employment opportunities and spurred growth in the metal industry and later in inter-state commerce. With extensive rail coverage, thousands of locomotives facilitated access to arable lands and made transporting their produce to the national market possible, which, coupled with mechanization, played a major role in the progress of agriculture.

In the last two decades of the century, American gross national product nearly doubled, with growth in all areas of the economy. Manufacturing led the expansion with an increase of almost 200%, compared to around 25% growth in agriculture.¹⁹ These forward strides would not have been feasible had it not been for the leaps achieved in technology and innovation. The end of the century witnessed the wide use of electric generators and lights, in addition to innovations and improvements in telecommunication and engineering, with names such as Edison, Westinghouse, Ford, and others leading the technical-industrial race. With rising skyscrapers, new corporations changed the image of a nation and employed millions of its workers. All of these developments, with the advent of the petroleum industry, culminated in the crowning of the relatively young republic as the world's greatest industrial power at the

¹⁶ Traboulsi, 2007: 70-72.

¹⁷ Mauk & Oakland, 2005: 57.

¹⁸ U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Department of Commerce, 2014.

¹⁹ Murrin et al., 2011: 499.

beginning of the 20th century.²⁰ The might of the United States was confirmed by victory in the First World War which intensified its role on the international economic and political arenas.

4. Immigration at the Turn of the Century

Immigration has been an integral part of the human experience. Whether voluntary emigration or involuntary migration, the phenomenon has affected millions of people in the past two centuries, boosted by opportunities in the New World and advancements in travel facilities. There are numerous operative push and pull factors at play behind worldwide immigration in the 19th century, such as famine, drought, slavery, war, oppression, and work. The world witnessed more than 150 million cases of documented immigration in the 19th century and early 20th century, mostly in steerages of ships.²¹

As for the United States, it is a country defined by immigration, described by John F. Kennedy as a nation of immigrants.²² The formative years of immigration to the Americas began in the 16th century with the very first European settlements. Immigration in the 19th century was dominated by Europeans as well, as the rising number of Asian arrivals was stemmed with the Exclusion Act of 1882.²³ The great wave of immigration, from the middle of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, helped increase the population of the country from less than 20 million to more than 100 million.²⁴ The flow of immigrants was interrupted by the Civil War, but poverty and population growth in the old world pushed the numbers to greater heights after the war subsided. To accommodate the influx, Ellis Island was set up in 1892 as the gateway for millions to anticipated prosperity and, in many cases, a new national belonging. The arriving masses were motley of races and religions ranging from Catholic Irish to Druze Arabs. The term New Immigrants was used to denote those arriving after 1880, as they were less homogenous than the predominantly Protestant Western Europeans of the previous decades. New Immigrants formed the majority of inhabitants in several Northeastern towns.

Immigration from Ottoman Levant is an important historical phenomenon as it had affected thousands of families, especially in Mount Lebanon. The act itself was a complex process, but that did not deter entire families from fulfilling their aspirations. Immigration picked up momentum after the conclusion of the 1860 Druze-Maronite conflict and the establishment of Mount Lebanon Mutasarrifate. Thus, between 1860 and 1900, around 120,000 people left the Levant, mostly Christians from the Mount. This is a staggering number given that the population of Lebanon stood at a quarter of a million in 1895.²⁵ The Sublime Porte took half-hearted measures to limit the number of departing Lebanese, mostly to safeguard the international reputation of the state as modern, with a strong economy and robust minority rights policy.²⁶ These measures failed as there were various factors that facilitated this mass migration, such as the growth of Beirut as the main port in the region, educational reform largely due to missionary schools, contact with Europeans and Americans, and the use of steamships,²⁷ in addition to syndicates profiting from people smuggling. Regardless of

²⁰ Murrin et al., 2011: 524.

²¹ McKeown, 2004: 156.

²² Kennedy, 2008.

²³ Daniels, 2001: 9.

²⁴ Ward, 2001: 285.

²⁵ Issawi, 1992: 23 - 31.

²⁶ Akarli, 1992: 100.

²⁷ Rowe, 2008: 93.

outcomes, immigrants from the Levant to the Americas were overwhelmingly sojourners, who had travelled of their own accord to achieve certain ambitions of high income and return²⁸ with savings and success stories. Fortunately, their immigrant experience in the United States was generally positive, with most starting out as peddlers²⁹ based in larger cities of the East Coast such as New York and Boston.

To conclude, the difficult political, economic and social circumstances in the Levant formed a push factor that led many families and individuals to immigrate in search of a better life. On the other hand, the climate of freedom and prosperity in the United States became a pull factor that attracted these immigrants to the ports of the American East Coast.

5. Arabic Literary Context

The Levant has been a cradle of human civilization; home to the early alphabet, the Judeo-Christian tradition, and the rise of Islamic culture. However, this unique place in the intellectual history of the world was hard to uphold with the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Hence, the 18th century was largely representative of intellectual infertility in the region. The succeeding intellectual and literary production of the 19th century was either an extension of old traditions or a reaction to the contact with the West. The cross-fertilization between the traditional, perceived as unscientific and static, and the modern, perceived as scientific and dynamic, characterized most of scholarly and literary discourse of the period.

In literature, Arabic literature has been mostly an autonomous continuum with minor foreign influences characterized by great reverence for its poetry. This began to change in the 19th century, with the arrival of new forms such as journalism and drama, and new concepts such as Romanticism. Although cultural espousal is a gradual and multifaceted process, its catalyst can be traced back to the French Campaign in Egypt and Syria (1798–1801), which was Napoleon Bonaparte's ill-fated attempt to extend French influence and undermine British India. The campaign was distinguished by the swift and comprehensive defeat it inflicted on the Ottomans, and by the inclusion of various scientists and scholars among its members.

The shock generated by Western omnipotence after the conclusion of the Napoleonic expedition led rulers to send educational missions to study in Europe, establish modern schools, found translation centers, and support the spread of newspapers and magazines. In Syria, Christian missionaries, Protestant and Jesuits, established numerous Western-style schools, whose graduates played a principal role on the intellectual and literary scene of the period both in Syria and Egypt.

In prose, the spread of journalism facilitated the blooming of simple Arabic prose, removed from the embellished rhythmic writing of previous centuries, and capable of objectively conveying scientific truths and social commentary.³⁰ Limited numbers of Arabic presses were available in Aleppo and Beirut as early as the 1700s, but the proliferation of presses, and with them translation and newspapers, became a hallmark of the 19th century. Thus, with the development of printing and journalism, and the spread of translated novels, the stage was set for a steady evolution of prose. Arabic literary prose flourished with a mixture of tradition and modernity, as in the writings of 'Aḥmad Fāris Shidyāq, 'Al-Bustānī, and Francis Marrāsh. The mature Arabic novel was only to be realized in the 20th century, with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (1888 - 1956) as a key transitional figure.

²⁸ Abdelhady, 2014: 19.

²⁹ Khater, 2001: 75.

³⁰ Badawi, 1997: 8.

In poetry, the advent of Neoclassicism and Romanticism is more evident than in prose. Neoclassicism, as the name indicates, was a return to the lofty poetic language and standards of the classic past, while expressing the outlook and addressing the concerns of contemporary times. Key figures of Arabic Neoclassicism included Nāṣif 'Al-Yāzījī, who co-translated the Bible, Maḥmūd Sāmī 'Al-Bārūdī, and 'Aḥmad Shawqī.³¹ The wide critical and popular acclaim received by neoclassical poets breathed a new life into Arabic poetry and revived trust and interest in literature. This paved the way for Romantic poetry to evolve and blossom naturally in the footsteps of a changing society. The target readership, with the advent of magazines, newspapers, schools and colleges, shifted from elite intelligentsia and rulers to the incipient young urban middleclass. This shift in readership marshaled a shift towards Romanticism. The distinguishing features of Romantic poetry were the high level of personal expression, intensity of emotions voiced, and the relative freedom in the choice of diction and rhythm. These features, in great part, were inspired by European Romantic poets. The best representative of Romanticism in Arabic poetry could be Khalīl Muṭrān (1872 - 1949) who was born in Lebanon and settled in Egypt.

In general, division between tradition and modernity characterized the cultural and literary discourse of the period. Europe was seen as the model to be emulated given its military and scientific ascendancy since the Renaissance, but it was at the same time the enemy that occupied Egypt subjugated Arabia and the Maghreb, and threatened the Caliph. Tradition was suspected in the imbalance of development against Europe to be incongruent with progress. Modernization, which was synonymous with Westernization, was imposed on tradition and was not gradually reached out of it, and hence the dichotomy between modernity and tradition existed. In general, the period can be described a period of progress and renewal of Arabic literary themes and forms after decades of stagnation.

6. American Literary Context

At the dawn of American colonies in the new world, culture was characterized by dependence on European heritage and by being localized in each region with little intellectual interaction. A national culture, chiefly marked by Christianity, capitalism, and democracy, began to truly form with the conclusion of the Civil War and the ensuing sense of unity. However, three dominant regional cultures were evident in the West, South, and North. Eventually, the North became culturally dominant with concepts such as individualism, social Darwinism, pragmatism, and progressivism.³²

The 19th century ushered an intensification of American literature and the rise of many of its towering figures such as Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, William Cullen Bryant, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Edgar Allan Poe. These writers paved the way for Romanticism to enter and occupy a prominent literary position in American literature and to also earn wide recognition across the Atlantic. This is true of Edgar Allan Poe, whose works were translated by the great French poet, Charles Baudelaire. Poe also pioneered the genre of detective short story and was an important figure in forging American gothic writing and literary criticism.

The most celebrated intellectual movement of the 19th century in the United States was Transcendentalism, whose high priest was Ralph Waldo Emerson. The movement was instrumental in the formation of uniquely American letters.³³ It was an idealist movement that

³¹ Somekh, 1997: 43.

³² Crunden, 1994: 128.

³³ Goetzmann, 2009: 208.

developed in New England in the 1830s, influenced by European Romanticism and the philosophy of Immanuel Kant. It emphasized the manifestation of God in nature, individualism, and intuition. It detested the control of religion over society, stressing instead individual freedom and the divine nature of a human being. Emerson, as a citizen of the world, sought to redefine man, God, and nature in order to change society and its conception of reality.³⁴ His most influential ideas came in the form of essays such as *Nature*, *Self-Reliance*, *The Over-Soul*, *The Poet*, and *Experience*. Notably, Emerson, the Sage of Concord, called for America to cease its cultural and literary reliance on Europe, calling for its intellectual independence.³⁵ The influence of this movement, and especially of its leader, on the history of American thought was summarized by eminent critic, Harold Bloom, who wrote that “after Emerson, every strong American writer and thinker has been an Emersonian or an anti-Emersonian but not indifferent to him. This is because he became the Mind of America.”³⁶

Another influential Transcendentalist writer is Henry David Thoreau, whose lasting legacy is *Walden: Or Life in the Woods*, a guidebook of modest life in nature. It narrates a personal experiment of seclusion for self-reliance and spiritual awareness. Another famous work by Thoreau is *Resistance to Civil Government (Civil Disobedience)*, which calls for civil disobedience when an authoritarian state forces the individual to act against his morality. The influence of the movement extended to Walt Whitman whose seminal book, *Leaves of Grass*, is one of the most famous poetry collection in American literary history with poems such as *Song of Myself*, revolving about freedom, celebrating the human body and American root democracy.³⁷

If transcendentalism was the avant-garde of romanticism in the United States, the same is true of naturalism in the context of realism. The latter began to gain momentum with the conclusion of the Civil War due to the dominance of a stable rational and scientific culture. Emphasizing characterization, daily lives, and social observations, the movement gained popularity with the works of Mark Twain and Henry James. Owing much of its features to European roots, the naturalist trend came to dominance in the wake of realism, stressing social determinism through a scientifically accurate depiction of life with a special focus on its oppressed and gruesome sides. Among the significant naturalist authors were Stephen Crane and Frank Norris.³⁸

Following the fast-paced industrialization and urbanization at the turn of the century, modernism was to dominate the literary scene augmented by the ideas of some great Continental thinkers such as Sigmund Freud, Charles Darwin, and Friedrich Nietzsche. The First World War strengthened the hold of modernism with a sense of desperation mixed with alienation and anxiety,³⁹ heralding the names of T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, and F. Scott Fitzgerald as the leading figures on the literary stage of the times.

7. Arabic Émigré Literature

The émigré movement is a result of the contact between Arab writers and the American literary environment. A defining literary phenomenon in the history of Arabic literature, it was largely established by Christian Levantine writers in the Americas during the early decades of

³⁴ Goetzmann, 2009: 185.

³⁵ Crunden, 1994: 89.

³⁶ Harold Bloom, 2008: 11.

³⁷ Gray, 2011: 212.

³⁸ Quinn, 2006: 355.

³⁹ Lauter, 2010: 377-378.

the 20th century. Émigré literature was influenced by the American culture of freedom and individualism, European Romanticism and nationalism, the deteriorating conditions of Arab peoples, and the 'Al-Nahḍah movement.⁴⁰ Thus, Arabic émigré works explore and address subjective and emotional themes with a depth that was previously uncommon in Arabic literature. The spiritual aspects, with a stress on nature as the primary source of good, are also defining and unique features of émigré works. Such works are also concerned with the social problems of immigrants at the turn of the century and the political and economic ills of the Syrian homeland. The originality of these works, with their simple and innovative styles, has been a milestone in the history of Arabic literature.

The first modern Arabic literary group, the Pen League, was a product of the émigré literary movement. The Pen League was established in New York in April, 1920, with a strong drive from Abdul Masih Haddad, the founder of 'Al-Sā'ih newspaper. Kahlil Gibran was elected president and Mikhail Naimy secretary, with an elite membership that included Nasib Arida, Abdul Masih Haddad, Elia Abu Madi, and Ameen Rihani. This League gave a far reaching resonance to the voice of the group and enhanced its ability to achieve its literary goals. In the words of Naimy in the preamble to its by-law, the League was "aiming to transport our literature from stagnation to life, from imitation to creation... The tendency to keep our language and literature within the narrow bounds of aping the ancients in form and in substance is a most pernicious tendency... our life, our deeds, our circumstances are far different from theirs. We must be true to ourselves."⁴¹

The émigré movement benefited from the Arabic press in the United States. Thus, Arab-American newspapers popularized the creative works and critical views of émigré writers, and enabled them to reach Cairo, Beirut, and Damascus. The first Arabic newspaper in the US was *Kawkab America* in 1892, followed by 'Al-Hudā and *Mir'āt 'Al-Gharb* in 1898 and 1899. Other papers included 'Al-Bayān, 'Al-Majallah 'Al-'arabiyah, 'Al-Funūn, and scores more, mostly in New York.

One of the leading émigré writers greatly influenced by Gibran was Mikhail Naimy who was born in 1889. Naimy's first source of influence was Russian literature as he studied at Russian schools before travelling to the Ukraine from 1906 to 1911 as a student. He then moved to the United States and successfully launched his literary career. As a critic, his 1923 collection 'Al-Ghirbāl, had a lasting impact on the literary scene of the period, calling for a greater stylistic and syntactic freedom to express subjective emotions, instead of the complex and rigid systems of traditional Arabic. He also stressed that the role of art is to convey a message from the heart, without artificial embellishments. His poem 'Akhī (*My Brother*) is a lucid testimony to the doctrine he preached with its subjective voice and whispered tone. Without rhetorical pretensions, the poem approached a traditional subject matter, war, in a novel way.⁴²

The most gifted poet of the émigré movement in the United States was Elia Abu Madi who was born in Lebanon in 1889. He left for Egypt at a young age, and there published his first collection of poetry, before emigrating to the USA in 1911. His true success as a poet came after moving to New York and joining the Pen League with the publication of his second and third collections. Abu Madi excelled in the expression of personal bitterness in a modern world and the solace he found in individualism and nature. He ushered into Arabic literature an

⁴⁰ 'Al-Nahḍah (renaissance) refers to the historical intellectual reform and modernization of Arab culture, centering in Egypt. 'Al-Khafāji, *Qisat 'Al-'Adab 'Al-Mahjarī*, 1986: 125-147.

⁴¹ Naimy, 1974: 155-156.

⁴² Ostle, 1997: 99-100.

atmosphere of vagueness and perplexity that was avant-garde. His most famous works include, *al-Ṭalāsīm*, expressing agnosticism and anguish in a style that departs from traditional Arabic qaṣīdah.⁴³

8. Conclusions

The émigré movement presented Arabic literature with its finest Romantic output, an achievement that echoed across the Arab world despite the geographical distance of its origin. Ostle admired the vitality and position of this movement as it changed the course of Arabic literary expression with focus on themes such as “the duality of body and soul, the poet-prophet of grandiose isolation or simply bewildered subjective malaise... With their preference for short simple metres and stanzaic forms, and their willingness to experiment with lines of irregular length, they paved the way for the formal revolutions that were to occur.”⁴⁴

As discussed above, the historical context in the Levant and the Arab world in general, before and during the life of Gibran and other émigré writers, was largely characterized by hardship. The Ottoman Empire was sick at that period, which reflected negatively on Greater Syria. In contrast, the United States was fast developing towards unprecedented prosperity. This led to a wave of immigration, which included a number of writers and their families, from the Levant to the American east coast. For example, the young Gibran, under the protective wing of his mother, left the quiet life of the Mount village to the hustle and bustle of Boston and New York.

The Arab cultural scene during the same period was chiefly characterized by a clash between tradition and modernity, fueled to a great extent by direct interaction with the West. In literature, émigré writers were on the side of modernizers, calling for a new spirit of subjective literature with less focus on classic forms. These writers came to a cosmopolitan culture and a booming literary environment, which helped to nurture and polish their talents. It can be argued that this environment fundamentally shaped their outlook on modernizing culture and literary innovation.

The two major recommendations that can be gleaned from the above discussions revolve around the role of interaction between a writer and their culture. First, to fully appreciate literary creativity, critics and readers need to be aware of the culture of the writer and how both culture and writer affect each other. Second, to develop and cultivate a writer’s creative literary abilities, it can be advantageous to gain new experiences and insights outside one’s familiar environment into diverse cultures with dissimilar worldviews.

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⁴³ R.C. Ostle, 1997: 101-105.

⁴⁴ R.C. Ostle, 1997: 109.

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Hegemonic Practices of Upperclassmen to Freshmen Within College Life

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ABSTRACT

The research aims to explain: 1) Forms of hegemonic practices of upperclassmen to freshmen in college life at the State University of Makassar and 2) Levels of hegemonic practices of upperclassmen to freshmen at the State University of Makassar. This research is qualitative descriptive with snowball sampling technique used to determine the participants which consist of 25 upperclassmen and 20 freshmen class of 2018 and 2019 academic year. Data collection methods included observation, interview and documentation. Data analysis technique consists of three stages, namely: data reduction, data presentation and conclusion drawing. Data verification was conducted through observation perseverance and source and time triangulation. The results show that 1) forms of hegemonic practices of the upperclassmen to freshmen at the State University of Makassar include agreement, domination and intellectual leadership and moral and 2) the level of hegemony conducted by the upperclassmen at the State University of Makassar is in the decadent hegemony level. Relationship between upperclassmen and freshmen is good but only few freshmen who established intimacy. There is awkwardness between the upperclassmen and the freshmen during interaction. Freshmen are active in supporting the upperclassmen in student clubs at the department, faculty as well as university levels. It is because the freshmen feel reluctant if they do not carry out the upperclassmen direction. In addition there is also a sense of compulsion due to sanction used by the upperclassmen.

Keywords: Hegemonic Practices; Hegemony; State University of Makassar; Students; Upperclassmen

1. Introduction

Hegemony is inevitable in human life; it exists in political, economic, social, law, or education. This symptom occurs naturally since the order of human life is always as commanders and followers. Anyone can practice hegemony to reach their respective goals. In education, its practices are commonly found in schools, colleges or universities among students; upperclassmen to freshmen. According to Gramsci (1999), it is not only to create a collective will, but new conception of the world or *Weltanschauung*. For him, hegemony has no unconscious basis. This is contrast to the dictatorship as a form of domination which combines power and agreement without the power lost, and where the power itself is the object of consent. In short, hegemony is an agreement protected by coercive weapons.

A number of researchers studied about cultural hegemony in schools and they suggests to understand various cultural backgrounds as well as relevant pedagogy culturally (Scherff & Spector, 2010), responsive teaching culturally (Gay, 2000), and multicultural instructions (Taylor & Sobel, 2011). The expert views have valuable contributions in providing a significance framework to understand and solve cultural problems in multicultural backgrounds at schools.

Syafiie (2007) had conducted the study of violence in educational institution on case study of IPDN (Institute of Governance of Home Affairs) students where he found that ten incidents acted by upperclassmen to freshmen led to death occurred from 1994 to 2005. Marijan & Fitrianto (2013) studied about relationship of upperclassmen and freshmen to investigate the anatomy of violence among university students in Makassar. The study found that violence is just affirmative action of identity among student class standings. Other references on student violence actions are also related to their perception as agents of changes and their social and political responsibilities to secure country condition.

As actors, upperclassmen usually stand themselves in experiencing and recognizing students of college life and they also play an important role in sharing their knowledge to their freshmen. The successful foster of freshmen character depends on how upperclassmen influence their freshmen to follow the upperclassmen will which is known as hegemony circle.

Upperclassmen always transform the dominant ways of thinking in which a concept of reality is disseminated in society both institutionally and individually; (ideology) dictates all tastes, moral habits, religious and political principles as well as all social relations, especially in term of intellectuality and morality (Patria & Arif, 1999). In general, upperclassmen instill their mindset and experience to foster freshmen character about college life. Through the hegemony practice carried out by upperclassmen causes their freshmen considering the flow should occur. Ideally, as educated people, upperclassmen must instill an educational mindset for their freshmen. The purpose of the activities carried out by upperclassmen in coaching new students is to attract their attentions or direct the things that focus upperclassmen that are expected that the student is not only intellectual, but also emotionally intelligent. In addition, this hidden mastery in influencing the freshmen used as a tool by upperclassmen to instill various values that has lived on the campus. The values conveyed are good values of religious values, courtesy, struggle and sacrifice of students.

Ideally, upperclassmen should serve as models for freshmen in terms of: first, deepening and developing themselves in the field of science they pursue so they can have greatest intellectual abilities; the second, becomes a bridge between the theoretical world and the empirical world or able to find solutions to the problems of life in accordance with their scientific discipline; the three, agents of change.

The facts that occur in the field show that there is a hegemonic action committed by upperclassmen to freshmen. This condition is such upperclassmen always involved freshmen in

various demonstration action activities. Upperclassmen instill in the freshmen mindset that the duty of a student is to take part in demonstrations. Freshmen are often punished for violating upperclassmen rule in the form of push-ups, squatting, lying down and other physical punishments. Upperclassmen also often ask freshmen to bring something like chocolate, wafers, etc. that have nothing to do with their study program. The flow of thought and actions of these upperclassmen is naturally accepted by freshmen so that they only follow the wishes of upperclassmen.

Likewise, various activities of other student organizations that bind freshmen to take part in accepting in upperclassmen student environment. Activities that bind freshmen certainly cannot be separated from the practice of hegemony carried out by upperclassmen. The activities carried out make freshmen willing to get involved in various activities whatever their form. Even many freshmen are consent to follow the process and make it a top priority compared to lecture activities. Though ideally as a student known as an Agent of Moral should avoid things those contradict with the ethics as student and call for kindness. The practice of hegemony to freshmen can continue to last without the awareness of the oppressed, due to enable freshmen to show the oppression they are receiving, even in its clearest form.

Based on these problems, this research investigated concepts and levels of hegemony practices by upperclassmen to freshmen at State University of Makassar.

2. Literature Review

A. The Theory of Hegemony

The theory of hegemony is one of prominent theories in the 20th century. Antonio Gramsci, as the main character of the hegemony theory, was born in the 19th century precisely in 1891. The theory has roots in the tradition of Karl Marx's thought. The idea of hegemony was first introduced in 1885 by Russian Marxists, especially by Plekhanov in 1883-1984. The idea was developed as part of a strategy to overthrow Tsarism. The term shows the hegemonic leadership that must be formed by the proletariat, and its political representatives, alliances with other groups, including some bourgeois critics, peasants and intellectuals attempt to end the Tsarist police state (Bocock, 2007).

Gramsci developed hegemony concept of marx and criticized Marxist ideas about the superstructure of society (Gramsci, 1999). Superstructures are culture, institution, power formation, and rituals established by a community base which is influenced by the forces of economic production. Gramsci responded to the Marxist concept by creating a historical block, that the recognition of the community base and the superstructure worked together symbiotically (Buckel & Fischer, 2009). The two main components that comprise the historical block structure; First, civil society is a personal aspect of the structure consisting of churches, educational institutions, clubs, and the media. These are cultural and intellectual pieces. Second, political society is a public aspect consisting of government, military, police, and the justice system (Gramsci, 1999). This phenomenon is influenced by the economy. Gramsci also highlighted the interrelationships between the two which comprise the entire structure of society.

Related to power and its formation, Foucault (2002) also discusses the relationship between power and knowledge. Foucault (2002) abandons the old notion that views that knowledge is only possible to develop outside the realm of power. For Foucault, there is an interconnected relationship between knowledge and power. There is no practice of exercising power that does not generate knowledge and there is no knowledge in which it does not contain power relations.

Power is exercised through certain regulations which influence one another. For Foucault, power does not come from outside but inside of organization. Power exercises its role through a series of certain rules and systems to produce a kind of power chain. It is not just about controlling people physically and dictatorships. In modern society, power works in a pattern of normalization, that is, the power is disguised, hidden and covered up that it seems invisible. Power no longer works through oppression and physical strength. Power is exercised by strengthening regulations that are carried out and obeyed voluntarily in an organization, agency or country.

Furthermore Gramsci argues that hegemonic practices can be developed, when the dominant social group must utilize both components (Gramsci, 1999). If personal power is rejected, then public power must be exercised to ensure that supremacy is maintained and vice versa (Litowitz, 2000). Whereas Simon (1999), hegemony is a means to understand society with the aim to change it. The purpose of the hegemony is to attract the attention of the community or direct the things that are focused by the hegemony.

According to Hartijo (2009), there are several important ideas related to the concept of hegemony including:

- 1) In hegemony, the dominant group over subalterned group to accept the moral, political and cultural values of the dominant group (in this context the ruling party or the ruling group);
- 2) Hegemony is accepted as something natural, so that the ideology of the dominant group can spread and be practiced;
- 3) The values and ideologies are fought for and defended by the dominant party in such a way that the dominated party remains silent and obedient to the leadership of the ruling group;
- 4) Hegemony is a strategy to maintain dominant powers.

B. Hegemony in Education

Through education, the elites can produce and promote their ideologies that justify their position by making their beliefs seem general (McDonald & Coleman, 1999). The upperclassmen, especially those who join in student organization are categorized as elites in freshmen relations. Bourdieu (1990), argues that symbolic violence is related to the relations of power possessed by individuals and their relation to structures and systems that perpetuate such power. Bourdieu uses this concept to explain the mechanism used by upper class groups that dominate the social structure of society to impose their ideology, culture, habits or lifestyle on the lower class groups they dominate. Symbolic violence needs to be understood in relation to the concept of individual symbolic capital. Capital in Bourdieu's view is divided into social capital (wealth of individual relations), cultural capital (lifestyle, ways of acting and knowledge), and symbolic capital (the way an individual represents himself to the public).

According to Bourdieu (2009), symbolic capital is often as an accumulation of various other capital, namely cultural and social, thus giving individuals or certain social groups the power that allows them to dominate other social classes. Symbolic violence occurs when dominant social actors implement social meanings and representations of reality that are internalized to other actors as something natural and legitimate, even the social meanings are then considered true by other actors. This process occurs through the mechanism of implanting understanding and world view of a reality continuously, until finally an idea is formed that it all should be like that.

Upperclassmen always promote ideologies that justify their position to win the trust of their freshmen. Once the dominant group's beliefs are engrained in both private and public aspects

of society, they begin to be viewed as common sense. This process does not occur with flippancy but with manipulation and strategy (Litowitz, 2000). Members of society live and teach the dominant principles without explicit cognition. Because multiple institutions multiply hegemonic principles, members of society do not generally question the issues (Litowitz, 2000). The lower classes accept their social role and consent to the rules enforced by everyday institutions. Hegemony is, therefore, achieved through establishment of an organic link between civil and political societies (Gramsci, 1999).

Hegemony is gained by establishing consensus rather than oppressive force. There are three levels of hegemony proposed by Gramsci, namely Integral, decadent, and minimum hegemony. Gramsci (2013) explains that integral hegemony is characterized by mass affiliation approaching totality. Society shows a strong level of moral and intellectual unity. The relationship is not encompassed by contradictions and antagonisms both socially and ethically. Secondly is decadent hegemony, which is the condition of modern capitalist society, where bourgeois economic domination faces severe challenges. There is a potential for disintegration there. Through this potential nature it is intended that disintegration appears in hidden conflicts beneath the surface of social reality. In other words, even though the existing system has reached its needs or targets, the mentality of the masses is not really in harmony with the dominant thinking of the subject of hegemony. Therefore, cultural and political integration is easy to collapse. Such a situation is called a decadent hegemony. Thirdly is minimum hegemony. This is the lowest form of hegemony compared to the previous two forms. This is the situation in Italy in the period of unification until the middle of this century. Hegemony rests on ideological unity between the economic, political and intellectual elites that goes hand in hand with the reluctance of any mass interference in state life. Therefore, hegemonic groups do not want to adjust their interests and aspirations with other classes in society. The rules are maintained through the transformation of cultural, political, social and economic leaders' unification which is potentially contrary to the new state aspired by the hegemonic group.

Hegemony succeeded when the ruling class won the agreement, both actively and passively than its allies. Fontana (1993) states hegemony is basically understood as the difference in which dominant social groups shaped a permanent approval system.

3. Research Methodology

This research was conducted at the State University of Makassar for 14 months, from July 2018 to August 2019 using a constructivist paradigm with descriptive qualitative as method. The technique in determining participants used snowball sampling, for upperclassmen have served or are currently serving as administrators in student organizations starting at the level of department, faculty and university. While freshmen as participants were class 2018 and 2019. Based on data saturation there were 25 upperclassmen and 20 freshmen who were selected as research participants. Data collection techniques used were observation, interviews, and documentation. In-depth observations and interviews were conducted with participants at the student secretariat, boarding houses and campus areas.

Data were analyzed using an interactive analysis model from Miles and Haberman (1994). The data have been collected then processed and analyzed using qualitative analysis techniques under the following steps; data reduction, namely the process of selecting and focusing attention and simplification, abstracting and transformation of rough data contained in interview notes and observations obtained in the field; display data is a set of information that has been arranged that emerge the meaning possibility which can be reported in drawing conclusions; drawing conclusions and verification is done after the data is presented, described

and given meaning with a logical interpretation. Conclusions are based on data presentation and data reduction. Data verification is conducted by method of observation, persistence and triangulation of sources and time (Moleong, 2014).

4. Results and Discussion

A. Forms of Hegemonic Practices of Upperclassmen to Freshmen Within College Life

The forms of hegemonic practices of upperclassmen to freshmen within college life at State University of Makassar are as follows:

1) Willing Agreement (consent)

Upperclassmen consent which part of hegemonic practices to predominance freshmen in organization awareness within college life. The upperclassmen use a variety of techniques to meet an active agreement in terms of freshmen awareness to support the organizational activities both in level of department and faculty. The form of consent relates to the domination of mind, critical thinking and affective abilities.

The results showed that, upperclassmen apply same technique in building their freshmen consent to involve in organization through socialization and persuasive approaches. The socialization is conducted by introducing student organizations from department to faculty levels at welcoming new students. Upperclassmen always use dialectic technique to introduce the background of the organization, functions, organizational structures and the benefits or experiences gained through organization. It aims to dominate freshmen cognition.

Upperclassmen dominate their freshmen minds by giving an understanding of extra and intra-college organizations as a place to seek knowledge and experience as much as possible. The process of how the discourse on organization at State University of Makassar takes place in a complex process. After dominated the minds, upperclassmen learn the critical ability of freshmen to measure their knowledge about organizations with the various experiences gained by upperclassmen. The source of upperclassmen power comes from the knowledge they have as long standing class in college. This phenomenon is relevant to the theory of power and knowledge from Foucault (2002) that power no longer works through oppression and physical strength. Power is exercised by strengthening the regulations that are carried out and obeyed voluntarily. The discourse put forward by the upperclassmen always controlled the minds of the freshmen, so they were helpless before the upperclassmen.

The persuasive approach is established using intense communication by inviting freshmen to gather intensively in campus areas such as parks, canteens, student organization office, parking lots, and other pleasant places available on campus. This action is conducted in order to gain more mass and unite their thoughts according to their expectations. The persuasive approach is to dominate the freshmen affective abilities to build their interests in joining organizational activities, especially intra-campus organizations. All of these things are justified by freshmen class of 2018 and 2019.

Freshmen always consent actively involved in various activities of student organizations and they consider it as important things to increase their experiences and insights. Freshmen also assume that it has become their responsibilities to take part and become members of student organizations at the level of department, Faculty, and University. The upperclassmen doctrines have become a culture to be involved in organizations to support the spirit of students as agents of change.

This phenomenon is consistent with Gramsci's premise stated that hegemony prioritizes ideas and does not merely use physical force. For Gramsci (2013), hegemony through consensus or agreement has indirectly emerged as an active commitment of the community based on

something legitimate or commonsense. Another case with the path of dominance that emphasizes coercion and strength, consensus or agreement to use leadership enforcement tools, such as education, religion, media, publishing, and others. The tool functions as a hegemonic ideology.

Subordinate groups that are controlled accept and approve the ideas and political interests of the group that controls them (Qomaruddin, 2017). The same problem was also raised further by Laclau & Mouffe (2008), that the mastering group seemed to attempt to naturalize a form and meaning of the ruling group that was built on moral grounds and agreement by instilling ideologies and ideas that could be accepted without rejection. The hegemony of consent that they built entered through a cultural path that was built through the paradigm, reason, ideology, art and science they possessed.

2) Domination

Upperclassmen as dominant groups or more powerful groups while freshmen are considered as controlled groups. The socialization and persuasive approach in the form of agreement by upperclassmen can be achieved with the dominance of the upperclassmen as a group that is able to subdue them. Therefore, it can be said that the success of freshmen student approval is closely related to the success in creating dominance of upperclassmen. Based on the results of the study, it was found that the form of dominance by upperclassmen occurred through the imposition of certain obligations and control of freshmen.

The dominance can be viewed from the condition that upperclassmen have amount of more mass and the position of them is higher than freshmen compared to their experience in acknowledge college life. Upperclassmen have the power to pressure freshmen in participating of various student body activities and offer sanctions if they are absent from these obligations. Ideology infiltrated through the process of socialization by giving sanctions is an awareness that aims to make the desired ideas become the norm agreed upon by freshmen. The findings of this study are similar to the results of research (Christle et al., 2010; Noguera, 2003; Skiba & Peterson, 2000) where students who cannot follow school rules receive penalties which often result in them being expelled from institutions due to lack of changes in their behavior over time to time.

Another form of dominance can be viewed from the control of upperclassmen on their freshmen. The control is done by follow-up after the freshmen follow the Basic Student Leadership Training (LDKM) activities. Control is intended to keep escorting freshmen to actively participate in every student activity both at the Study Program, Faculty, and University levels. This symptom is justified by freshmen in class 2018 and 2019 who acknowledge that there is a fear of sanctions used if there are compulsory activities directed at upperclassmen and then it is not implemented. Sanctions are often used for freshmen who do not follow the upperclassmen will, the sanctions are various such as push-ups, upperclassmen treats, and scolding in public.

Hegemony with the path of domination certainly uses the tools of violence and force. This hegemonic practices of upperclassmen who take cover behind the discourse of freshmen' obligation to be involved in student organizations. The discourse of obligation that is always rolled by upperclassmen to freshmen transforms into knowledge received by freshmen and has the effect of power to discipline freshmen to take part in the word upperclassmen. This phenomenon supports the theory and power and knowledge of Foucault (2002), that discourse always produces knowledge, and knowledge will produce power. The pattern of domination of this pathway legalizes violence in practice. The context of this understanding is where the

political community is identified with the student body as a campus apparatus that has the authority of coercion. Hegemony in the form of domination is characterized by the use of force, violence, coercion, authority, tactics, and agitation.

Hegemony in the form of domination is also manifested through rules made unilaterally by upperclassmen. For example, if there is a meeting, the meeting hours refer to the hours that they have. If the upperclassmen come earlier in a meeting than the freshmen come late, then the upperclassmen will be angry. However, if the upperclassmen are late, then he sets the time in the hour according to the time of his attendance at the meeting. For example, if the agenda of the meeting is at 3:00 p.m., while the upperclassmen come at 3:30 p.m., then they set his watch to 3:00 p.m. freshmen do not dare to protest and only accept the situation as it is. Upperclassmen often schedule meetings when freshmen still have class schedules. But the upperclassmen never schedule meetings when they have class schedules. Upperclassmen, as a dominating class, always receive justification for their actions. The results of this study are relevant to the findings of Indra (2017) about government hegemony in setting unilateral rules towards market traders.

This phenomenon is also consistent with what was stated by Gramsci who views that domination is the beginning of the hegemony process. Someone is able to do anything, even able to make other people carry out his orders if he has a power or position (Gramsci, 1999). Upperclassmen that have long been standing on college life compared to freshmen are considered to have a higher position and have more power than freshmen.

Freshmen always consent to the actions of upperclassmen; however upperclassmen always seem with power and dominance. This relationship colors the campus life arena between upperclassmen and freshmen. The link between agreement and dominance in this arena is in line with the results of the study (Kartika Rizqiyah, 2018; Hannan and Abdillah, 2019; Lears, 2016). The approval arises from the existence of more power from upperclassmen to control. This reality is what makes upperclassmen dominate over freshmen, producing to hegemonic practices.

3) Intellectual and Moral Leadership

Upperclassmen techniques in dominating over freshmen are through moral and intellectual leadership. The results show that, the form of moral and intellectual leadership is used in the practice of upperclassmen hegemony, although this hegemonic form is only applied by a small portion of upperclassmen within college life at State University of Makassar. This leadership form is applied by performing good manner and intellectual personality to attract freshmen and make the upperclassmen as role model so freshmen can be led as their upperclassmen want to do for them.

Upperclassmen transform the symbolic violence to freshmen by inviting them to follow in his footsteps becoming a member of student organization. Upperclassmen often agitate and force freshmen to follow their desires. Agitation is manifested in the form of scaring or bluffing freshmen that the upperclassmen will not help them when they have academic problems. Freshmen as a dominated party then views the place of the upperclassmen is doing a right thing.

Dignity and self-esteem of upperclassmen are at stake if they transform knowledge to freshmen. It is this symbolic capital possessed by upperclassmen that triggers symbolic violence in freshmen. Symbolic capital owned by upperclassmen, does not stand alone, but is also supported by cultural capital in the form of knowledge and ways of acting that are more mature than freshmen. This practice is consistent with Bourdieu's (1990) view of the occurrence of

symbolic violence. As a result, as a result freshmen as a lower class society, forced to accept, undergo, practice, and recognize that the upper class habitus (upperclassmen) is a proper habitus for them to follow.

Upperclassmen who always apply this form are inseparable from the upperclassmen that have positions at the top of organizations such as the Chair of the Department Association, the Senate Chair and the Chair of the Student Consultative Assembly (MAPERWA) at the Faculty and University level. Actors can appear as intellectual and moral leaders are those who have more control in a student organization. As an upperclassmen student who has an important role in shaping the character of freshmen, certainly aware that upperclassmen will be the central freshmen. Upperclassmen should show good examples in terms of behavior and intellectuals such as authority, ways of speaking, inviting freshmen to discuss scientific disciplines, increase knowledge and so on. The form of hegemony in the form is intended to perpetuate the hegemony process carried out by the upper class after using a form of domination and agreement.

This condition was approved by the freshmen class of 2018 as participants. All of them agreed that the upperclassmen set good examples in terms of attitudes such as authority, communication way, problem solvers for freshmen. The freshmen admitted that they were more interested in making a role model for upperclassmen who set positive examples such as in terms of academic achievement, communication skills, authority, and having broad insights. This moral leadership is supported by Gramsci's statement that leadership is one of the main conditions for reaching the top of the pyramid and winning power (Patria & Arif, 1999).

Regarding intellectual domination, furthermore, Gramsci stated that all men are intellectuals, but not all men have in society the function of intellectual (Gramsci, 2013). In this research, the phenomenon only showed seven upperclassmen have intellectual and moral dominance. The seven students, one of them is the chair of Student organization of department, then two of them as the chair of the Faculty Student Executive Board (BEM), one of them as Chair of the Faculty Student Representative Council (MAPERWA), two Chairpersons of the University Student Executive Board (BEM), and one Chairperson of the Student Representative Council (MAPERWA) at the University level. The ability of the seven upperclassmen has the power to hegemonic the freshmen since they have above-average academic abilities, excellent communication skills, broad insight, and good personality during interactions.

B. Level of Hegemonic Practices of Upperclassmen to Freshmen Within College Life

The level of hegemonic practices by upperclassmen within college life at State University of Makassar can be viewed from the relationship established between upperclassmen and freshmen as a result of the form of hegemony carried out by upperclassmen. The results of the study showed that the level of hegemony conducted by upperclassmen towards freshmen in instilling awareness by the goals of the upperclassmen. at a decadent hegemony level. This phenomenon can be seen from the relationship between the upperclassmen and their freshmen, although they are well-established, but only a few freshmen set up that familiarity. Interaction of some upperclassmen with freshmen still creates a sense of awkwardness. This situation shows the absence of such a strong relationship or harmony between the class that is controlled and the class that is in control. freshmen are active in supporting a number of activities in student organizations at the level of study programs, faculties, and universities even though freshmen are not in line with the activities they support because they feel reluctant if they do not carry out their upperclassmen directives. The feeling of being reluctant forced some of the activities that he participated on the basis of fear. In addition, some freshmen do not show a

good moral unity seen from freshmen who are unable to put good ethics towards their upper class.

This phenomenon is in line with Gramsci (1999) about the decadent hegemony, namely the existing system has reached its needs or targets, but the mentality of the masses is not really in harmony with the dominant thinking of the hegemony subject. Interactions that occur at this level show the potential for disintegration there (Patria & Arif, 1999). Another explanation is also stated by Hartijo that the level of decadent hegemony occurs if the community is not in line with the existing leadership. Through these conditions, it is possible for the community to get another agreement that is not in line with the existing leadership. For some reason, other agreements seem to support the existing leadership (Hartijo, 2009). The results of the study did not find any variant forms of the level of integral hegemony and minimal hegemony as stated by Gramsci (1999).

5. Conclusions

The forms of hegemonic practices of upperclassmen to freshmen within college life at State University of Makassar are dominance, willing agreement, intellectual and moral leadership. First, hegemony in the form of consent is obtained through two ways namely socialization and persuasive approach. Second, hegemony in the form of dominance is done by emphasizing the obligation of several activities and control for junior students who want to continue to exist in student institutions both at the Study Program, Faculty and University level. In terms of behavior and intellectuals such as above average academic achievement, upperclassmen authority, speaking skills, have broad insights, so that a good upperclassmen image is built in the eyes of junior students and is able to perpetuate the upperclassmen hegemony process.

The level of hegemony practices by upperclassmen to their freshmen within college life at State University of Makassar is at the level of decadent hegemony. This phenomenon can be seen from the relationship between the upperclassmen and the freshmen although they are well established, but only a few freshmen have established in intimacy. In addition, there is still a sense of awkwardness created by the freshmen as well as a sense of compulsion in participating in some activities for reasons of fear of being sanctioned for upperclassmen.

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Internal Conflict Resolution between Government of Indonesia and Separatist Movement in Papua using *Horse-Trading Mechanism*

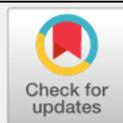
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ABSTRACT

The study aims to analyze the process of internal conflict resolution between the Government of Indonesia and the separatist movement in Papua (Free Papua Movement (Indonesian: Organisasi Papua Merdeka or OPM)) using a horse-trading mechanism. This study was qualitative method by discussing the Free Papua Movement background and the conflict, then discussing the conflict process of timeline analysis tool to understand the development of its movement based on chronological order, and discussing the conflict resolutions that have been carried out with conflict mapping analysis tool to understand the actors that involved and their objectives. The conflict is the result of complexity among historical backgrounds, ideology, and a sense of injustice in Papua, on the other hand, the international community has increasingly supported Papua. Horse-trading has been used to resolve the conflict of Free Papua Movement and the Government of Indonesia, yet it has not yet reached a new resolution. The horse-trading mechanism effectively resolves the conflict when trust has been achieved between them to communicate both of them where they can deliver their objectives openly.

Keywords: Conflict; Horse-Trading Mechanism; Indonesia; OPM; Separatist

1. Introduction

During the Republic of Indonesia became an independent nation-state, The Dutch government began preparing Papua for its independence to separate from both Dutch and Indonesia governments. The preparations were the formation of a Papuan legislative body, flag, and national anthem. However, the Government of Indonesia declared Papua as part of the republic in the New York Agreement in 1962 without any Papuan participation.

The Papuan educated class sought the right of freedom for Papuan to choose to separate from Indonesia and the Netherlands to the United Nations in 1964. Furthermore, its efforts developed to become more structured and formed the Free Papua Movement (Indonesian: Organisasi Papua Merdeka or OPM). The movement seeks to increase awareness and support from the world communities for Papuan independence efforts by the divisions consists of armed groups operating in three different regions, groups carrying protests and demonstrations, and the last group is based in abroad (Hadi, 2007). Quoted from the BBC Indonesia article (2018), OPM launched several armed resistance against civil society transmigrants from outside Papua, started on July 26, 1965 in Manokwari, and in 2018 there were several shootings of Trans Papua project workers, PT Istaka Karya workers, members of Indonesian Police Mobile Brigade Corps (known as Brimob), and detention of teachers and medical personnel.

Various resolutions of the Government of Indonesia to resolve the conflict have been carried out, ranging from repressive or militaristic to non-repressive measures such as the enactment of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 21 of 2001 on Special Autonomy for the Papua Province.

Some previous studies and findings have contributed to knowledge about the conflict in Papua, as Sugiyanto (2017) and Sefriani (2003) with the international law approach, Sugandi (2008) with International Institutional as a mechanism for resolving the conflict. Suratman (2017) stated that the separatist movement in Papua has been one of the indicators for proxy war happening and becoming an unsolving problem in Indonesia. While Viartasiwi (2018) and Safitri (2012) focus on historical aspects that can be used to manipulate legitimation and political instruments in sectarian conflict between the Government of Indonesia and West Papuan nationalists. Hadi (2016) revealed that the struggle for Papuan independence has used nonviolence actions through technological uses and propaganda media to achieve their political objectives, namely to raise supports from international communities.

Other studies, Istikharoh (2017), the negotiator deployment to diplomacy dialogue of Government of Indonesia to free the Indonesians of the Abu Sayyaf group hostage resulted in success. Kamlian (2011), it is also used to resolve the separatist conflict of ethnic and religious backgrounds of the Moro conflict in the Philippines. The efforts of the Philippine Government were initially repressive at the end leading to negotiations that resulted in agreements that were agreed to by Moro people and the Government of the Philippine.

Until now the OPM conflict has not yet found a resolving point. The West Papua National Liberation Army - Free Papua Movement (Indonesian: Tentara Pembebasan Nasional Papua Barat Organisasi Papua Merdeka or TPNPB-OPM) continues to voice its interests for 'independence' from Indonesia and file a lawsuit against the Government of Indonesia. Forasmuch as TPNPB-OPM does not meet its demands, the organization will threaten that the war between OPM and the Government of Indonesia will not be ended.

Peter Wallensteen (2015) suggests seven mechanisms for conflict resolution. First, a party may change its goal, the second, the parties stick to their goals but find a point at which resources can be divided, the third, horse-trading, the fourth way shared control, the fifth, to

leave control to somebody else, the sixth, arbitration or other legal procedures, and the seventh, left to later or even to oblivion. This study discussed the horse-trading conflict resolution mechanism. The horse-trading mechanism is carried out with a compromise between the two sides, where one side has all of its demands met on one issue, while the other has all of its goals met on another issue. This mechanism results in a new decision after the two sides communicate to find a solution together, with the condition that both override each other's egoism. This conflict requires a good relationship between the conflicting parties. One party gets all their requests fulfilled on a problem, while the other party gets all their demands on another problem. This mechanism is different from compromise which sacrifices a portion of the demands of each party.

The horse-trading mechanism has opportunity to become an alternative resolving internal conflict in Papua compared to the other six Wallensteen mechanisms since it places each party's position in an open dialogue to deliver the demands of both parties as long as the demands are in the corridor or boundary that is possible for both to grant their demands. In the OPM – Indonesia conflict, this mechanism is an excellent mechanism in accommodating demands between the two parties who have not met the point of contact, to be able to compromise with Indonesia in adjusting its position to face an OPM party whose position is unbalanced, as well as the OPM to can consider its unbalanced position with the Government of Indonesia, so that together they can reach new agreements and are agreed by both parties.

2. Research Methodology

This study used qualitative methods to discuss phenomena in a descriptive, detailed and in-depth manner. According to Checkel (2008), Hermann (2008), and Neumann (2008), there are three analytical techniques, namely: 1) process tracing; 2) content analysis; 3) discourse analysis. Tracing process technique is a process discussing and describing a case in a causal chain with interconnected dependent and independent variables. The independent variable chosen was the horse-trading conflict resolution mechanism and the dependent variable was the case of the Papuan separatist movement. The sources used were books, journals, newspapers and official government documents. In this article, the study also used analysis tools in the form of timelines and conflict mapping to map the actors and problems of the conflict. The study chooses both analysis tools because the study sees that both are appropriate to discuss the conflict process raised by OPM. The timeline is used in the discussion to explain the course of the conflict between the OPM and the Government of Indonesia that has taken place since 1965-today. Furthermore, conflict mapping was to explain who the various parties involved in the conflict were as well as which parties contribute to the resolution. The study also referred to the conflict resolution model of Galtung where peace is not only limited to the absence of war (negative peace), but the formation of harmony of equality, the absence of all forms of violence, and the creation of social justice (positive peace).

3. Results and Discussion

A. Historical Aspects of Free Papua Movement Establishment

The problems of the Papua region have been happening all this time and becoming old stories that have not found a solution. This problem has been around since the beginning of the process of integration of the Papua region into Indonesian territory. There are two factors, both internal and external factors that are considered to trigger the birth of conflict between Papua and Indonesia. An internal factor from the Indonesian side was the difference of ideas between Soekarno and Muh Yamin with Moh Hatta. At the BPUPKI (The Investigating Committee for

Preparatory Works for Indonesian Independence or Badan Penyelidik Usaha-usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia) session, Soekarno and Muh Yamin thought that the territory of Indonesia is the entire territory of the former Dutch East Indies, including Papua. Their desire is reinforced by the fact that Papua is a region with abundant natural resources. However, Moh Hatta thought that the Papua region was an area ethnographically different from Indonesia. The population of Indonesia is largely a Polynesian population, while the population of Papua is the population of Melanesia. Moh Hatta argued that the Papua region was given the freedom to determine the status of its integration with Indonesia. However, in the BPUPKI session, Moh Hatta got fewer votes so that the decision that Papua was included in Indonesia's territorial territory after independence was determined by the Government of Indonesia.

On the other hand, the Netherlands is considered as an external party who holds the control by instilling anti-Indonesian to the people of Papua. Disputing between Indonesia and the Netherlands over the status of West Irian (including Papua) broke out after the Round Table Conference (Indonesian: Konferensi Meja Bundar or KMB). In the KMB attended by both parties, the Dutch did not recognize that West Irian was Indonesian territory. Both disputes resulted in the resolution related to West Irian to be postponed for one year. This one year delay was exploited by the Dutch to instill anti-Indonesian feelings through their politics of decolonization. The Dutch want to maintain their dominance and control of the West Irian region. This is based on their interests in West Irian, including:

1. West Irian became "Tropical Holland" for Eurasian education that could not return to the Netherlands.
2. West Irian was made a place to accommodate Dutch businessmen who chose to leave Indonesia.
3. West Irian is the basis for possible intervention if there is a collapse from Indonesia's newly established (Haris, 1999).

Encouraged by these interests, the Netherlands aggressively carried out decolonization in the West Irian region. Even in the context of preventing the fall of West Irian to Indonesia, the Netherlands also promised to give independence to West Irian as a stand-alone country. The Netherlands also carried out a series of improvements in West Irian, such as building schools, granting permits for political parties, and increasing subsidies for West Irian. The series of improvements are aimed at attracting the sympathy of the people and international parties, by showing that West Irian can stand as its own country. At that time the Dutch also held administrative control over the West Irian region.

The improvements in West Irian, particularly in the political field increased the sense of nationalism and political awareness among the people of West Irian. Coupled with the existence of several political parties, it made the people of West Irian aggressively fight for independence. Then in 1960, the people of West Irian made demands on the Dutch to give sovereignty to West Irian. The existence of these demands made the Netherlands form a body as a form of democracy in West Irian or Papua under the name Nieuw Guinea Road or the Nieuw Guinea Council. Guinea Nieuw Council is a legislative body that is useful for introducing democracy to the people of Papua. Also, the Netherlands established police and the Papua Battalion. Subsequently, on 19 October 1961, a National Committee was formed which aimed at preparing for Papuan independence. The National Committee then succeeded in producing several manifestos, among others, West Papua as the name of the country, Hai Tanahku Papua as the national anthem, the symbol of the country in the form of a Mambruk Bird, the National Flag in the form of a Morning Star, and One People One Soul as the motto.

Flying the Morning Star flag was first carried out on December 1, 1961, and the song *Hai Tanahku Papua* was sung. This raising took place for approximately one week until the start of the administration of the United Nations Temporary Executive Associations (UNTEA). UNTEA itself is a UN-formed body assigned to temporarily take over leadership of the West Irian region. Indonesia and the Netherlands agreed to settle this dispute through the United Nations, although in the end no agreement was reached.

Previously, Indonesia in 1961 had called for *Trikora* (Tri Komando Rakyat - a strategy for mobilizing the nation) which aimed at thwarting the formation of the puppet state of Papua and raising the Indonesian flag in West Irian. The existence of *Trikora* was also a sign of Indonesian military operations to seize West Irian. Large-scale military conflict almost occurred after Indonesia conducted Operation *Jaya Wijaya* to fight the Dutch. Meanwhile, the Netherlands also formed Papuan Volunteer Corps troops who came from local volunteers and had been trained. Also, the Dutch step in bringing about anti-Indonesian feelings can be said to be successful. This was proven by the large-scale demonstration on 1 December 1962 aimed at opposing Indonesia.

On the other hand, fears of the international community, especially the United States of America (USA), commonly known as the United States (U.S.), have begun to emerge. The U.S. is afraid that Indonesia will eventually fall into communist hands due to the lack of Western support in the Papua case. The U.S. then changed its attitude from being neutral to being an active mediator of this dispute. These changes made Australia also the same to change attitudes. Australia then chose to stop cooperation with the Netherlands in 1961. Then in 1962, through the New York Agreement involving Indonesia, the U.S., the Netherlands and the United Nations, disputes over the Papua region were settled. The Netherlands then left Papua in December 1962. With the departure of the Dutch from Papua, anti-Indonesian leaders moved to the Netherlands, which eventually spearheaded the birth of the Free Papua Movement (OPM). OPM itself was born because of disappointment and a sense of not accepting the verdict of the New York Agreement. They felt cheated because in the agreement there were no figures from Papua involved. In the New York Agreement, it was stipulated that the administrative management of the Papua region be handed over to Indonesia, to further hold the Act of Free Choice (Indonesian: *Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat* or *Pepera*) to determine the status of integration of Papua with Indonesia (Premdas, 1985).

B. Free Papua Movement (OPM)

Free Papua Movement (Indonesian: *Organisasi Papua Merdeka* or OPM) is a separatist movement that has been established since 1963. On July 26, 1965, under the leadership of Permenas Ferry Awom, a former sergeant major in the Dutch colonial police (*Papua Vrijwulinger Corps*), who led a series of armed uprisings in Manokwari (Djopari, 1993). OPM is an organization consisting of three elements: *group of armed units; each unit with limited territorial control with no single commander; several groups through demonstrations and protests give expression to a much more widespread sense of injustice and resentment; and a small group of leaders based abroad who try to raise awareness of Papuan issues with a view toward generating international support for independence* (Institute for Policy of Conflict, 2015). Almost all of the armed members are based in Papua. However, there are some others on the border and deepening of Papua New Guinea. There are approximately three military commands, namely Goliath Tabuni with Tingginambut bases, in Puncak Jaya Regency; Puron Wena based on Lanny Jaya; Richard Hans Yoweni based on Papua New Guinea (BBC News Indonesia, 2018).

In OPM there are two main factions led by Terianus Aronggear, SE (1964) and Aser Demotekay (1963) (Djopari, 1991). The faction established by Aser Dmotekay was based in Jayapura and chose the path of cooperation in its struggle. Aser asked the the Government of Indonesia to grant independence to Papua following the promise of the Bible and the promise of the ancestors. The other faction was under the leadership of Terianus Aronggear based in the Manokwari area. Slightly different from the previous faction, this faction arranged political and physical opposition to the government of Indonesia. Besides, Terianus Aronggear also compiled documents to be smuggled into the United Nations. The document contains questions about the status of West Irian and a review of the New York Agreement which is considered unfair to them. Besides, the document also contains the draft independence of the state of West Papua with Markus Kaisiepo as president (Ngatiyem, 2007). However, before the document was smuggled, Terianus Aronggear was captured on May 12, 1965, in Biak.

For the Government of Indonesia, OPM is a designation for every organization or faction in Irian and also based abroad which has the goal of releasing Irian Jaya (West Papua) from the Republic of Indonesia with pro-West Papua leaders (Ngatiyem, 2007). While Viktor Kaisiepo assumed that the OPM was a faction born of struggles in Irian Jaya and West Papua. It was they who sent information to Papuan leaders in the Netherlands to both fights for the independence of West Papua. Thus, Papuan leaders in the Netherlands, such as Nicolaas Jouwe and Marcus Kaiseiepo, then formed a military and political struggle for West Papua's independence in the name of the Free Papua Movement (OPM) as a unity of the West Papua struggle (Djopari, 1993).

C. OPM - Government of Indonesia Conflict Backgrounds

OPM staged a series of rebellions due to several factors. One of them is motivated by dissatisfaction with the results of the Act of Free Choice (Indonesian: Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat or Pepera) which shows that Papua chose to become part of Indonesia. The decision was legally established in UN Resolution 2504, stating that there was a transfer of Papuan power into Indonesian hands (Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning West New Guinea (West Irian), 1996). The pro-Papuan community believes that the vote does not involve the people of Papua and does not represent the interests of the people of Papua. Meanwhile, the Government of Indonesia in 1969, under Soeharto's leadership, referred to the New York Agreement, choosing 1,026 people to represent Papuans in the Pepera (Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Current Asia and the Center for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2011). For pro-Papuan people, the decision was considered cheating. The perception gap regarding Papua's integration into Indonesia is one of the triggers for separatism conflict.

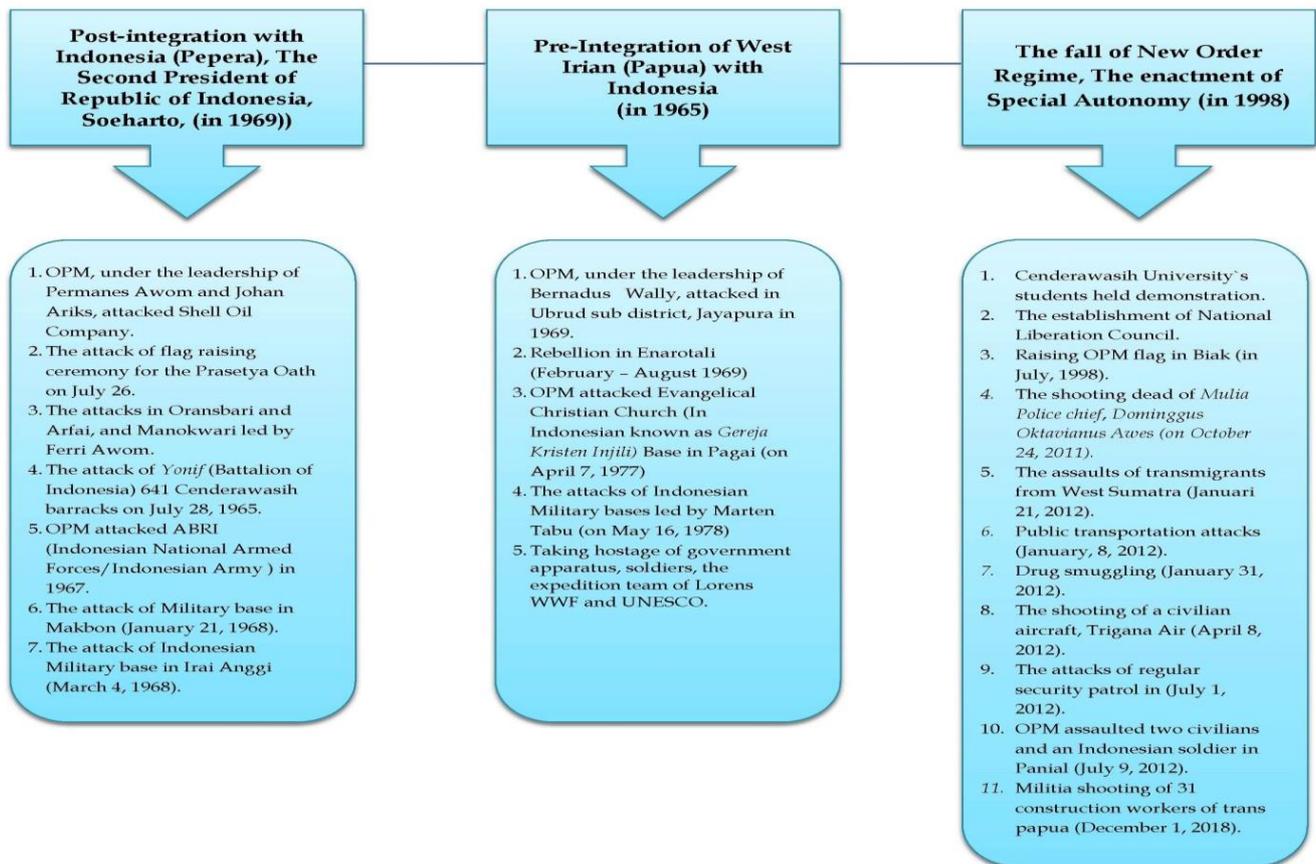
After the legalization of the Pepera results were administratively integrated into the Indonesian territory. Separatist conflict persists due to the decision of the central government which is considered detrimental to the people of Papua. One of them is the application of Papua as a Military Operations Area (Indonesian: Daerah Operasi Militer or DOM). The accusation of exploitation of nature also triggers separatism to continue a rebellion. The signing of a cooperation contract with U.S. based mining giant company, Freeport-McMoRan for approximately 30 years, raises the belief that Papua's natural wealth will be exploited by external parties. The transmigration program by the government is also considered to be detrimental to them. The existence of this transmigration program makes the Papua region more dominated by parties who are not native Papuans. Papua's economic and social inequalities are increasingly felt by the people of Papua. They feel that their territory has a lot of natural wealth, but those who enjoy it are outsiders, whereas indigenous people cannot feel it. According to Soedarjanto (2000) quoted by Ngatiyem, the people of Irian Jaya (Papua) want to

get out of the Republic of Indonesia due to 1) the unfair treatment that has been felt by the people of Irian Jaya, 2) feels abandoned, 3) the aspirations of the people of Irian Jaya are not accommodated (Ngatiyem, 2007). Some of the reasons that have been mentioned are the basis of why the OPM is resisting causing some conflicts.

To achieve its objectives, the OPM staged a series of rebellions against the Government of Indonesia. They also garnered international support. The form of resistance by OPM has also changed. During the early days of the resistance, armed conflicts often occurred between the OPM and the Government of Indonesia. But over time, the OPM began to include the practice of diplomacy in resisting Indonesia.

According to MT Arifin (2007), quoted by Ngatiyem, rebellions by OPM are divided into physical and non-physical rebellions. Physical uprising uses weapons in resistance; Non-physical rebellion raises flags and other statements (Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning West New Guinea (West Irian), 1996). OPM rebellion and resistance occur sporadically under different leaders. To make it easier to understand the course of the conflict and rebellion carried out by the OPM, the study divided the uprising period into three periods, namely: 1) the pre-integration period of West Irian and Indonesia (1965), 2) the post-integration period of West Irian and Indonesia under the leadership of Soeharto, and 3) the collapse of the New Order government (Indonesian: Orde Baru or ORBA) (1998) and the enactment of Special Autonomy to the present. To facilitate readers' understanding, the study uses a timeline to explain how the OPM resisted in the three periods mentioned.

Figure 1
OPM Rebellion Timeline



If we look closely, there is a change like the resistance made by the OPM. At the beginning of the fight more armed contact and based on the desire for independence. However, after the existing integration process, although resistance was still traditional in the use of weapons, the background to the resistance began to increase. Disappointment and economic and social injustice make the people of Papua continue to aggressively carry out resistance despite being integrated with Indonesia.

After the collapse of the ORBA and the introduction of Special Autonomy, there was a significant shift in resistance. Resistance is not merely using weapons but has also entered the stage of using diplomacy, proven by the establishment of the National Liberation Council. Besides, the motives of resistance tend to be more economic aspects than the nationalist sense of Papua itself. This can be seen because, after the enactment of Special Autonomy, resistance by OPM was not only directed at Indonesian National Armed Forces known as ABRI or TNI. From the existing figure, the targets of attacks by OPM in the period after the collapse of the New Order were also civilians. Besides, OPM resistance has also begun to target the commercial sector such as civilian aircraft attacks.

All changes in the forms of demands and patterns of rebellion by OPM must be an important reference for the government in determining policy. The resolution offered must adapt to the facts, that the peace that is created is not just the elimination of war, but the elimination of all forms of injustice.

D. Previous mechanism in Resolving Indonesia-OPM Conflict

The OPM conflict begins with conflicts between groups within the OPM organization and OPM conflicts with community groups in Papua itself. Therefore, in the early days of the rebellion, the Government of Indonesia acted as a third party handling the conflict between these groups. According to Djopari's study (1991), in 1963 and 1964 there were divisions in the OPM military faction due to differences in pro-Western political orientation and neo-Marxist or socialist orientation from OPM political leaders. Besides, before the OPM developed into a separatist organization, the OPM movement began with an armed attack, vandalism, hostage-taking, demonstrations and raising the West Papuan flag by the Arfak tribe in Manokwari and subsequently extending to various districts in Irian Jaya. Military divisions caused the military of the OPM to weaken so that their rebellion was successfully crushed by the government of Indonesia which at that time was carried out by the Armed Forces of Republic of Indonesia (Indonesian: Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia or ABRI).

At that time, the Government of Indonesia considered the OPM's actions as an effort to separatism that violated Indonesian law and sovereignty, so that the Government of Indonesia felt entitled to take up arms resistance. Various actions taken as part of separatism are regulated in Chapter I of Second Book: Crimes of the Criminal Code, where the act of rebellion according to Article 108 includes crimes against government, and separatist movements according to Article 106 are classified as treason attempts. The efforts of armed attacks between ABRI and OPM have added to the death penalty.

Furthermore, it will begin to realize the problem of historical inequality, welfare issues, and the problem of Papuan identity which subsequently brought the Government of Indonesia in 1971-1973 in the continued handling of this conflict by means other than militaristic namely the nationalization of cultural, social, economic and political aspects, and leaving their original aspects with the aim of creating a society in accordance with the practice of Pancasila (Five Principles, the Indonesian state philosophy) and the 1945 Constitution, which is just and prosperous. However, this effort seems to build the perception of the people of Papua that the

identity of their culture is uncivilized and underdeveloped by Indonesia, thus triggering the perception of their cultural divide from Indonesia (Sugandi, 2008).

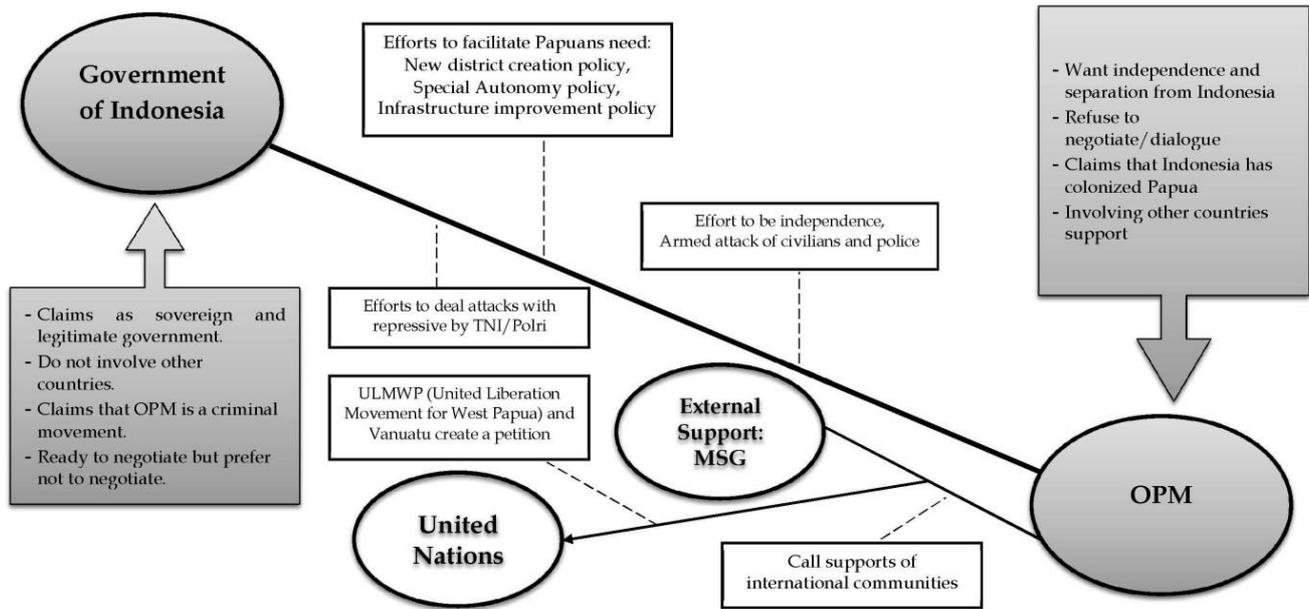
Until 1999 the government conducted the division of Irian Jaya through Republic of Indonesia Law number 45 of 1999 by President Habibie with the formation of the Province of West Irian Jaya, Central Irian Jaya Province, Mimika Regency, Puncak Jaya Regency, and Sorong municipality. The expansion was carried out to improve governance and foster community in the area to facilitate the strengthening of the integration of Papua as part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. But again, Papuans rejected this policy because they considered that making this policy did not involve their voices.

This refusal further encouraged the formation of regional autonomy in Papua, where, through MPR Decree No. IV/MPR/1999, an autonomous framework was discussed which sought to meet the demands of the Papuan people, namely to respect cultural differences and the social life of the Papuan people. By beginning to follow up on claims for differences in these aspects, finally Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for the Province of Papua was legalized. This policy provides the opportunity for the people of Papua to develop the governance of their territories and improve the welfare of their communities by the obligations and rights of Indonesian citizens while respecting the basic values of the indigenous Papuan population. This policy also returns the name Irian Jaya to Papua. The Government of Indonesia has high hopes in the implementation of this policy, including as an effort to reduce OPM actions. However, the implementation and support of various related government institutions have also not been effective.

Including crossing these policies with other national policies that hinder the achievement of Special Autonomy (Indonesian: Otonomi Khusus or Otsus), one of which is the transmigration program to Papua. Coupled with the post-Otsus dilemma of supporting Otsus or entirely independent from Indonesia, the insecurity of Otsus itself is due to unbelief and pessimism from the people of Papua to state administrators (Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Politik, Hukum, dan Keamanan Republik Indonesia, 2016). Besides, there is a central government policy that is counterproductive to the demands or hopes of the Papuan people, one of which is a transmigration program that is rejected by indigenous Papuans and has an impact on horizontal conflict. The transmigration program to Papua was finally stopped by the government in 2000 (Kompas.com, 2015). Government efforts have not yet demonstrated success in dealing with this conflict. Until the armed action in 2018, the the government of Indonesia through the TNI and POLRI (the National Police) still had to deploy troops to deal with attacks carried out against civilians and police in Papua.

In the 2000s, in addition to the militaristic efforts that were still being made, the government also returned to pay attention to the economic, educational, health, socio-cultural, and political aspects of Papua which were still less than optimal. Based on the study from Indonesian Institute of Sciences (Indonesian: Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia or LIPI) in 2008, the government began to focus on building infrastructure connectivity as an effort to fulfill human rights and other aspects (Kedeputian Bidang Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial dan Kemanusiaan, LIPI, 2008).

Figure 2
Indonesia - OPM Conflict Mapping



In the course of this conflict, external parties were involved. OPM based in the Pacific, the United States and Europe are trying to garner support from the international community for its independence (BBC News Indonesia, 2018). The movement from the military faction, the OPM ULMWP (United Liberation Movement for West Papua) also submitted a petition to the United Nations intending to be able to re-enter the UN Decolonization Committee list. The petition was signed by 1.8 million with a percentage of 95.77% coming from indigenous people of West Papua (Institute for Policy of Conflict, 2015). The submission to the UN was also assisted by the Vanuatu state, as a member of the MSG (Melanesian Spearhead Group) and also garnered support from other MSG countries by emphasizing the value of upholding human rights and democracy (Gumilang, 2019).

Facing external support for OPM, the government of Indonesia is firm in its position as a sovereign country. With OPM's status as a rebel whose position is under the government of Indonesia, no party has the right to intervene to influence conflicts between the OPM and the the Government of Indonesia or bring it to international justice without the involvement of the the Government of Indonesia itself. Indonesia took decisive action. Vice President Jusuf Kalla in the general debate session of the 73rd General Assembly of the United Nations stated that Vanuatu's actions violated UN principles because they did not respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity. He also stated that Indonesia would not remain silent in defending Indonesia's territorial integrity (Kompas.com, 2018).

In July 2019, the efforts of the OPM figure in the U.K. Benny Wenda succeeded by getting the recognition of the Oxford City Council, England who gave the 'Freedom of Oxford' award to Benny Wenda. The Government of Indonesia through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in responding to this expressed strong condemnation and considered the lack of understanding of the awardees seen by Benny Wenda's actions as a separatist figure. The support of the Oxford City Council is considered by the Government of Indonesia to be meaningless given that the

British Government has been consistent to support the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Indonesia (Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, 2019).

E. The Use of Horse-Trading in Conflict Resolution

To analyze conflicts using this mechanism, it must be known in advance what the demands of each party are. However, in the context of resolving internal conflicts between the Government of Indonesia and separatist groups in Papua, it is necessary to find a meeting point on what issues can be traded, certainly an issue that is worth it for the two parties to reach an agreement. Some issues have developed in Papua that reacts to the emergence of Papuan public dissatisfaction, including the problem of optimizing public services, the issue of human development that still pays attention to its cultural values, infrastructure development, political justice, racism issues, and so on still in the corridor of national discourse and not separatism. The Papuans also need to involve a variety of stakeholders, including local governments in Papua, both provincial and district, mass organizations, indigenous communities, community leaders, youth leaders, and so on. They are groups outside the Papuan separatist movement that can engage in constructive dialogue with the central government to re-establish harmonious relations with the central government.

The conflict resolution mechanism adopted by the Government of Indonesia shows that Indonesia's main interest is to defend Papua as part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, stop attacks carried out by the OPM, and not give the OPM the slightest opportunity to conduct a referendum. It can be seen in Figure 2, the Government of Indonesia is a party with greater power than OPM. On the other hand, the OPM based on history and culture does not recognize the Papua region as part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, so the OPM demands a referendum on the Government of Indonesia and in any case continues to carry out separatist efforts.

The main demands of each party are equally large and contradictory. In the horse-trading mechanism, to resolve the conflict, demands that are difficult to find a way to meet must be set aside first. However, because there is a power of attorney on one side, the Government of Indonesia, Indonesia can't give a referendum to OPM. The issue of sovereignty and national unity is essential for Indonesia.

OPM itself views the Government of Indonesia during this time colonizing Papua and taking ways that do not truly represent the people of Papua at the time of the determination of Papua as part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. So in setting aside the goals of Indonesia which so far have been viewed by Papua as such, from this view, Indonesia should be able to prove that Indonesia is a government that embraces and develops Papua, not colonizing Papua. The complexity of this situation means demanding that Indonesia be able to meet the needs of OPM, at least in proportion to what OPM gets when it breaks away.

OPM's view that Papua was colonized is motivated by differences and gaps between Papua and other regions in Indonesia, both in terms of culture, region, ethnicity, etc. The government of Indonesia has taken an approach, trying to find out the root causes of this conflict, trying to find aspects of what aspects are still minimal and needed by Papua, and try to fulfill that. Efforts to embrace and respect Papua are carried out through the Special Autonomy policy. According to Law Number 21 of 2001, through Otsus, Papua has special authority recognized by the government to regulate and manage the interests of its people based on their initiatives, aspirations and basic rights of the people of Papua. This policy also regulates differences in governance in Papua with other Indonesian provinces, where there is a Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Papua (Papuan People's Representative Council or DPRP) which is a legislative body in

Papua, a governor's apparatus called the Papua Provincial Executive Board, and the existence of the Majelis Rakyat Papua (Papuan People's Assembly or MRP) which is a cultural representation indigenous Papuans. This autonomy gives Papua Province the authority over all fields of government, but is listed in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 21 of 2001 Concerning Special Autonomy for the Province of Papua such authority does not include the fields of foreign politics, security, defense, monetary and fiscal, religion, justice, as well as certain authorities. The Papua Province can only carry out cooperation or international agreements by statutory regulations. Special Autonomy Funding is still being carried out until 2018. From 2001 to 2017, funds disbursed for Papua and West Papua amounted to 67 trillion rupiah. Meanwhile, according to Presidential Regulation No. 129 of 2018, for 2019 the government allocated 5.850 trillion rupiah for Papua Province and 2.507 trillion rupiah for West Papua Province. Even in 2019, there was an Additional Infrastructure Fund of 2,824 trillion rupiah for Papua Province and 1,440 trillion rupiah for West Papua Province (BBC News Indonesia, 2018).

This policy along with the flushing of funds, unfortunately, did not stop the OPM referendum effort. The funds that flow have also not succeeded in bringing Papua out of poverty. Lack of empowerment from the Papuan people themselves is one factor. It is also difficult to create access for people who have per capita opinions, due to the immature work skills of the Papuan people.

The Chairperson of the MRP believes that Otsus funds have not been well-targeted. He believes that the Special Autonomy Fund has not yet maximized health, education and economic services (BBC News Indonesia, 2018). Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW) has also received reports from the public about the misappropriation of Papuan Otsus funds by the regional political elite (tirto.id, 2018).

Based on what has already happened, what the Special Autonomy policy wants to achieve has not been successful. Though, the idea of Special Autonomy is the best effort that can be done. So, to resolve this conflict with a horse-trading mechanism, Special Autonomy must be carried out well, starting from the calculation of the Government of Indonesia, as well as support from the Papuan people themselves, and overcoming existing obstacles.

If the Government of Indonesia has provided the best policy, on the other hand, the OPM must also be able to reduce its selfishness. Perhaps OPM can't reduce its demands to be separated from Indonesia. However, reducing egoism by being open and accepting the efforts of the Government of Indonesia can facilitate the peaceful resolution of conflicts. At least without involving armed action and violence against civilians. Only in the horse-trading mechanism, after both parties agree to reduce their respective demands, can a compromise be made through dialogue between the two parties, to jointly make new decisions.

So far, there has never been a dialogue between the Government of Indonesia and OPM. The importance of conducting a dialogue between the TNI and OPM has been planned since the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration, but it was never carried out until the end of his leadership. Likewise in the era of President Jokowi. Through the TNI, it is expected that there will be a dialogue with OPM to better understand OPM's true desires. Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Wiranto in 2019 stated that the dialogue between the government and the armed group OPM was not possible. First, the position is not parallel between the armed groups and the government, in the government opinion, the armed group of OPM is a criminal group that must be captured or resolved. Second, there will be doubts from the OPM whether in the dialogue OPM can truly express their wishes and the TNI will accept it, or whether this dialogue is

supported by the central government. Then the third, there is a tendency for the OPM to refuse to engage in dialogue, because they have been seen as enemies of the government, and can be trapped or captured by the government of Indonesia at any time on charges of separatism (Tempo.co, 2019).

As a suggestion, according to the horse-trading mechanism, the dialogue still needs to be done to result a compromise. However, the dialogue that must be carried out according to this mechanism is between two balanced actors. So in the case between the Government of Indonesia and OPM, the dialogue between the two parties must make some adjustments. OPM status until now is a rebel or insurgent whose responsibility is under the government of Indonesia. This status does not allow OPM to adjust its position to the level of a country and this position will certainly never be expected by the Government of Indonesia. So, in this case, the Government of Indonesia is the party in the dialogue that must adjust its position. The government of Indonesia can reduce the level of actors who engage in dialogue. Lowering the level of the actor in question is reducing in terms of the quantity and 'attributes' of the military. Because the government dialogues generally involve various lines of government and are very state-centric. A similar dialogue was held by the Government of Indonesia in negotiations to free the citizens of the Abu Sayyaf group. The Government of Indonesia sends negotiators who can discuss with the hostage-takers and utilize the assistance of non-state actors who are close to people in the Southern Philippines. In this case, the Government of Indonesia relies on parties who are more likely to be accepted by the hostage-takers by also considering the communication and information needed to negotiate with the hostage-taker (Istikharoh, 2017). This can be done by the Government of Indonesia in conducting a dialogue with OPM by deploying group or individual actors representing the government but on the other hand, is also an expert in negotiations and has enough information to be able to convey Indonesia's demands and hear demands from OPM.

In this dialogue, it is also important to pay attention to the deepest aims and objectives of the OPM, which so far should have been fulfilled by the government of Indonesia but has been neglected. Because in 2015 a dialogue between the armed groups of the OPM and the Governor of Papua proved to be successful in representing demands that the government of Indonesia could fulfill. In the dialogue, the leadership of the West Papua National Liberation Army - Free Papua Movement (Indonesian: Tentara Pembebasan Nasional Papua Barat Organisasi Papua Merdeka or TPNPB-OPM) gave a verbal and written request, so that the central government could enter the Puncak Jaya region and carry out development in the area. At that time, Papua Governor Lukas Enembe said he would fulfill the request on condition that the TPNPB-OPM stops the violence in the area, and return the TNI/POLRI weapons that had been confiscated. So basically, it is not impossible to have a dialogue between the Government of Indonesia and the OPM, with a large record, the two parties can minimize the egoism between the two, to further find each other's desires that can be fulfilled together by both parties (Republika.co.id, 2015).

Another thing to note is the diversity of the OPM itself. The dialogues that were held only represented certain groups of OPM. Meanwhile, this dialogue can successfully eradicate all conflicts, to bring together all OPM parties so that all demands are represented and conveyed as a whole. In addition to the Indonesian side sending qualified actors to dialogue, as well as OPM, this dialogue must involve OPM as a whole, given the diversity of OPMs and their interests, either by involving all the representatives of each OPM, and or designating a representative who can represent all OPMs.

In addition to changing the actors involved in a dialogue, the Government of Indonesia must also emphasize the results it wants to achieve. The efforts made by the government only focus on development in Papua. Whereas the aspects involved in efforts to restore the situation in Papua are not just development. The government seems to forget other aspects such as the existence of violence, discrimination and other forms of inequality. In this case, this study emphasizes that in addition to including the development agenda, the dialogue must be oriented towards meeting the basic human needs, including the elimination of all forms of violence and injustice in Papua. As mentioned by Galtung that conflict can occur due to the unfulfillment of basic human needs.

Figure 3
Human Basic Needs according to Johan Galtung

BASIC NEEDS	SOCIO-POLITICAL PROBLEMS
I. THE MOST BASIC NEED life, survival	violence - security, <u>absence of violence</u>
II. BASIC NEEDS Input: food, water Environment protection: clothes, shelter, health Community: education, togetherness	poverty - growth, <u>well-being</u>
III. NEAR-BASIC NEEDS work, creativity freedom, mobility politics, participation	repression - human rights, <u>social justice</u>
IV. RELATION TO NATURE partnership	<u>environmental deterioration</u> <u>ecological balance</u> - depletion problem - pollution problem - population problem

Source: (Galtung, *Theories of Conflict: Definitions, Dimensions, Negotiations, Formations*, 1958)

In the figure 3, Galtung mentioned that basic human needs are not limited to clothing, food, and shelter. We can see that the most basic needs for humans according to Galtung are related to life and survival. Besides, there are also human needs related to work, creativity, freedom, politics, and participation. In this case, if these needs are not met then violence will occur. The dialogues conducted by the government tend to be on the fulfillment of development-oriented needs, such as repairing road facilities, providing grants for regional development, and so on. This is not wrong, but if we look at the figure above, then the agenda for government dialogue must also be changed. The Government of Indonesia must also emphasize the elimination of violence, discrimination, and opportunities for the people of Papua. As we also know, the pattern of resistance from the Papuan separatist movement has also changed. Their call was no longer just about equitable development, but about racial and ethnic discrimination. In this

case, the government must be observant of responding to these calls. The government must be vocal in including the agenda of eliminating discrimination and injustice in dialogues with separatist movements in Papua.

The government can enter the agenda by using Galtung's approach to the typology of violence.

Table 1
Typology of Galtung violence

	Survival Needs	Well-Being Needs	Identity Needs	Freedom Needs	
Direct Violence		Killing	Maiming	Desocialization	Repression
			Siege, Sanctions	Resocialization	Detention
			Misery	Secondary Citizen	Expulsion
Structural Violence	Exploitation A	Exploitation B	Penetration	Marginalization	
			Segmentation	Fragmentation	

Source: (Galtung, *Cultural Violence*, 1990)

According to the typology of Galtung violence, there is direct violence and structural violence. Direct violence includes murder, siege, misery, decolonization, reconciliation, repression, detention, and explosion, whereas, structural violence includes exploitation, penetration, segmentation, marginalization, and fragmentation. In the table, Galtung also distinguishes four classes of basic needs, namely: survival needs, well-being needs, identity needs, and freedom needs. In this case, the Government of Indonesia must include an agenda to eliminate all forms of violence in Papua. The study of violence cannot be separated from the study of peace. Therefore, to create peace, we must also know what violence is in Papua. In addition to meeting basic needs, aspects of identity and freedom need guarantees provided by the government.

In carrying out dialogue it also needs to be stressed again important aspects related to the nature of the dialogue that is persuasive and abandons military methods. Referring to the adjustment of the level of actors who are derived, also the dialogue strategy with the approach to eliminate the typology of violence in Papua as explained earlier.

In some international conflicts, the horse-trading mechanism is applied in conflicts that involve power between countries and involve the interests of various actors or issues. As in state border conflicts Iraq and Iran, also weapons and nuclear negotiations the United States and the Soviet Union (Wallenstein, 2015).

This mechanism results in a new decision which can be accepted by both parties. In achieving its success, this mechanism requires good cooperation between the two parties. In essence, this mechanism leads to a peaceful resolution of conflicts. Conflict resolution in international relations is an approach based on insights generated from contemporary peace studies. Where to reflect on the conflicts of war and weapons that occurred in the past, and find out the causes of violence to find ways to reduce or eliminate them in the future. In conflict resolution studies, the mechanism allows resolving an armed conflict in certain ways which ends with a peace agreement (Wallenstein, 2015). Thus, applying the usual mechanism applied in conflicts between diverse forces and interests of the country, the value of horse-trading study mechanism has the opportunity to produce a settlement with the peace agreement as well, because a new decision is made and both parties share each other.

4. Conclusions

The conflict occurred between the Government of Indonesia and Free Papua Movement is a conflict with the roots of complex problems, ranging from historical problem, ideology, to a sense of injustice received by Papuan. The opposition happens was not only to liberate Papua, but also to strive for social and economic justice. Conflict resolution has been carried out by both parties is still considered ineffective. The dialogue between the two parties is the best way to resolve the conflict. The horse-trading is a dialogue mechanism that is more effectively applying as a solution for conflict resolution so both of them can deliver their objectives openly. Various adaptations are also needed in conducting dialogue; changing the actor level and the agenda is an important substance for the Government of Indonesia to achieve the piece. Also, commitment to conducting dialogue must be fulfilled by both parties to create an expected conflict resolution.

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Entrepreneurial Characteristics and Behaviors of Muntok White Pepper Farmers

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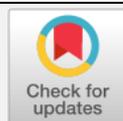
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ABSTRACT

Entrepreneurship is one of the human capital variables of pepper farmers that plays an important role in determining the success of pepper agribusiness development in this creative era. To face the challenges of the business climate change, pepper farmers need entrepreneurship. The objectives compiled in this study are to identify the entrepreneurial characteristics of Muntok White Pepper farmers and to analyze the effect of entrepreneurial characteristics on their entrepreneurial behavior in managing to farm. The study was conducted by survey method, involving 115 farmers. Data analysis used Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) with Partial Least Squares (PLS). The results showed that the entrepreneurial characteristics of pepper farmers are risk-taking, responsive to opportunities, innovative, and motivated. Also, the results showed that the entrepreneurial characteristics of pepper farmers positively and significantly influence their entrepreneurial behavior. Furthermore, the most dominant variable reflecting their entrepreneurial characteristics is the courage to take risks. This study recommends muntok pepper farmers that they always dare to take risks, be persistent and disciplined. Additionally, knowledge and skills need to be constantly updated to grow the ability to innovate and be creative in carrying pepper cultivation activities out.

Keywords: *Entrepreneurial Behaviors; Entrepreneurial Characteristics; Muntok; Pepper Farmers*

1. Introduction

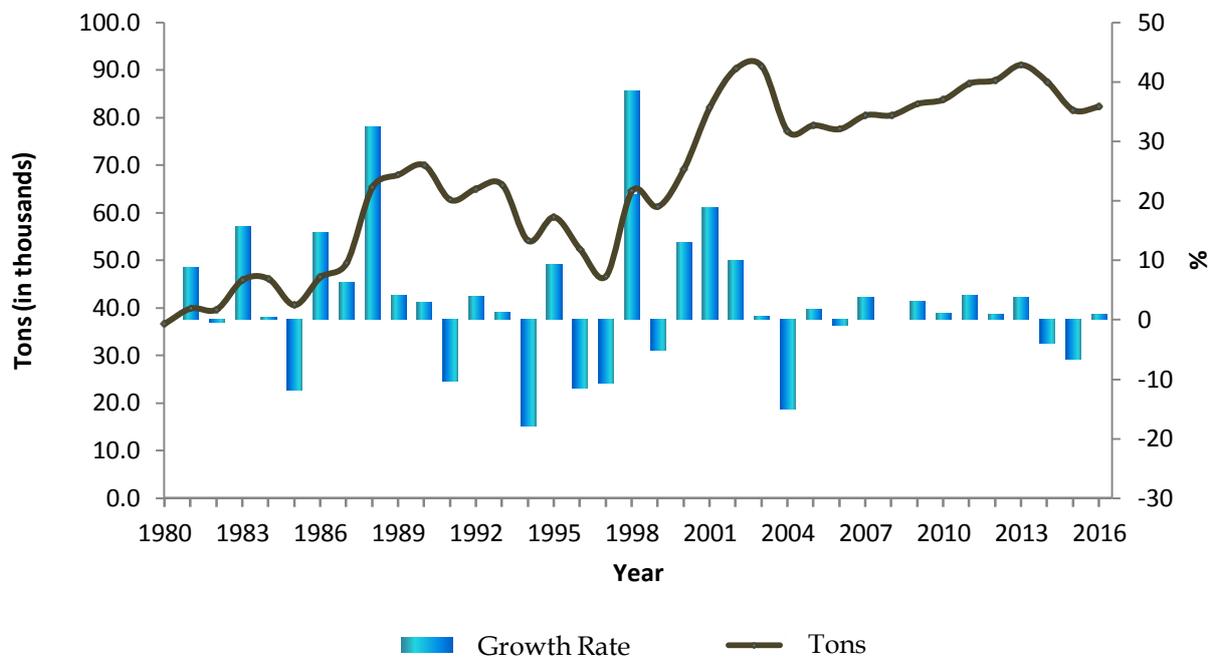
Entrepreneurship has an important role in the development of agribusiness as a practice (Darmadji, 2012). The important role of entrepreneurship is the ability to plan, implement, monitor and evaluate the farming business running.

In 2013, the number of entrepreneurs in Indonesia reached 1.90 percent in which the figure was smaller than neighboring countries such as Malaysia and Singapore which had reached 5 and 7 percent of the total population (Kementerian Koperasi dan Usaha Kecil dan Menengah, 2012). Therefore, the Government of Indonesia continues to strive for growing new entrepreneurs to catch the number of entrepreneurs up, including through the National Entrepreneurship Movement (Indonesian: *Gerakan Kewirausahaan Nasional* or GKN).

The agricultural sector has a great potential in generating new entrepreneurs considering farmers are the majority of people livelihoods in Indonesia. However, entrepreneurs in the agricultural sector are less well-known compared to other business sectors (Burhanuddin et al, 2018). Entrepreneurial culture is one of the farmer's social capital variables by making them develop and apply technology in managing their farming.

Pepper is one of the export commodities from Indonesia for the international market. Bangka Belitung Islands Province, Indonesia, is one of the largest pepper producing centers which also contributes to supplying Indonesian pepper for export needs. This cannot be separated from the role of the farmers who have persevered in managing the pepper farming business to date. Pepper is cultivated in the form of community plantations involving 54,099 households in the province which mainly is 16,343 households in the South Bangka Regency (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Kepulauan Bangka Belitung, 2013). Pepper produced from the Bangka Belitung Islands Province is known as Muntok White Pepper.

Figure 1
The Average Product of Muntok White Pepper, 1980-2016



Source: (FAOStat, 2018)

The pepper production level takes part in determining the smooth export activity of Indonesian pepper. The availability of pepper supplies is currently facing a problem. The phenomenon of slowing growth of Indonesian pepper production (Figure 1). Many factors cause a decrease in the level of pepper production; soil fertility, disease, and price factor problems. In Bangka Belitung Islands Province, pepper farmers face various obstacles such as the problem of applying cultivation and processing technology to the on-farm agribusiness subsystem. However, pepper farming continues to have endeavored and is the livelihood of most people in Bangka Belitung. Besides, pepper planting activities have also become a hereditary culture. That is the reason, pepper farmers continue to work on their farming business up to now, even prices and disease are hampered.

Behaviors of the farmers in facing obstacles and abilities to survive in responding to prices are the background of this research. Farmer entrepreneurial behavior is focused on the activities of farmers in pepper on-farm agribusiness activities.

Pepper farmers in Bangka Belitung depend on the price of pepper. Slowing production growth (Figure 1) occurs; it means that the prices decline. Recently, the phenomenon is that some farmers have left the pepper farming business and have returned to the tin mining. This indicates that not all pepper farmers are entrepreneur farmers, based on the problem, this research needs to be done on the entrepreneurial characteristics of pepper farmers. The next question that needs to get answer is their entrepreneurial behavior is affected by entrepreneurial characteristics.

Based on the background of the problem, this study aims to identify the entrepreneurial characteristics of pepper farmers and analyze the effect of entrepreneurial characteristics on entrepreneurial behavior.

2. Literature Review

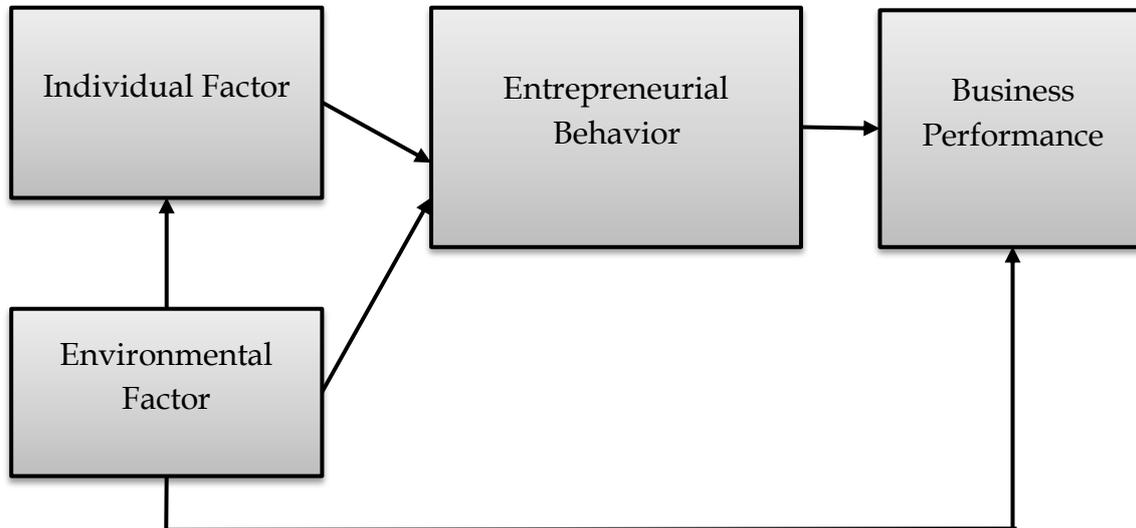
Entrepreneurship is a process of applying innovation because of the triggering factors to obtain business growth. Entrepreneurial behavior is part of the process of applying innovation by an entrepreneur (Bygrave & Zacharakis, 2010). Entrepreneurial behavior is the individual behavior in responding to an opportunity; both through identification and exploitation activities in the context of establishing new businesses and business expansion (Bird, 1996). It is such exploration activities and creating opportunities in managing businesses that are based on entrepreneurial concepts and actions such as showing creativity, innovation and dare to take risks.

Individual behavior can be explained through understanding Fritz Heider's attribution theory which studies how individual behavior is shaped by internal and external factors. Internal factors attribute that is inherent in the nature and quality of personal or personal, on the other hand, external factors come from the environment and situation (in Mustafa, 2011). The general model of entrepreneurial behavior and business performance illustrates that entrepreneurial behavior is determined by two factors, firstly; personal quality. Delmar (1996) provides a general model that explains the factors that determine entrepreneurial behavior such as the model in Figure 2. Therefore, entrepreneurial behavior will be observed from the actions taken by entrepreneurial farmers in managing their agricultural business.

An entrepreneur at least has twelve characteristic traits; (1) achievement motivation, (2) being innovative (3) being creative (4) innovative behavior (5) working seriously (6) persevering and good responsibility, (7) being independent (8) risk-taking propensity (9) responsiveness to opportunities, (10) having leadership skills, (11) having managerial abilities, and (12) having personal abilities (Suharyono, 2017). Entrepreneurial characteristics can be

explained through variables related to psychological attributes, personality, attitudes, and behavior (Rasheed, 2003 in Ahmad, 2016). Entrepreneurial characteristics become one of the determinant factors of entrepreneurial behavior variables.

Figure 2
The General Model of Entrepreneurial Behavior and Business Performance



Source: (Delmar, 1996)

The results of previous studies found several indicators of entrepreneurial characteristic variables identified as determinants with entrepreneurial behavior, namely motivation, which is indicated by the need for achievement, taking risk propensity, being initiative and creative, having innovative behavior, self-confidence, and leadership. These factors were identified as determinants with entrepreneurial behavior in the Okiagaru Farm farmer group of Cianjur, West Java Province, Indonesia, while the achievement and self-esteem factors of the weighting results were not significant (Ahmad, 2016). *Tempe* (fermented soybean in blocks) entrepreneur entrepreneurial behavior in running his business was also formed because of the entrepreneurial characteristics he possessed. The entrepreneurial behavior of the dominant *tempe* craftsman is shown by cognitive and affective variables and is influenced by the courage to take risks, innovation and the ability to see the opportunities and motivations of *tempe* craftsmen (Nursiah et al., 2015).

Furthermore, entrepreneurial characteristics of coffee farmers in Lampung, Indonesia, can be seen from seventeen characteristics, namely commitment, drive to achieve, opportunity orientation, initiative, and responsibility, persistent problem solving, seeking feedback, internal locus of control, tolerance for ambiguity, calculating risk-taking, integrity, and reliability, tolerance for failure, high energy level, creativity and innovation, vision, self-confidence and optimism, independence: independent personality, team building, and managerial skills for entrepreneurs. The most dominant entrepreneurial characteristics that characterize coffee farmers in Lampung are the commitment, seeking feedback, integrity and reliability, and tolerance for failure (Burhanuddin, et al., 2018).

The characteristics of entrepreneurship in the form of courage to take risks and motivation are entrepreneurial characteristics known as psychological characteristics in entrepreneurial psychology research. Entrepreneurial psychology emphasizes approaches to personal aspects of

personality or character. Research into entrepreneurial psychology can contribute to providing results from the types of entrepreneurship based on their psychological characteristics. Hisrich, Langan-Fox, & Grant (2007) state that the results of this entrepreneurial psychology research can be used to identify potential entrepreneurial seeds, as well as to prepare the required training programs that are appropriate to their psychological character.

3. Research Methodology

This section describes the research methodology; the location and time of research, the types and sources of data, the deterministic sampling method and the methods of processing and analyzing data.

A. Place and Time of the Research

This research was carried out in Bangka Belitung Islands Province by involving pepper farmers of South Bangka, West Bangka, and Central Bangka regencies. The time of the research was six months, from March to August 2019.

B. Type and Source of Data

The type of data used was primary and secondary data. Primary data obtained from information sources of observation, interviews, and discussions using questionnaires to generate the answers about the characteristics of the farmers both the external environment and entrepreneurial behaviors. Secondary data were obtained from related institutions and literature studies. On the other hand, primary data were obtained from direct interviews guided by a list of questions and a list of answers. Alternative answers are adjusted to the Likert scale 1 to 5 with explanations 1 (Very Disagree), 2 (Disagree), 3 (Neutral), 4 (Agree) and 5 (Very Agree). Secondary data were obtained from the Central Statistics Agency of Bangka Belitung Islands Province.

C. Deterministic Sampling Method

The method used was a survey method where the sampling method used simple random sampling. The total number of respondents in this research were 115 farmers.

D. Design, Processing Method, and Data Analysis

The data that had been obtained then processed and analyzed both qualitative and quantitative descriptive. Quantitative data analysis was performed using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) by using smart partial least squares (PLS). The reason for using SEM due to it can describe all correlations between constructs in the form of a direct model (Wijanto, 2008). Data analysis using SEM PLS involved two variables namely endogenous latent variables of entrepreneurial behavior and exogenous latent characteristics of entrepreneurship that were observed through variable indicators (Table 1).

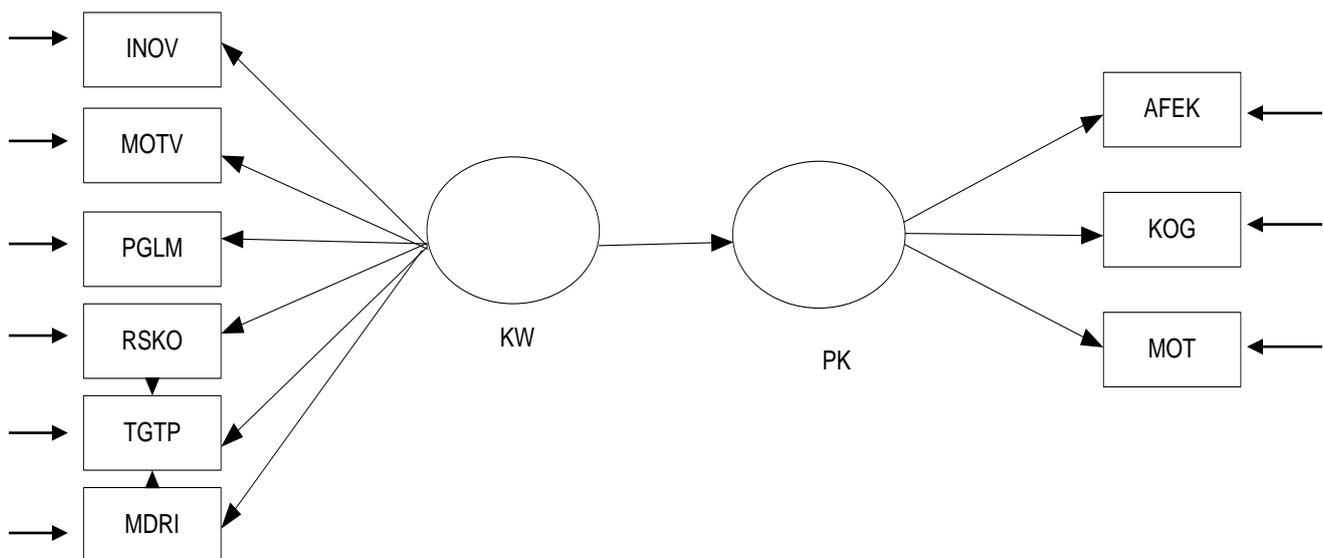
Table 1
Research Variables

Manifest Variables	Description
Entrepreneurial characteristics (KW)	
Innovative / INOV (X1.1)	The frequency and willingness to make changes in running a business
Risk-taking propensity / RSKO (X1.2)	Courage in facing production, investment, financial risks.
Entrepreneurial motivation / MOTV (X1.3)	An underlying individual motivation to be an entrepreneur
Responsiveness to opportunities / TGTP (X1.4)	The ability to recognize opportunities or be oriented to opportunities
Experience / PGLM (X1.5)	The duration of running a business
Independence / MDRI (X1.6)	Independent work/running own business or not an employee/ working in government institutions
Entrepreneurial Behavior (PK)	
Affective / AFEK (Y1.1)	The attitude is shown by running business (disciplined, persistent and having a deep commitment do business
Cognitive / KOG (Y1.2)	Ability in running a business
Motoric / MOT (Y1.3)	An individual skill (entrepreneur) in running a business (ability take chances, face risks, creativity and innovative)

Figure 3 below illustrates the overall design of the research model

Figure 3

Cross Diagram Model on Characteristics and Behaviors of Muntok White Pepper Farmers



The data analysis process was carried out through two stages, namely the model analysis stage or Outer Model analysis and the Inner Model analysis. Outer Analysis Model serves to explain the relationship between indicator variables (manifest) with latent variables, meanwhile, the Inner Model analysis explains the relationships between latent. Evaluation of the measurement model is done by looking at the Loading Factor value (λ). The indicator used is said to be valid if it has a Loading Factor value (λ) greater than 0.5. The next step in evaluating the structural model is the significance test based on the estimated value of the path parameter coefficient. Significance tests for the estimated parameter path coefficients in SEM-PLS, performed using resampling methods such as bootstrapping. Mathematically the formulation of structural equation equations in this study is formulated as follows:

1) Structural Equation Modeling

$$PK \quad (\eta_1) = \gamma_{kw} \xi_{kw} + \zeta_1$$

2) The Measurement Model of Endogenous Latent Variables

$$PK = \lambda_{KW} \eta_1 + \varepsilon_1$$

3) The Measurement Model of Exogenous Latent Variables

$$\begin{aligned} INOV &= \lambda_{inov} \xi_1 + \delta_1 \\ MOTV &= \lambda_{motv} \xi_2 + \delta_2 \\ RSKO &= \lambda_{rsko} \xi_3 + \delta_3 \\ TGTP &= \lambda_{tgtp} \xi_4 + \delta_4 \\ AFEK &= \lambda_{afek} \xi_5 + \delta_5 \\ KOG &= \lambda_{kog} \xi_6 + \delta_6 \\ MOT &= \lambda_{mot} \xi_7 + \delta_7 \end{aligned}$$

η_1 = endogenous latent variable of entrepreneurial behavior

γ = regression coefficient of the structural equation model

ζ = error component model

1, n = exogenous latent variable of entrepreneurial characteristics

λ = loading factor of indicator variable in exogenous and endogenous latent

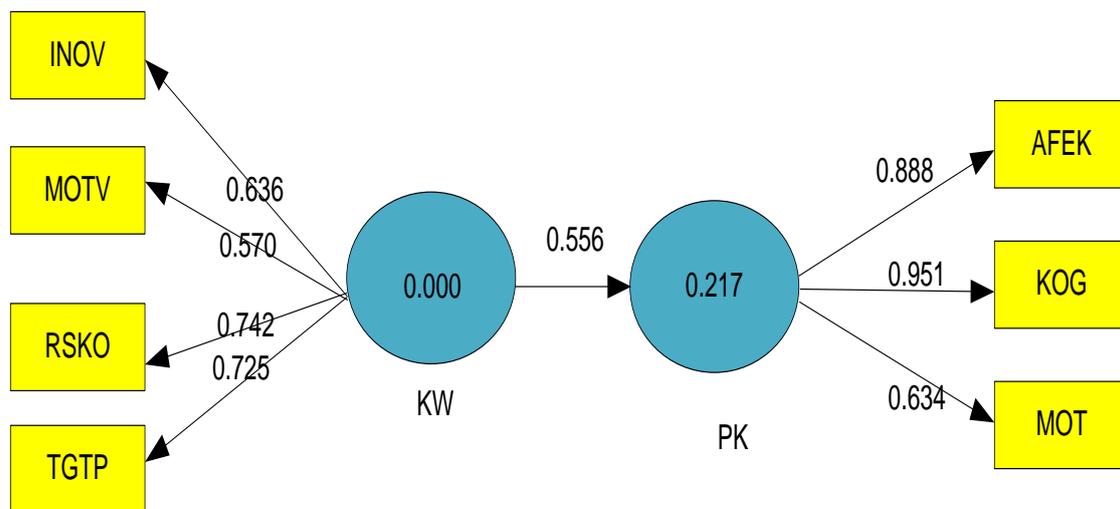
δ, ε = error in the regression model of the indicator variable

4. Results and Discussion

A. Measurement Model Evaluation

Evaluating the loading factor is the first step that must be done in evaluating the measurement model using SEM PLS. The loading factor value of the evaluation results becomes a benchmark in assessing the goodness of the model. Indicator variables that have a loading factor (λ) value less than 0.5 cannot be used in the analysis; as a result, it is necessary to carry out the stage of verification models. The results obtained from the PLS algorithm in the research model show that all indicators used are valid and reliable based on evaluation criteria in the PLS measurement model (Figure 4).

Figure 4
Standardized Loading factor



B. Structural Model Evaluation

The purpose of evaluating the structural model is to look at the relationship between latent constructs by looking at the estimated results of the path parameter coefficient and the level of significance (Ghazali, 2006). The next step in evaluating the structural model is to test the significance of the relationship between latent variables. Significance tests for the path parameter coefficients in SEM-PLS are using the resampling method. The estimation results both in the path parameter coefficient and the significance test are then used to test the hypothesis. Significance tested results of all hypotheses built in this study can be seen in Table 1.

C. Entrepreneurial Characteristics of Muntok White Pepper Farmers

Entrepreneurial characteristics are the individual factors that determine the entrepreneurial behavior of pepper farmers in conducting cultivation activities. Entrepreneurial characteristics are internal factors that are formed scientifically or due to environmental influences. The entrepreneurial characteristics of pepper farmers are observed from four observational variables, namely: innovation, risk-taking, motivation and the ability of farmers to respond to opportunities (Dirlanudin, 2010; Alma 2010; Puspitasari 2013).

Table 2
Contribution of Entrepreneurial Characteristic Indicators based on Loading Factor Dan T-Value

Latent Variable	Manifest Variable	Loading Factor	T-Value
Entrepreneurial Characteristics	Innovation	0.635	2.528
	Motivation	0.569	2.134
	Risk-taking	0.742	2.663
	Responsiveness to Opportunities	0.725	3.263

The results of the SEM-PLS analysis of the model show that the indicators of innovation, risk-taking, motivation, and the ability of farmers to respond to significant opportunities contribute to reflecting the entrepreneurial characteristics of pepper farmers. The loading factor value obtained by each indicator variable and t-value is greater than 0.5 and 1.96. The factor loading values of the indicator variables for innovation, risk-taking, and responsiveness to opportunities in Table 1 are ($\lambda = 0.635; 0.569; 0.742; 0.725$). That is, the entrepreneurial characteristics of pepper farmers can be seen from 4 characters namely the willingness to innovate, have the motivation, dare to take risks and be responsive to opportunities.

Entrepreneur farmers are those who carry out farming activities by utilizing business opportunities in the agricultural sector so that they act as farmers as well as entrepreneurs. The majority of farmers carry out farming activities in rural areas. This has an impact on the emergence of the problem of limited access, which until now is still an obstacle in the formation of entrepreneurial farmers. At present, rural farmers still need tangible solutions to have the capacity to become entrepreneurial farmers.

Pepper growers have entrepreneurial characteristics that are risk-taking. Based on the factor loading values obtained in Table 2 shows that the courage to take risks is the strongest indicator variable contributing to reflecting the entrepreneurial characteristics of pepper farmers. The development of entrepreneurial farmers, according to Burhanuddin et al., (2018) needs to be supported by the existence of entrepreneurial skills (entrepreneurial skills). An entrepreneur is someone who has the personal power to deal with environmental changes and also dares to take risks. This shows that based on the characteristics of entrepreneurship, it can be said that white pepper farmers are entrepreneur farmers.

As a characteristic, the courage to take risks shows the ability of farmers to stay afloat in managing pepper farming by showing a tolerant attitude towards various forms of failure. Courage to take risks is reflected in the ability of farmers to manage their farming until the time of research, despite the problem of price and disease. Farmers are also not afraid to increase the planting area even though the selling price of pepper is getting cheaper or the input price is expensive. This shows that with an average of 14 years of experience managing farming, pepper farmers are people who never give up, have a willingness to learn, be realistic in facing difficulties and see failure as a form of the learning process. One way farmers face risk and survive managing their farming by taking risks. However, 83.95 percent of farmers agreed to strongly agree that in addition to taking the risk, farmers also tried to reduce the risk by controlling disease attacks through the application of technology. This is why farmers can survive in the cultivation of pepper.

The same results were also found in the case of *tempe* (fermented soybean in blocks) craftsmen in Bogor Regency and coffee farmers in Lampung. The *tempe* producers have entrepreneurial characteristics that are brave to take risks which are shown from the spirit of staying in business and increasing the amount of production without fear of products not being marketed even though soybean prices as the main production input have increased prices (Nursiah et al., 2015). Coffee farmers in Lampung also have a tolerant character to various forms of failure during 17 years of managing coffee farming. Coffee farmers are realistic enough to see difficulties and are not easily disappointed, and continue to learn from the various failures experienced. According to Burhanuddin et al., (2018) that the tolerant character of failure is a driving factor for farmers' ability to continue to carry out coffee cultivation as the main farming commodity.

White pepper farmers also have characteristics of responsiveness to opportunities. The responsive character of this opportunity shows that the ability of farmers to see and assess

opportunities as an opportunity so that farmers can take advantage of each opportunity that provides a potential advantage for pepper cultivation activities undertaken. Examples of forms of action farmers take advantage of opportunities can be seen from changes in cultivation activities by replacing the use of seed types. As many as 51.75 percents of farmers agreed to the point that strongly agreed that the assistance of one-section cuttings seedlings provided an opportunity for farmers to contribute to implementing the technology.

The ability of farmers to be responsive to opportunities is also a factor driving farmers to continue carrying out pepper cultivation activities. Pepper farmers' contribution in applying one-segment seed technology is not only based on the assistance of free seedlings, but farmers are also trying to learn and improve the ability to make one-section cuttings seedlings by attending training in field schools. That is, the existence of a field school program for pepper farmers can be used as an opportunity to increase knowledge and skills. The form of responsive actions to opportunities is also shown by the attitude of farmers choosing to join or form farmer groups to have the opportunity to be actively involved in training activities so that they get advisory assistance. However, the benefits of the field school program as an opportunity have not been widely felt by farmers because only 25.3 percent of farmers agree that attending a field school can provide opportunities to implement the technology.

Innovation is also an entrepreneurial characteristic of muntok white pepper farmers. The form of pepper farmers' innovation actions is reflected in the urge to make changes in pepper cultivation activities. The urge to make changes is observed from the frequency of pepper farmers making changes and the forms of changes made. That is, the characteristics of the innovation of pepper farmers in this study are only as users of innovation rather than creators of innovation. Innovations have been made by pepper farmers with an average frequency of changes of more than twice. The change made by pepper farmers is reflected in changes in the use of input types only, while efforts for product innovation have not been made. Changes in the use of input types are reflected in changes in the use of types of seeds and climbing poles while changes in the use of fertilizers have not been done much.

Innovations by pepper farmers show that the ability to apply or use new methods of production. Changes in the use of production input types by pepper farmers indicate that the form of innovation carried out by farmers occurs in the application of new methods of production. The results of research Astuti et al., (2016) found that innovation is a characteristic of farmers who form the entrepreneurial activities of broiler breeders. The adoption of new methods of production is done by breeders as a form of innovation by doing better things. Farmers choose to switch to using the type of production inputs, namely seedlings. Innovation is also an entrepreneurial characteristic of *tempe* (fermented soybean in blocks) craftsmen in Bogor. Not only make changes in using new methods in production, but *tempe* (fermented soybean in blocks) craftsmen also innovate products of both types and sizes. The application of new methods of production by *tempe* (fermented soybean in blocks) artisans is done by switching to the form of equipment used (Nursiah et al., 2015).

Motivation is an entrepreneurial characteristic that shows personal nature. Motivation in this study is interpreted as the desire or need of farmers to act certain to achieve their goals. Farmer motivation is a social value that plays an important role in determining farmers' entrepreneurship. Suryana (2003) suggested that motivation for achievement is a social value that emphasizes the desire to achieve satisfaction. Motivation theory explained by Maslow in Suharyono (2017) explains that a person's motivation is formed because of the need, both physiological needs, security needs, esteem needs, and self-actualization needs.

Pepper farmers have the desire to achieve success in farming. Not a few farmers have a motive for achievement to survive while running farming activities and preserving the culture of pepper cultivation. The motivation of pepper growers in this study was observed from the willingness to keep on learning from the experience, involvement, and participation of farmers in various training related to farming and applying new methods related to pepper cultivation techniques. Based on the factor loading values obtained, Table 1 shows that indicators of motivation variables contribute to reflecting the entrepreneurial characteristics of farmers. However, the factor loading value obtained ($\lambda = 0.569$) is considered to be still low so that the contribution of motivational indicator variables in reflecting the entrepreneurial characteristics of pepper farmers is the weakest. Pepper farmers lack the motivation to excel in conducting pepper cultivation activities. The form of action to do better is not done by all farmers and only as farmers who are actively involved in various training and extension activities. Pepper cultivation activities undertaken by farmers are only partly based on the desire to continue to preserve the culture of planting pepper.

Forms of action that are better than before indicating the existence of motivation for achievement in an entrepreneur. Characteristics of entrepreneurs who have the motivation that is having the desire to overcome various difficulties encountered and have the courage to take risks with full calculation (Suryana, 2003). While Darmadji (2012) explained that the need for achievement as an indicator of motivation is characterized by a willingness to learn from failure, participation in efforts to increase production, implementation of new methods related to cultivation, and involvement in extension activities and training related to farming.

D. Characteristic Influences on Entrepreneurial Behaviors

Individual behavior can be explained through understanding Fritz Heider's attribution theory which studies how individual behavior is shaped by internal and external factors or the environment. The entrepreneurial behavior of farmers in this study only covers the behavior of farmers in on-farm pepper agribisnis or cultivation subsystems. The identification of pepper farmer entrepreneurial behavior is based on the entrepreneurial theory that explains how social groups respond differently to a business opportunity and can shape entrepreneurial behavior.

Table 3
Path Coefficient Value

Hypotesis	Original Sample	T-Value	Conclusion
KW -> PK	0.246	2.582	Significant

t(0.05);1.96

The results of the path parameter coefficient analysis in Table 3 show that entrepreneurial characteristics have a direct and positive influence on the entrepreneurial behavior of pepper farmers in pepper cultivation business activities. The latent variable of entrepreneurial characteristics significantly contributed to forming entrepreneurial behavior with the acquisition of a 2.582 t-value greater than 1.96. *Tempe* (fermented soybean in blocks) entrepreneurship entrepreneurial behavior in running its business was also formed due to the entrepreneurial characteristics it possessed (Nursiah et al., 2015).

Entrepreneurial characteristics are one of the factors that determine entrepreneurial behavior through a process. The influence of entrepreneurship characteristics on entrepreneurial behavior is explained through one of the indicator variables identified as a determinant factor in entrepreneurial behavior, namely the courage to take risks (Ahmad, 2016). Entrepreneurial behavior is formed and can be observed directly or indirectly (Bygrave, 1991). Entrepreneurial behavior is formed through a process of encouragement from cognitive, affective and psychomotor components. It can be concluded that the process of the formation of entrepreneurial behavior involves elements that can be directly observed or not from an entrepreneur. The component of knowledge (cognitive) and mental attitude (affective) are elements that cannot be observed directly while the element of skill (psychomotor) can be observed directly by an entrepreneur (Bird, 1996).

Table 4
Contribution of Entrepreneurial Behavior Indicators based on Loading Factor and T-Value

Latent Variable	Manifest Variables	Loading Factor	T-Value
Entrepreneurial Behaviors	Affective	0.887	19.188
	Cognitive	0.950	41.085
	Motoric	0.633	5.546

The results of the analysis of entrepreneurial behavior with the SEM-PLS on the model show that the affective, cognitive, and motor indicator variables together significantly contribute to reflecting the entrepreneurial behavior of pepper farmers (Table 4). Affective and cognitive indicators have the greatest loading factor values ($\lambda = 0.887$ and $\lambda = 0.950$). The findings in the study also showed that between the two types of elements forming entrepreneurial behavior it was seen that the entrepreneurial behavior of pepper farmers was more formed from elements that could not be directly observed, namely attitudes and knowledge. This is because the value of the loading factor of the two indicators tends to be greater than the motor indicator ($\lambda = 0.633$). The same results were also found in the research on entrepreneurship behavior of *tempe* (fermented soybean in blocks) craftsmen in Bogor, West Java Province, Indonesia. The entrepreneurial behavior of *tempe* (fermented soybean in blocks) artisans is reflected by the contribution of the affective, cognitive, and motor indicator variables (Nursiah et al., 2015). The entrepreneurial behavior of pepper farmers and *tempe* (fermented soybean in blocks) artisans is greater reflected by the contribution of cognitive indicator variables.

Entrepreneurial cognition is the knowledge structures that people use to conduct assessments, assessments and make decisions, which involve evaluating opportunities, creating and developing businesses (Hisrich et al, 2007). The entrepreneurial behavior of pepper farmers is dominantly formed from cognitive indicators, due to the statement of farmers that to achieve success in pepper cultivation business activities, knowledge is needed that can be used to develop businesses. Based on the results of interviews conducted, not a few farmers stated that the knowledge they had was obtained not only from the experience of farming but also from the empowerment of pepper farmers through counseling and training. Farmers are also trying to find information to increase knowledge, one of the efforts is to join a group of farmers. The same results were also found in the case of *tempe* (fermented soybean in blocks) craftsmen in

Bogor, that cognitive (knowledge) that characterizes the behavior of *tempe* (fermented soybean in blocks) craftsmen in Bogor, namely entrepreneurial knowledge in conducting business such as entrepreneurs must be able to manage businesses efficiently, conduct information search, and understand the importance of education in supporting knowledge entrepreneurship (Nursiah et al, 2015).

Knowledge is interpreted by many previous experts as a person's condition obtained from various sources such as experience, vision, and hearing (Tart, 1971 and Notoatmodjo, 2003 in Ardi, 2015). Knowledge is also interpreted as a psychological process, related to memories to understand, comprehend and live (Herman Hudojo, 2003). The form of farmers' knowledge that reflects entrepreneurial behavior, that is, farmers understand and understand that farming must be managed with basic knowledge of cultivation techniques, tillage in land preparation, fertilization and crop maintenance. Farmers also agreed that production risk can be reduced by taking into account soil moisture, land cleanness and ensuring that the land used is not used as diseased cropland, and using pesticides wisely and on a scheduled basis. This means that the knowledge possessed makes farmers able to be tolerant of risk. Tolerance towards risk according to Hisrich et al (2007) that being one of the unique characteristics of entrepreneurs, it should not only be brave or happy to face risk, how entrepreneurs' perceptions of risk also need to be considered, because the perception of risk can make entrepreneurs more tolerant of risk. Knowledge about terracing, fertilizing, land management, plant maintenance, land maintenance, has a positive influence on farmers' attitudes on arable land. This knowledge is also significant and has a positive effect on the farmer's behavior (Ardi, 2015).

Farmers behave entrepreneurially in carrying out pepper cultivation business activities. Farmer entrepreneurial behavior is reflected by the attitude of discipline and persistence of farmers. Pepper growers show a disciplined attitude and persistence in the activities of fertilizing, harvesting and trimming the chalk done on time. Pepper farmers also seek discipline in the use of capital and continue to persevere in controlling plant diseases and pests. The form of entrepreneurial behavior of pepper farmers is also shown by the use of live climbing poles in pepper cultivation activities. The use of live climbing poles is not a problem because armed with the knowledge possessed by farmers can overcome the problem of using an ineffective climbing pole along with farmer discipline in the activity of canopy pruning.

According to Setianan (2005), the affective variable indicator is a person's attitude in responding to a social phenomenon that can influence people's behavior. A person's attitude can characterize whether he is an entrepreneur or not. Entrepreneurial behavior is not only characterized by attitude but also needs to be accompanied by knowledge and skills. The results of the study found a weak contribution from the variable skills (motor). Pepper growers show forms of entrepreneurial behavior from the (motor) skills used to innovate. However, innovation is only limited to changes in the use of new ways of production by replacing the use of input types. The innovations that have been made are not product-oriented, where the goal is limited to survival, reducing the risk of pest attack, the efficiency of production costs, and increasing the amount of production.

Existing character in an individual influence entrepreneurial behavior through the encouragement which can then shape one's attitude in acting, gain one's knowledge in carrying out business activities, and have skills in producing products. Nursiah et al., (2015) states that entrepreneurial behavior by an entrepreneur can affect the results of the performance of a business that is run. Farmer entrepreneurial behavior can continue to grow and be developed where one way that can be done is by increasing the motivation of farmers (Puspitasari, 2013).

5. Conclusions

Pepper farmers have dominant entrepreneurial characteristics and behaviors. It is reflected by the characteristics of the courage to take risks and the ability to respond to opportunities. The entrepreneurial characteristics of pepper farmers also found in this study are the motivation and innovation of farmers. The entrepreneurial characteristics positively and significantly influence the entrepreneurial behavior of farmers. This study also found that the entrepreneurial behavior of pepper farmers is shown by affective, cognitive and motoric actions. The courage of farmers to take risks, respond to opportunities, the willingness to innovate and have the motivation to influence the attitudes, knowledge, and skills that are demonstrated through real actions of farmers in conducting pepper cultivation activities. This study suggests that pepper farmers always dare to take risks, be persistent and disciplined. Besides, knowledge and skills need to be constantly updated to grow the ability to innovate and be creative in carrying out pepper cultivation activities.

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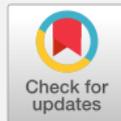
A Social Mapping of Fishermen Resource and Accessibility for Coastal Tourism Development Policy

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ABSTRACT

Many fishermen in Indonesia have not fully utilized marine resources properly. However, the government has several ways to improve the welfare of fishermen in other sectors than the fisheries; one of them is connecting between fishermen, coastal and tourism. Meninting of West Lombok is a strategic coastal village for the tourism sector. This village has started to develop tourist destinations since 2011, unfortunately, there is no data on fishermen as a real interest group. This study develops a research pattern on fishing communities which generally discusses the social resources of fishermen and the political aspects of fishing communities separately. This study used a qualitative approach to the social mapping method. Data obtained through interviews and observations of purposively selected informants. The data related to fishermen resources are in maps, followed by an analysis of their accessibility to policy. Spatial aspects strengthen their social resources, interests, and accessibilities to coastal tourism development. The results show that the social resources of fishermen of Meninting Village are unevenly distributed in five dusun (sub-villages). Indicators shown are; capital ownership, mastery of knowledge and skills, ownership of production equipment, use of science and technology, ability to diversify production, fishermen's sociopolitical relations and ability to recognize the economic prospects of coastal tourism. Fishermen who live in areas directly facing the sea have better social resources and firmer interests in coastal development. The accessibility of fishing groups is limited in the development policy. Only fishermen in sub-village located in a coastal area can show themselves as defenders. While the fishermen who live far from the beach tend to be latent or even apathetic. This study recommends the need for other social mapping studies on the characteristics of coastal

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communities and the need for the government to use the social mapping information of fishing communities to formulate policies that contain regional aspects in coastal tourism development.

Keywords: Coastal; Fishermen; Meninting; Resource; Social Mapping; Tourism Development

1. Introduction

The Government of Indonesia assumes that many fishermen communities have not utilized the marine wealth yet. The Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries of the Republic of Indonesia (Indonesian: Kementerian Kelautan dan Perikanan Republik Indonesia or KKP) and the Ministry of Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia (Indonesian: Kementerian Pariwisata Republik Indonesia or Kemenpar) accord on the assumption (Mongabay, February 8, 2017). It happens to the fishermen community in West Nusa Tenggara (Indonesian: Nusa Tenggara Barat or NTB). In NTB, more than 74,000 fishermen until 2012 (compiled from Satu Data Indonesia, 2012) faced with the fact that nearly 14,000 poor household's livelihood in the capture fisheries sector (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2012). Therefore, the Government of Indonesia through KKP seeks some solutions to improve their welfare. In 2017, KKP succeeded in increasing the average fishermen's income to Rp 3.16 million per person/month (Berita Kementerian Kelautan dan Perikanan Republik Indonesia, 12 January 2018). If referring to the Central Statistics Agency (Indonesian: Badan Pusat Statistik or BPS) standard for the amount of fishermen's daily expenditure the poor category is under Rp. 600,000/month (Keluargaharapan.com, 2 October 2016), these figures indicate that fishermen can no longer be categorized as poor.

In the last three years, Lombok Island has scored international achievements in several *halal* tourism (tourism that is more aligned with Islamic Law and traditions) categories. Even though the *halal* tourism concept that is echoed is not yet firm and is supported by the reality on the ground (Scott, 2017), at least, this has succeeded to trigger the local government and the community enthusiasm to take advantage of the economic value momentum.

Meninting Village is located at the entrance of the Tourism area, Senggigi, Lombok Island, West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. The village has a fairly complete marine tourism potential such as Kali Meninting estuary and beaches along the west that directly faces Bali island. It is a very strategic location to develop as a tourist destination because it has an area to be traversed by tourists visiting Senggigi and also it is bordered by Mataram City so it is easier and faster visited. Since 2011, Meninting Village has been pioneered as a culinary tourism location. In 2017, the Local Government will hold the Bekele Tuna Festival which will become an annual event. This activity is expected to make Meninting Village become a crowded area as a new tourist area (Pos Bali, December 17, 2017). Meninting Village has vast coastal potential and challenging waves, also strategic for surfing tourism locations (Radar Lombok, October 30, 2017). For those reasons, the local government is seriously preparing for the development of tourist areas, including the Meninting Village that will have an impact on the 30 residents' houses relocation in Dusun Kongok (Radar Lombok, February 24, 2017).

However, there are concerns about the position of the local community who are merely spectators of government policy because they are defeated by investors and foreign workers

(Indonesian: Tenaga Kerja Asing or TKA). Some heads of villages asked the local government to oversee the foreign workers in their area (Batulayar News, 17 February 2016).

Unfortunately, the Meninting Local Government does not have a record of the number, location of settlements, owned resources and so on regarding fishing communities in the area. The identities of the fishermen groups that represent information about the whereabouts of the fishermen are also not well-archived. The Meninting Local Government stated that this was because the fishermen groups could only be known to them in real terms when there was financial assistance or tools from the government or when the fishermen groups formed themselves and asked for a certificate for the administration of aid proposals. After the relief program ended, several fishing groups dispersed. Besides, certificates issued by the Local Government were not archived. The fishermen and fishermen groups are not well organized if faced with the existence of a coastal tourism destination development program in Meninting that has been initiated since 2011, causing the low involvement of fishing communities as the dominant community inhabiting coastal areas in development activities and of course has an interest in the development of their living space. The plan to utilize the coastal area of Meninting by the Local Government for the development of coastal tourism should include the people who inhabit the area. Community potential must be mapped.

Academically, many other disciplines use social mapping methods. In development-themed studies, for example, social mapping usually combines social and spatial aspects as well as related. Social mapping methods help research related to governance area in understanding the equality, efficiency, and transparency (Alemie et al., 2015). In specific coastal area research, this method is used to assist spatial marine management planning that is prone to conflicting uses (Moore et al., 2016). The social mapping of coastal tourism areas in Indonesia is still not of primary importance. Research conducted in the Regency of West Coastal formulates zoning potential marine ecotourism (Herison et al., 2018). While research conducted in *Kampung* (smaller than sub-village) Pasie Nan Tigo, Padang City, West Sumatra, Indonesia, resulted in the zoning threat of disaster vulnerability to tourist areas of fishing villages (Haryani, 2014). Both studies utilize mapping to formulate the utilization of the physical environment of an area for tourism activities. While this research aim to study the social characteristics of coastal communities especially fishermen in terms of resources and their response to coastal tourism development. Social mapping of fishermen groups in Meninting can be used by the Local Government and users of research results as a description of the potential of fishermen according to their living space where tourism development will be centered.

Social Mapping has several aspects including; statistically, anthropologically and livelihood-oriented (Safiullin et al., 2015). Safiullin et al., (2015) provide examples of social mapping applications in geographic maps that contain social categorization symbols that are connected. This method is different from the example exemplified by Saribanon, et al., (2015) who documented a social mapping study of the Gilireng area where the outcome was in identifying respondents' social aspects separately between regional and social aspects of the respondents. However, both of these social mapping studies show that the geographical aspects of the map and the social aspects studied in social mapping are two aspects that must be displayed and related to each other.

If related to the benefits of social mapping of public policy, then one important thing is when the public policy involves a relatively small community and has certain territorial aspects. Every public policy has its target group. A policy that has social value will certainly affect the social aspects of its territory and can be influenced by social interests as well. Dunn

(2000) states that the target group is not necessarily the group that will benefit, it may even be that the target group receives losses or becomes a group of sufferers. In conducting social mapping research on the phenomenon of participation in public policy, analysis of the target group cannot be avoided. Analysis of the target group (which will be presented in a mapping analysis) is needed with the aim to (1) understand the social differences in a population (based on gender, social strata, age, ethnic identity) and other things in the community so that the community can participate (in public policy); (2) understand the target group's perceptions and behavior towards other stakeholders and institutions, and to develop realistic strategies for participation; (3) measure the risk and impact of a program idea or strategy (Forster and Osterhaus, 2011). Therefore, social mapping of fishermen's social resources will deliver an understanding of differences in fishermen's social resources and differences in the behavior and perceptions of fishermen towards coastal tourism development according to the area of residence.

The results of this study aim to (1) describe the social map of the resources of the fishing communities of Meninting Village according to the area of residence, and (2) access the fishermen according to the spatial distribution of the resources they have, as stakeholders in the policy of developing tourist destinations in the Meninting Village. This research continues the starting point of previous studies which generally only describe the fishermen resources and their impacts experienced as the implications of marine or coastal tourism development.

2. Literature Review

A. Fishermen Resources

Fishermen in coastal areas are the most frequently encountered communities. For this community, the closeness of their homes and the daily interactions with the sea give birth to the most tangible understanding of making a living.

The fishing community has a life side that can be studied in several aspects. From the political aspect, research conducted by Royandi et al., (2019) on fishermen in Palabuhanratu, West Java, Indonesia, shows that fishermen are one of the actors who helped build power through rights-based access mechanisms, and access structures based on structures and social relations. The basis of capital, market, technology, knowledge, social identity, authority, and patron-client power are explained as fishermen's resources in accessing marine resources.

In addition to socio-cultural conditions, research on fishing communities mentions some characteristics of fishing communities such as participation in social organizations, use of technological tools, knowledge, and skills passed on to their offspring, income, family expenses, living conditions, health and education of children (Fitriyah & Widodo, 2016). While other studies see that fishermen community resources are reflected in the ownership of capital and means of production as well as business relationships between fishermen which are illustrated in three strata namely labor fishermen (lower layer), owner fishermen (middle layer) and financiers (upper layer) (Saleha, 2013). These characteristics can be a resource of the fishing community in influencing policies related to their livelihood and life.

This study will describe the social resources fishermen ownership in Meninting village to access the development policies in of (1) capital control as the basis for economic influence and interests, (2) knowledge and skills to describe production capacity, (3) use of Science and Technology (Indonesian: Ilmu Pengetahuan dan Teknologi or IPTEK) to describe the social capacity of individual fishermen, (4) ability to identify economic prospects to describe aspects of the interests of fishermen, (5) production diversification results to illustrate economic capacity as producers in the marine tourism sector, (6) production means ownerships to

describe their economic strata related to influence on policy, and (7) Political economic relations to describe their influence activities and interests in the policy system.

The fishing community shows a variety of interactions with the development itself in developing marine or coastal tourism, especially utilizing natural resources and the coastal environment. Firstly, the communities can be the main actors in the development of tourist destinations as in Agam District, West Sumatra, Indonesia (Zamzami, 2016). Secondly, the fishing community has become a passive actor, involved in the development of tourist destinations at the instigation of other parties such as the government or investors such as in Pasié Nan Tigo, Padang City, West Sumatra, Indonesia (Huda, 2016). Thirdly, the fishing community is a completely separate actor from the coastal tourism development activities where they live. This is as identified in the development of Tanjung Benoa marine tourism, Bali Province, Indonesia, which causes the fishermen a decrease in the quantity and quality of catches and the intensity of fishing (Pratiwi, 2014).

B. The Stakeholders Accessibility to Public Policy

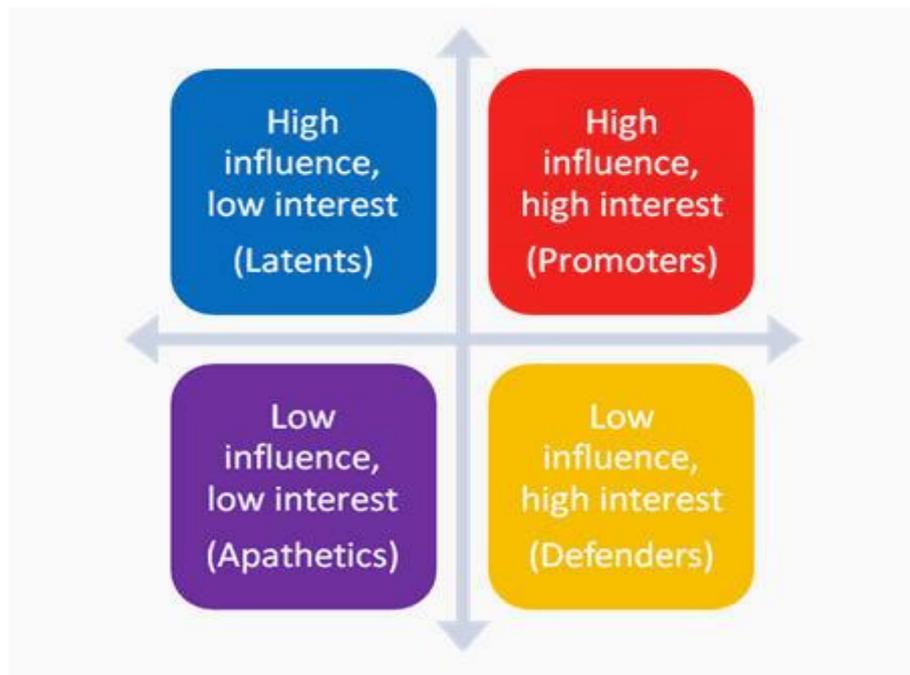
The analysis of Stakeholders needs to determine the accessibility or ability of actors to access the benefits of public policy. The analysis provides a role to collect more complete perspectives on sectors and elements influenced by policy, strengthen the position of those who have opposition, increase organizational credibility and deliver parties involved in public policy in successfully achieve their goals (Community Tools Box, 2014).

In identifying stakeholder accessibility to policies, it is necessary identifying: (1) the personal interests of actors, (2) the level of knowledge of policy issues, (3) resources, (4) capacity to mobilize resources, and (5) position on the issue; support, neutral or reject (abstracted from the Policy Stakeholders Analysis Tool by Policy Circle, 2019). The categorization of stakeholders if related to their accessibility is very relevant using the quadrant formulated by the University of Kansas Center for Community Health and Development namely promoters, defenders, latent and apathetic as can be seen in Figure 1 (Center for Community Health and Development University of Kansas, 2014). Promoters are those who have high importance and influence on policy. Defenders are actors who have a high interest in policy but can only influence a little. Meanwhile, latent represent those who have high influence but unfortunately have few interests, and apathetic describes those who have an interest as well as a small influence on policy. As a quadrant, the four categories mentioned can experience dynamics so that one category can develop into another.

Tourism development policies always include activities to develop tourist destinations. Cooper, Fletcher, Gilbert, Shepherd, and Wanhill indicated five main components of developing tourist destinations: (1) Objects and Attractions, (2) Accessibility, (3) Amenities or supporting facilities and tourism support, (4) Ancillary or other supporting facilities, and (5) Institutional (Sunaryo, 2013). The five components will result in successful tourism development if managed properly.

Good governance in tourism development of the aspect of involving actors outside the government must at least contain principles that describe supervision and control, active engagement, partnerships and accommodation of community aspirations (Sunaryo, 2013). If in the opinion of tourism production according to Yoeti there are 3 (three) minimum destination requirements namely something to see, something to do, and something to buy (Tatali et al., 2018), then the local community has the potential in providing all of the three.

Figure 1
Stakeholders Mapping



Source: (Community Tools Box, 2014)

3. Research Methodology

Meninting Village is one of the coastal villages located in the Batulayar District, West Lombok Regency. As one of the coastal areas in West Nusa Tenggara Province, this village is very close to tourism activities and locations on Senggigi Beach. Meninting Village consists of five sub-villages (locally known as Dusun), they are; Dusun Meninting Buwuh, Dusun Kongok, Dusun Peresak, Dusun Tegal, and Dusun Pelempat. All the five *dusun*, only two *dusun* namely Meninting Buwuh and Kongok are directly facing the western coastline of Lombok Island. Also, the village is administratively very close to the center of the provincial capital. Meninting Village is passed by Meninting River which empties into the Lombok Strait separating Lombok Island from Bali to the west. Kali Meninting becomes the natural boundary of Meninting Village and the city administrative area. This study uses a qualitative approach to the method of collecting and presenting data on social maps. Social Mapping also can be used as a method in exploring the social structure of the community related to their participation in public policy. This method produces research output in visualizing the location of households and the distribution of social characteristics of the community (World Bank, 2007). The World Bank stated that data that could be illustrated by the visualization included community layouts, infrastructure, demographics, ethnolinguistic groups, health patterns, welfare and so on. Meanwhile, what can be identified from social mapping is the criteria of local social groups and measuring the distribution of resources between them. The World Bank notes that social mapping is appropriate for small community studies but will be very complex if the number of households studied is greater.

Social mapping is unlike physical mapping. Social mapping is more about compiling reports with local communities (Kalaisevan & Dongre, 2012). Social mapping also use to identify the socio-cultural conditions of a community, including: (1) The dominant values that

are adopted to be able to move the community; (2) Social forces that have the potential to change their communities; (3) The character of the community when facing social interventions; (4) Information and communication patterns; and (5) Environmental factors that influence their attitudes and behavior (Wiratma, 2010). So far, studies that use social mapping as a method are more related to geographical or scientific fields that require spatial identification. While studies in the social field generally end in social maps exploration without making it an effort to understand the position of the community in the policy process and formulate it as a public policy recommendation.

The object under study is the resources of the fishing community on the coast of the Meninting Village which is considered to be a resource base to influence and be influenced by village development programs oriented to new tourist villages other than the Senggigi area in West Lombok. The data generated are in (1) Spatial data of fishermen's social resources, and (2) Socio-spatial categories of fishermen as stakeholders in tourism development policies in Meninting Village. Besides, government and public documents regarding the social aspects of the fishing community on the coast of Meninting are used to support triangulation activities.

Data were collected by (1) observing the spatial environment of the fishing community's residence, socio-economic aspects that can be sensed through recordings, photographs or can be described narratively, and (2) interviews to identify the social categories of fishing communities related to their position as a stakeholder in the village development program. Interviews were conducted with some selected informants purposively with categories; (1) geographical representation of residence, (2) ownership of economic resources, (3) social aspects needed to influence policy and possessed to be said to have an interest in policy and (4) informant capacity in the policy process. Then the data is presented in the social map that explains the distribution and social conditions of the distribution associated with the village development program.

In identifying fishermen resources, researchers conducted interviews with twenty-three fishermen and four groups of fishermen. Twenty-three fishermen resided representing each *dusun* where they resided. While four fishermen groups came from Dusun Meninting Buwuh, Dusun Pelempat, and Dusun Peresak. Each group of fishermen has diverse members, ten to thirteen people. There is one group of fishermen that is a fraction of another group. The informants were determined from information developed from the narrative of each *dusun* head, where three *dusun* heads were also fishermen or had livelihood as fishermen. Besides, there are informants met incidentally on the anchorage port.

4. Results and Discussion

A. Meninting Fishermen Resources

The Local Government of Meninting Village does not have any detailed data of fishermen. The number of fishermen and their groups in Meninting Village is very volatile. Dusun (sub-village) Tegal is a sub-village that shows an extreme absence of fishermen groups, even though there are some people as fishermen. As a result, its community members joined with fishing groups in other *dusun*. Dusun Meninting Buwuh is a sub-village that has the largest number of fishing groups. It is located in an area directly adjacent to the beach. The economic activities of the community are specifically related to the sea. At the time of this research, informants in this sub-village could mention each other until the data recorded were four groups. There are several causes of fluctuations in the number of fishing groups: (1) Ability to capitalize fishing activities, (2) Long-term expectations of fishing livelihood, (3) Pragmatic reasons for just obtaining certain funds or material assistance, and when the funds or assistance have been

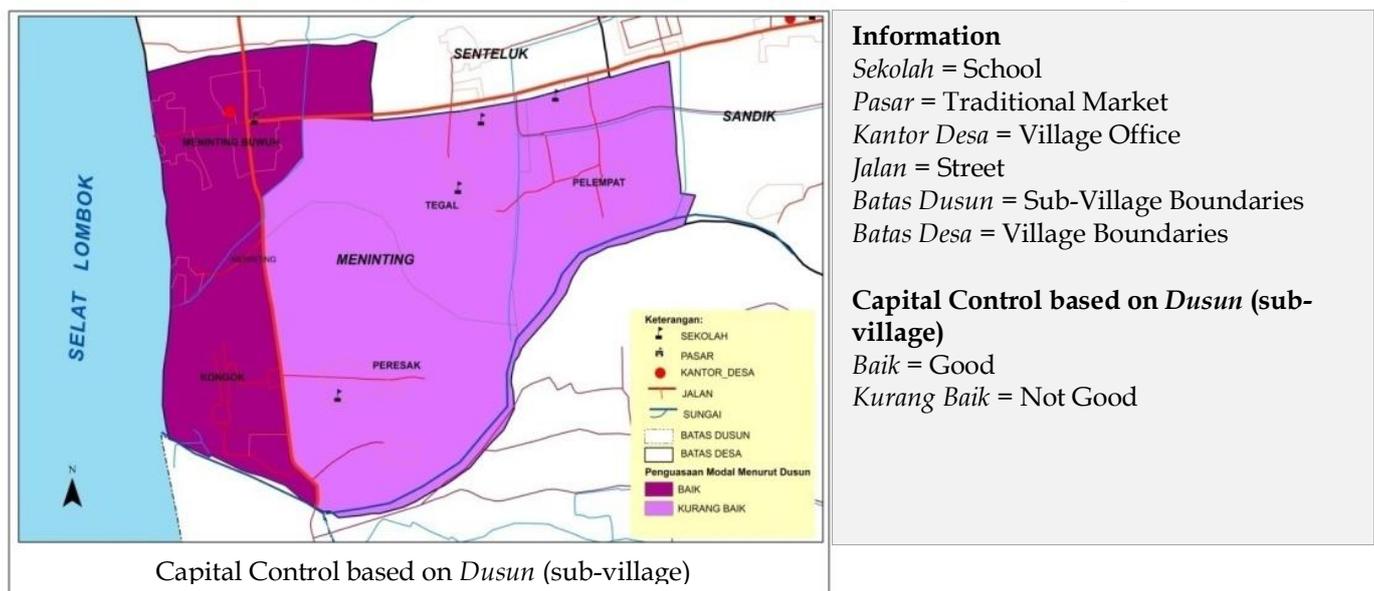
obtained then the group exchanging member formations or even stopping activities, and (4) Conflicts between members.

The lack of land use characteristics such as paddy fields or plantations makes the people attach to the livelihood as fishermen are higher. The livelihoods and residences on the coast of Meninting which is inherited by parents make the interests of the sea very clear.

Their social resources ownership varies according to their form and value related to village development policies. The social map of capital control by Meninting fishermen as in Figure 2 shows how fishermen who live on the coast, such as in Meninting Buwuh and Kongkok, have better capital capacity. This is demonstrated by the experience of accessing capital assistance from non-banking financial institutions, it is savings and loan cooperatives (locally known as *koperasi*).

Also, there are fishery auctions who have an individual capital capacity that is well known by fishermen such as in Dusun Kongkok. Meanwhile, the other three *dusun* do not yet have adequate capital access and only depend on the group's internal support system, or choose not to go to sea for a while, and even stop being fisherman.

Figure 2
Social Mapping of Fishermen Capital based on Dusun (sub-village)



Source: (Primary Data, 2019)

Further, the informant described that a fisherman household can become a fishing owner (middle class) when he is directly involved in fishing production activities as well as financiers (upper class) when he becomes an auctioneer. There is no data shows that labor fishermen (lower class) in Meninting Village that can reach the middle and upper classes, but instead face the risk of stopping at all when capital lack face together with the declining of the fishing season. Three informants who cited the reasons to stop fishing activities are the absence of a daily capital of at least 75 thousand rupiahs to purchase boat fuel, while the catching sale does not cover capital or may not bring any results at all. Even, when they joined a group of fishermen, they could use a boat belonging to the group. In contrast to fishermen workers those are not joined in groups which their livelihoods depend on the boat owner.

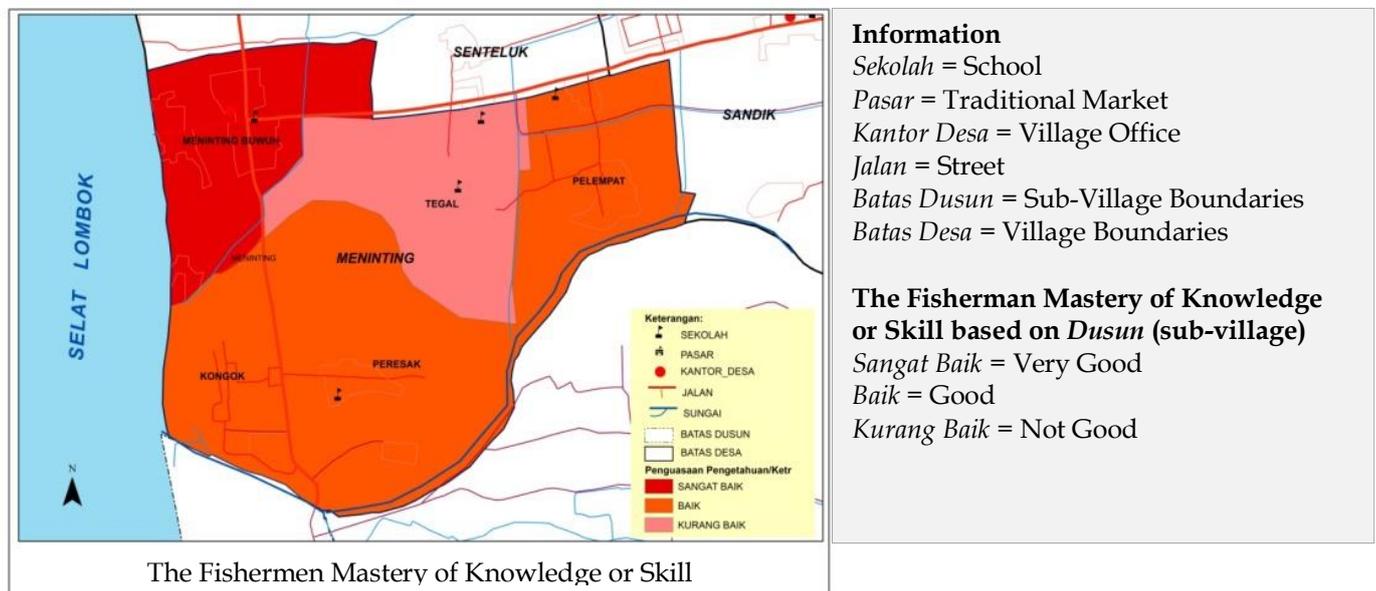
Fishermen who live in the two *dusun* directly facing the sea thus show good capital capacity. The high importance of the maritime economic value where their houses face the sea

is shown by the consistency of livelihood as fishermen and their behavior in maintaining economic activities through the capital.

To be a fisherman requires a learning process. The Meninting fishermen tell us that the knowledge and skills that they use to sail and produce satisfying catches come from (1) Parental or ancestral inheritance, based on lineage or ethnicity, where the background of social learning in tribal communities is very strong, for example, the Bugis tribe, which specifically inhabiting in Dusun Meninting Buwuh on the coast of Meninting (2) Self-taught, where fishing activities by fishermen in this category are obtained from learning in fishermen groups such as fishermen in Dusun Pelempat, Dusun Tegal and Dusun Peresak, (3) Other formal institutions such as through training and mentoring provided by the government so that the skills and insight of fishermen regarding the sea increases. In the distribution of fishermen according to the mastery of knowledge and skills, as shown on the map in Figure 3, it cannot be denied that the emergence of information related to social mapping compares to the ethnicity.

Figure 3

Social Mapping of The Fishermen Mastery of Knowledge or Skill based on *Dusun* (sub-village)



Source: (Primary Data, 2019)

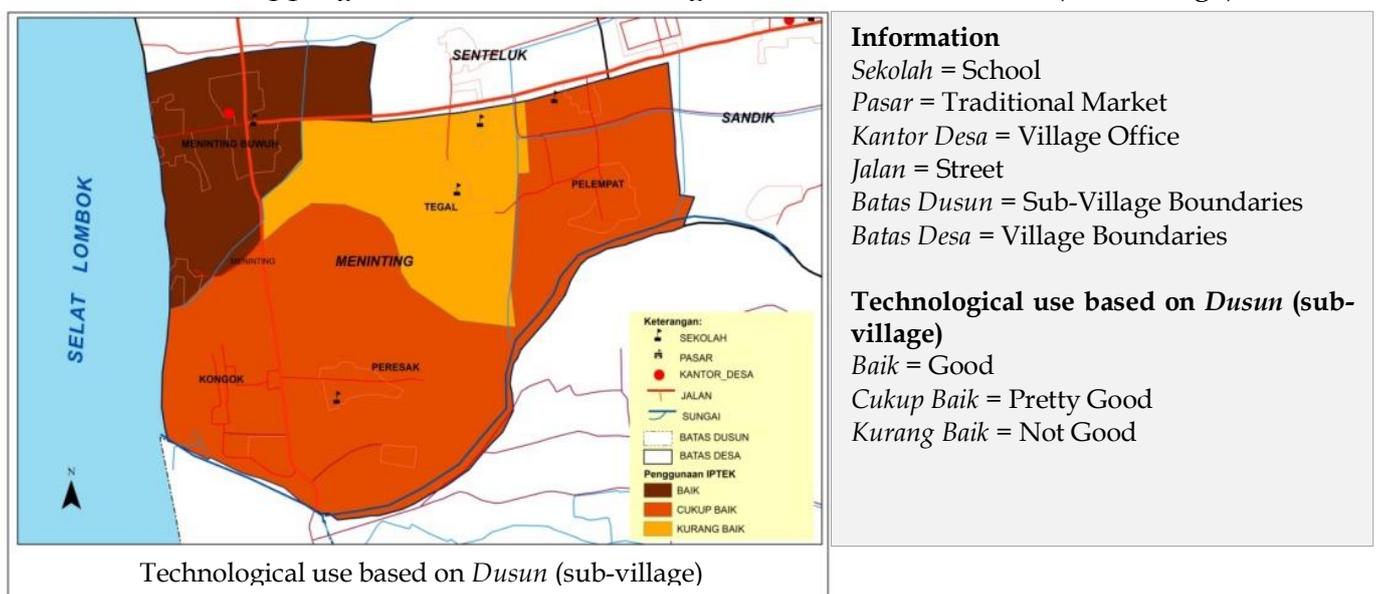
The successful fishermen exemplified by the community of Dusun Meninting Buwuh, those who are descendants of Bugis ethnic who possess excellent knowledge or skills. The informant explained that they deal with the sea since their birth, bequeathed to them knowledge of the direction of the compass and predictions about the type and number of fish that can be caught. Neither is knowledge about ocean currents that have been passed down from generation to generation in fishing families where they were born and grew up. That way they can effectively and efficiently mobilize resources to catch fish according to certain seasons.

They use Science and Technology (Indonesian: Ilmu Pengetahuan dan Teknologi or IPTEK) to support fishing activities that are closely related to the acquisition of knowledge and skills. Using modern communication tools such as mobile phones and knowledge-based analysis is to recognize season and wind that determine the number of fish and so on varies between fishermen from one village to another. Some fishermen who become informants are mostly illiterate and they are hard to find on the beach when they are anchored as usual. One way they usually do is to look for the existence of a boat among fellow fishermen or other groups. Some

of them are still walking from the house to the beach rather than motorized vehicles. Financier fishermen socially control and use science and technology well, while laborers and owner's fishermen only control a portion of the science and technology needed to support fishing activities or improve their welfare. Some fishermen don't even use science and technology at all because of a lack of ownership. Figure 4 shows how the difference in the use of science and technology in the fisheries production activities of each sub-village.

The existence of fishermen who are relatively consistent at sea in the Dusun Meninting Buwuh, besides being related to the political-economic relations resources of fishermen in the sub-village, supports the entry of science and technology related to fishing activities. The knowledge-sharing that they obtained came from the background of living space directly bordered by the sea which conditioned them to gain new knowledge related to fishing and assistance obtained from outside institutions in of training.

Figure 4
Social Mapping of Fishermen Technological use based on Dusun (sub-Village)



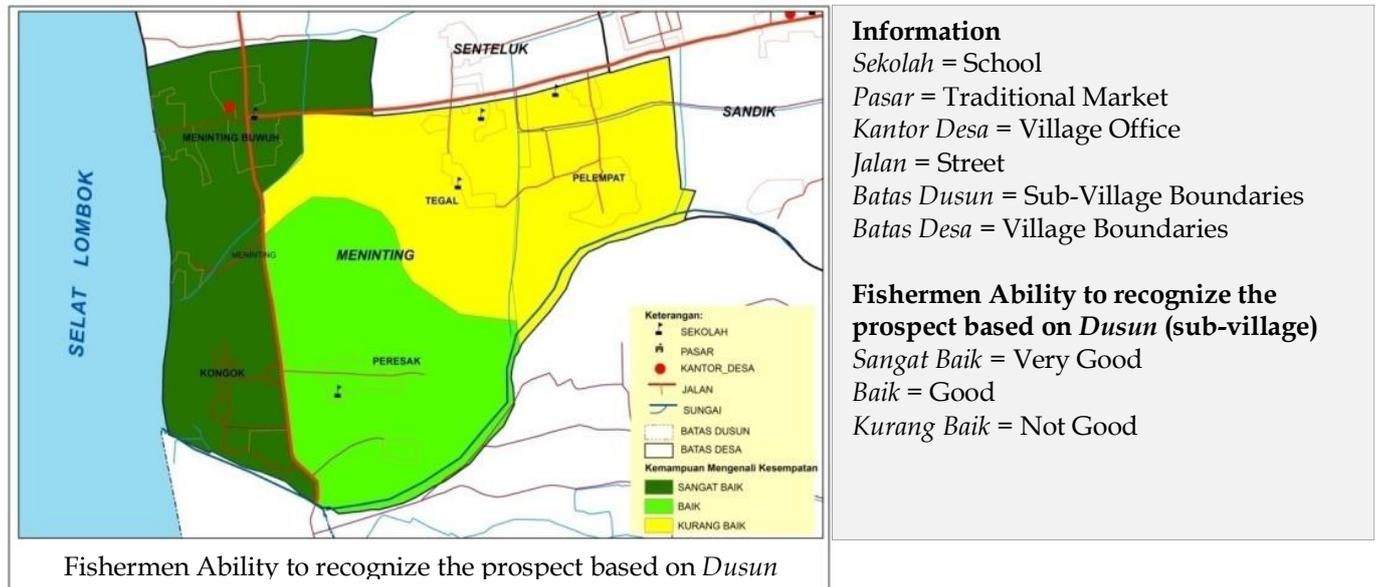
Source: (Primary Data, 2019)

Not all fishermen in the five *dusun* recognize or can grasp the economic opportunity from developing the tourism sector in their village. Only fishermen in the two *dusun* directly bordering the coastline, namely Dusun Kongkok and Dusun Meninting Buwuh, have a vision of the economic opportunity of tourism for their profession as in Figure 5.

Fishermen in the *dusun* of coastal areas are more aware of the existence of an economic tourism opportunity because these two *dusun* are directly in contact with tourism development plans, especially culinary or sport and nature tourism, both funded by villages, as well as the state and district governments. Even the people in Dusun Kongkok since 2017 have been socialized about the plan to develop their settlements into estuary tourism objects which according to local figures will mimic the Venetian-style boat attractions in Italy. But unfortunately, fishermen and processing groups that are generally composed of women in fishing households have not yet decided on their response to the opportunity. Some of the reasons put forward are the lack of product processing expertise, the lack of capital to produce a variety of captured products and the reluctance to speculate or satisfaction with their current economic conditions. In recognizing economic opportunities, even though owner fishermen

have the resources to be involved in economic tourism activities, this group of fishermen does not necessarily recognize opportunities or take opportunities to improve welfare. Reluctance to try to do new business activities beyond what they normally do is the main reason.

Figure 5
Social Mapping of Fishermen Ability to recognize the prospect of their area based on *Dusun* (sub-village)



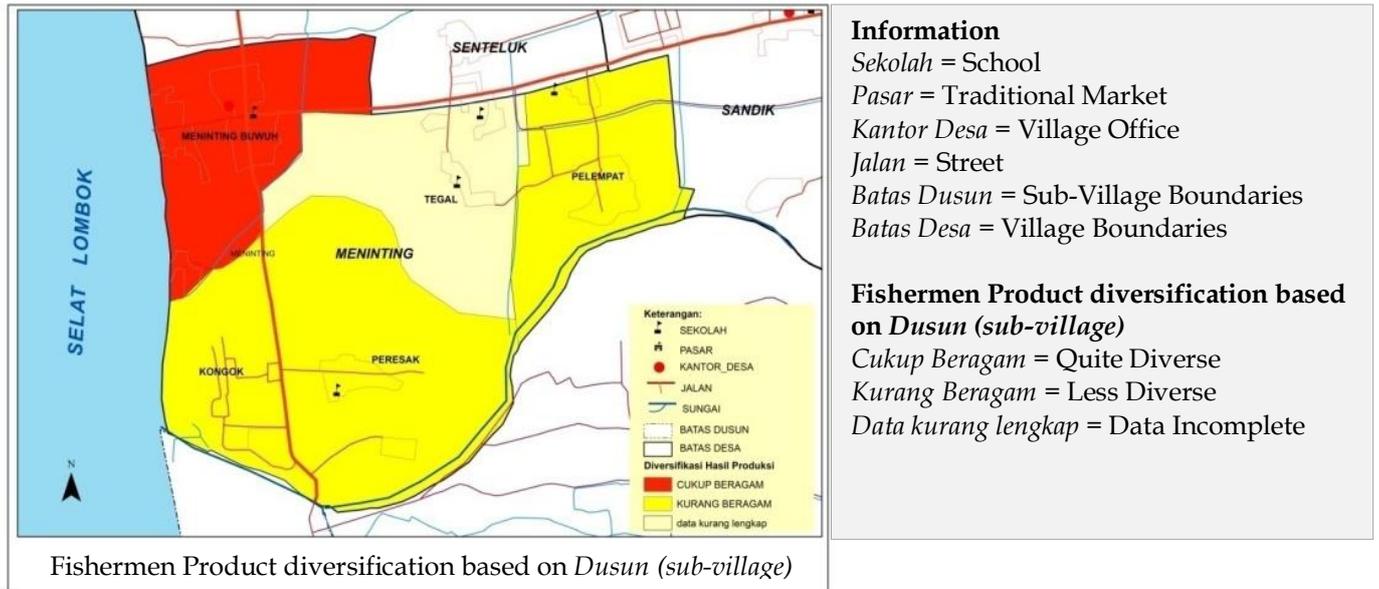
Source: (Primary Data, 2019)

In terms of diversification of fishermen production, it was found that only one *dusun* that has a catch processor, both in groups of women and individuals or fishing households, who carry out the production process into a variety of products as depicted on the map Figure 6. Dusun Meninting Buwuh has a group that producing catches by boiling and roasting. While in other *dusun* it is identified that the production process is only in boiling (like in Dusun Kongkok where the majority of fishermen specialize in fish caught in of Tuna) or even sold fresh out without the process of adding economic value to their catches.

Dusun Meninting Buwuh which is located right on the beach which is a tourist attraction of Montong Beach supports the diversification of catch products. In this village, it is very easy to find smoked or grilled fish stalls that are sold by fishermen mothers in the morning and evening. This *dusun* is open due to good road access and is supported by road routes along the coast. While in Dusun Kongkok, which also borders the coast, smokers or grilled fish sellers were found in addition to fish processing production centers. Dusun Kongkok does not have adequate access to public roads and the coast has not been managed so that it presents an interesting view because at the end of the entrance to the *dusun* visitors will only find dead-end areas such as fishing huts and boat mooring locations. Moreover in Dusun Kongkok, fishermen are specialized in Tuna Fish catch.

Labor fishermen with low production capacity mostly sell their catches in fresh condition to collectors. While owner fishermen and financier fishermen can further diversify in of boiled or grilled fish, even though there are collectors who also sell their catch in fresh condition.

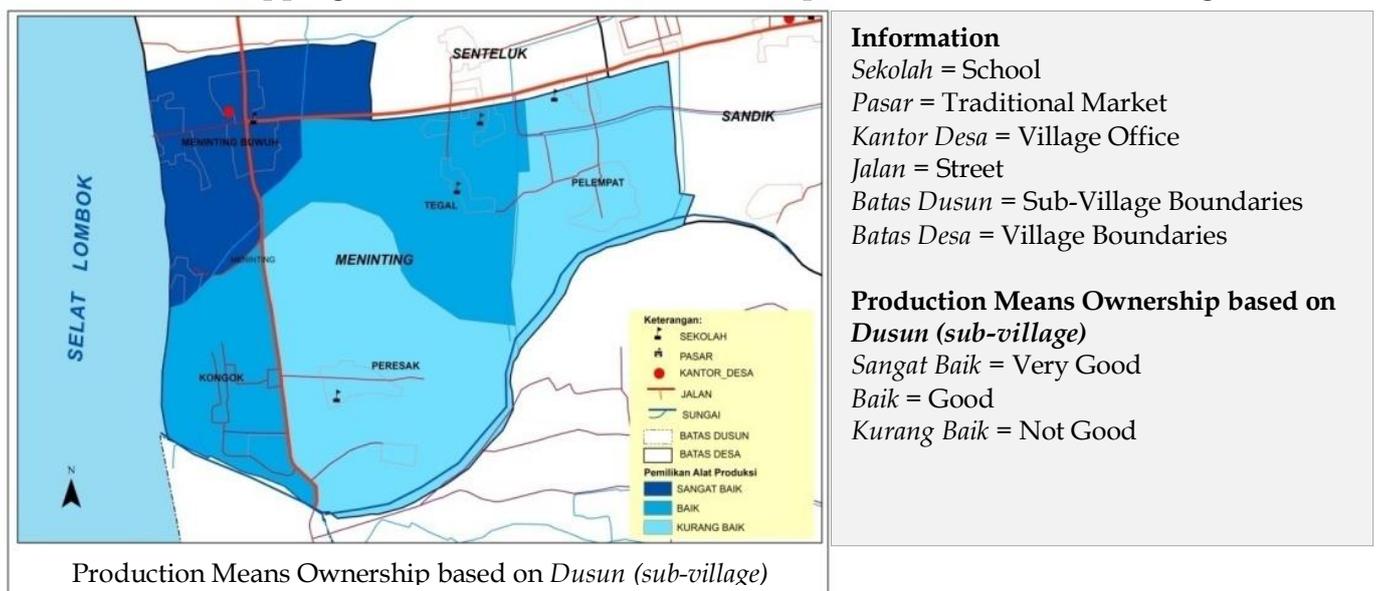
Figure 6
Social Mapping of Fishermen Product diversification based on *Dusun* (sub-village)



Source: (Primary Data, 2019)

The fishermen own their production means are vary. Based on the identification of observations and interviews in the field, fishermen residing in Meninting Buwuh village have production equipment in boats and various fishing gears consisting of boats of various sizes and types of fish that can be captured by these tools. Meanwhile, fishermen in Dusun Peresak and Dusun Pelempat are mostly fisherman laborers or do not have boats and fishing gears so that they are more often identified as seasonal labor fishermen and even stop at sea due to the lack of tools. This is as mapped in Figure 7.

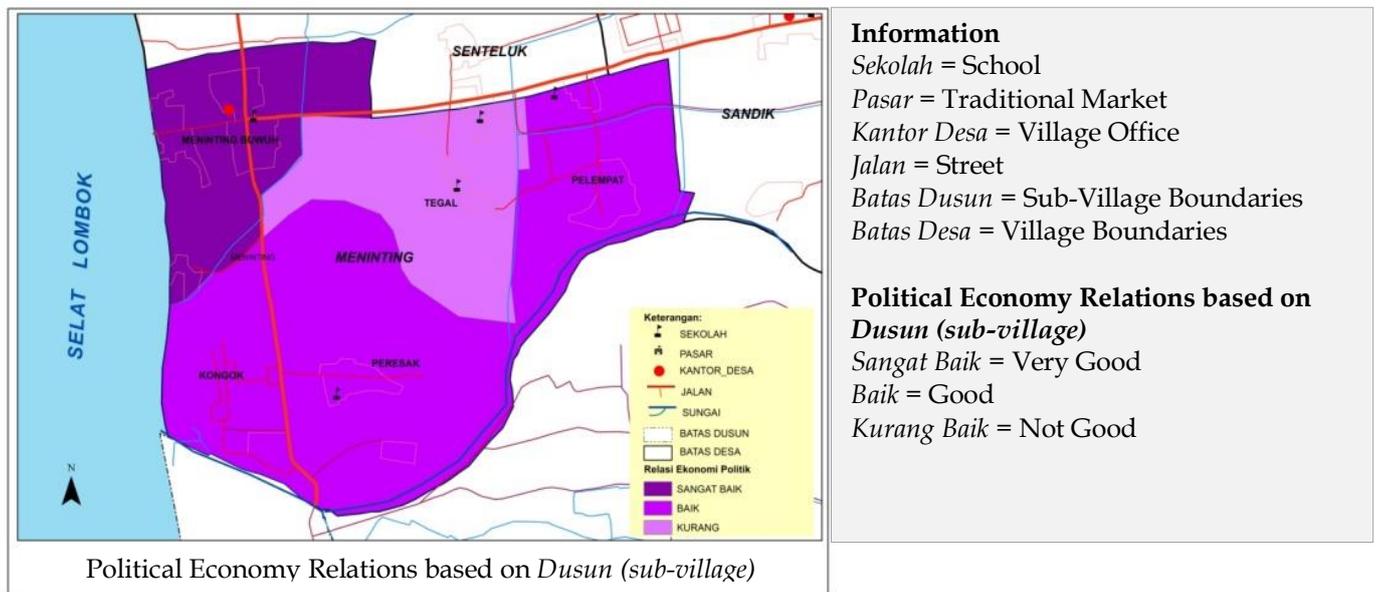
Figure 7
Social Mapping of Production Means Ownership based on *Dusun* (sub-village)



Source: (Primary Data, 2019)

In the context of the policy system, characteristic patterns of economic-political relations. Capital interactions, use of production equipment, trade-in fishing and production, and communication and access to government policies towards the central government in Meninting Village are quite distributive. The identified *dusun* does not have a fishermen group, namely in Dusun Tegal, where fishermen who reside in this *dusun* are even linked to joining a fishing group in another *dusun* so that it is not difficult to gain access to large capital such as financial institutions or government programs. Dusun Meninting Buwuh and Dusun Pelempat provide opportunities for fishermen and their groups to provide resources provided by the government and financial institutions such as boat assistance, fishing equipment or financial capital, including opportunities to contribute to the livelihood program of the Meninting Local Government. Figure 8

Figure 8
Social Mapping of Political Economy Relations based on *Dusun* (sub-village)



Source: (Primary Data, 2019)

In terms of social and political organizations that are followed by fishermen in these villages, they are also diverse. However, almost all informant fishermen recognize and describe the pattern of fishermen's participation in their area in sociopolitical organizations is very rare. Some informants only mentioned the recitation groups in a small mosque (*musala*) around their neighborhood besides the fishing groups that they formed themselves, even though they would only be active when there was a government assistance program. Only one informant explained the communication activities and political lobbying carried out against the government and legislators to empower themselves, their groups and their relationships with fishermen in other *dusun*. The social organization that they form in a fishermen group does not have an adequate institutional capacity to deal with the policy system. Weak bonds of interest and short-term in the fishing group organizations make this organization vulnerable to quitting after getting help. This also becomes a problem for the Local Government in involving fishermen groups in the development policy process.

B. The Meninting Fishermen Identification on Coastal Tourism Potency

The Meninting Coast is located exactly on the west side of the entrance to the Senggigi Beach tourist area. For outside visitors, this beach seems to be covered by a solid line of fishing houses that can be accessed by a road without signposts of the object's beach area. Therefore, the tourism potential of the Meninting beach area was initially only enjoyed by residents.

The most visited location of Meninting beach is located in Dusun Meninting Buwuh. This location is known as Montong Beach. Every Sunday after the dawn prayer, this location will be crowded by teenagers and families who enjoy the view of the west coast that has not been exposed to sunlight so that it presents a beautiful view of the sea and sky, coupled with the waves that are not so big and used as a place for families to relax. Recreational activities undertaken by visitors on this beach have not been so diverse. Generally, just enjoy the view of the beach by sitting on the beach and occasionally swimming. On Sundays, there will be more activities in the morning walking or running because the road along the edge has been rebranded by the Meninting Local Government.

Even though this beach has not provided a proper sanitation system including the unavailability of public toilets and sand filled with rubbish, this beach is never empty by visitors, especially on weekends. The exception is if the tidal waves hit the west coast of Lombok Island.

Montong Beach is starting to feel the economic impact of Tanjung Bias Beach tourism activities in Senteluk Village which has been better managed and made a tourist attraction, which is becoming widely known around Senggigi. At present several seafood stalls have been run which are better managed by residents on Montong Beach. These stalls provide more complete facilities such as toilets and prayer rooms and interesting photo spots. However, visitors still have to familiarize themselves with the amount of garbage and the lifestyle of local people who are not yet aware of the economic value of tourism. Now and then visitors are forced to witness residents throwing the trash into the sea. The lack of cleanliness facilities related to rubbish and dirty Montong coastline shows that this beach has not been prepared to be a professionally managed tourist attraction.

Meanwhile, the Local Government has begun to disseminate information about beach objects through mass media and other media such as billboards in front of the village administration office for an annual event that is worthy of recreation. While at the beach location, there are only levies collection activities for motorized vehicles managed by Dusun Meninting Buwuh youth.

The Local Government has not invited foreign investors to participate in managing the attractions they have because there are still several spatial issues that must be clarified before village resources are deployed for the development of attractions in the region. Some of the problems are (1) clarity of ownership of several plots of land on the beach that involve outsiders, (2) the concept of management of the Meninting estuary has not been agreed as a tourist attraction, and (3) the unclear pattern of contribution of culinary stalls that have stood on the edge the beach managed by several fishing families.

Meninting fishermen live amid stretching coastal tourism activities. Even their neighboring village in 2019 was inaugurated by the central government as one of the coastal tourism destinations with the concept of a fishing village namely Tanjung Bias Beach. However, no informant has a perspective on the opportunities of developing the Tanjung Bias Beach tourist destination. Even an informant who is a big fisherman and at the same time a village official views that the development of Tanjung Bias tourism does not benefit many fishermen in the vicinity. Even though Tanjung Bias Beach can only be accessed by four-wheeled motorized

vehicles through Dusun Meninting Buwuh. This means that Meninting Village becomes an increasingly strategic tourist destination entrance today. However, welfare opportunities that can be captured by Meninting fishermen have not yet been fully responded to. Some of the causes are: (1) The low capacity of fishermen's resources in producing tourism products, (2) The low capacity of fishermen's resources in influencing or determining the direction of development of tourism destinations, and (3) The concept of development of tourism in Meninting is not yet involved in local fishing groups.

If we look closely, Meninting fishermen are currently outside the tourist destination development policy process. This is because their resources and production activities are significantly lacking in their involvement in tourism activities that are starting to develop there. However, coastal tourism activities have yet to show a loss to their economy. To be involved or involved in the development of Meninting coastal tourism, fishermen's resource capacity requires leveraging through several social engineering. The fishermen group is a potential party as the recipient of the investment or better still a player in tourism production in Meninting.

The fishermen is involved in developing coastal tourism destinations according to aspects of something to see, something to do, and something to buy, is still at the most basic readiness. Fishermen who live in facing the sea can only mention the blessings of welfare they can take from developing coastal tourism even though they can watch the flow of tourist visits every day from their homes. They, with a portrait of their life and livelihood, are only able to present tourist experiences about daily fishing activities, try the simple fishing experience from the beach or just buy fresh or simple processed fish such as boiled or grilled fish.

The informant who has the most resources explained that tourism development concept had been agreed by the Central Government along with the Municipality of Mataram city and the Government of West Lombok Regency in the estuary area of Kali Meninting and the plan to develop a surfing destination did not reflect the placement of fishermen as one of the main actors. The development requires more non-fishing investors with capital that is not currently owned by Meninting fishermen. While the institutional aspects needed to build coastal tourism destinations involving fishermen have not been fulfilled by the Local Government because the basis for establishing institutions derived from data from fishermen and fishermen groups is not yet available.

C. Meninting Fishermen Accessibilities for Coastal Tourism Development Policy

Fishermen Meninting in the context of the policy of developing coastal tourism destinations is a strategic interest group for the Local Government. From the spatial geographical aspect, coastal tourism locations are in direct contact with the living space of fishermen where they carry out daily activities interacting with the community and the sea. From the socio-economic aspect, fishing groups have potential as producers of tourism products or services. The accessibility of fishermen to tourism development policies in Meninting will determine how the concept of tourist destinations developed by the Local Government and how successful the key actors of the policy achieve their goals.

If you look closely, Meninting fishermen currently have not reached the level of promoters. This is because the resources owned and the influence of the fishermen groups on the village policy system are still inadequate. Owner fishermen and financier fishermen are more accurately described as a group of defenders, especially those who live in coastal areas. This is because the fishermen group has not become a solid group because of frequent changes in membership formation and most groups disband when they have received capital from the government. Some fishermen owners and investors are also latent stakeholders. Some

informants showed how their interactions with Local Government in the context of tourism destination development policies were not yet intense in urging or at least conveying their ideas, even though the informants were community leaders included in Local Government structures such as head of the village and members of the Village Consultative Body (Indonesian: Badan Permusyawaratan Desa or BPD) also as fishermen.

In another case, specifically, this category is very identical to the apathetic stakeholder category. The flexibility of their livelihoods to the sea, so this group is described as those who are often seasonal or even very easily stop being fishermen or change jobs, make their interests are not strong against the possibility of them benefiting from tourism development policies even if the policies are in their living areas on the coast and related to their livelihood and interactions with the sea. Fishermen with these characteristics generally live in that are not directly facing the sea and still have other natural resources such as rice fields and plantations.

Likewise, the lack of knowledge resources, the ability to use technology, capital ownership, etc. makes it difficult to have a direct social and political influence on Local Government policies. The accessibility of fishermen as stakeholders to the policy of developing tourist destinations can also be described in several aspects. From the aspect of the personal interests of each fisherman, there is no concrete picture of the idea of fishermen who represent their desires for the development of coastal tourism destinations, even those who live in seaside villages. While from the aspect of knowledge on policy issues, most fishermen are not aware of any policy agenda for developing coastal tourism destinations, except fishermen who happen to be community leaders or Local Government officials who have direct political access to the government. In terms of resources, Meninting fishermen are still very limited socially and economically. There are only five fishermen owners and investors who can be mentioned by the informants. Even then, there are financier fishermen who in the latest development admit that they are forced to sell aid ships from the KKP because they do not match the specifications of the current ocean conditions where they catch fish, while the rest is labor fishermen. From the aspect of the ability to mobilize resources, only the owner fishermen and/or financiers who happen to be figures or become Local Government officials can mention how their activities convey or push fishermen's ideas and interests. This group illustrates how they become agents for labor fishermen in accessing policies. In terms of its position on the issue of coastal tourism development policy, owner fishermen and financiers show a supportive or neutral reaction. This is because the concept of a tourist destination has not been so concretely scheduled by the Local Government. While labor fishermen tend to show a neutral position because they have not been well-informed about the policy agenda. There was no rejection of the policy agenda, both from investors, owners and fishermen.

5. Conclusion

Fishing communities in the Meninting Village spread over five *dusun* (sub-village), they are; Dusun Meninting Buwuh, Dusun Kongok, Dusun Peresak, Dusun Tegal, and Dusun Pelempat. However, the distribution of ownership of fishermen's social-economic resources in each *dusun* to access tourism development policy resources in the Meninting village is uneven. Issues of capital control, knowledge and skills, ownership of production equipment, use of science and technology, the introduction of economic opportunities from tourism, fishermen's social-political relations and diversification of catch production differ in each *dusun*. Fishermen who live in coastal villages have better social resources than fishermen who are far from the coast. Thus, this spatial setting distinguishes their perceptions and ideas about coastal tourism development compared to fishermen in other *dusun*. The accessibility of

fishing groups is limited in the development policy. Fishers who deal directly with the sea have a stronger interest in marine economic activity. But the social resources they have are not enough to determine the concept of coastal tourism development that benefits them. Meninting fishermen are still dominant as defenders, latent or even apathetic. The Meninting fishermen have not yet reached the position of the promoter in the tourism development program in their village because they have not shown any success in determining or coloring the development programs formulated by the Local Government so far.

This study recommends some operational suggestions. For the academic community, especially researchers, studies of the community characteristics in certain areas need to be juxtaposed with spatial studies due to social responses that have a certain spatial environment background. Thus social mapping can provide an understanding of the relationship between regional aspects with certain social features. While for the Meninting Local Government it is necessary to build the institutional capacity of fishermen groups so that there is a long-term bond of interest in village development and the Meninting Local Government can make appropriate and effective policy engineering through (1) Identification and categorization of the capacity of fishing groups, (2) Intergroup coaching programs where a group of fishermen with good capacity in the coastal area carries out activities and fostering a group of fishermen with less capacity in a *dusun* that is far from the coast, (3) Institutional engineering by making the fishermen group, as well as the Tourism Awareness Group, especially fishermen residing in the seaside which routinely interacts with beach tourism activities, (4), Explores the partnership of fishermen groups between coastal tourism villages to strengthen the capacity of fishermen's resources as an interest group in tourism development policies in Meninting Village, and (5) Increases sum economic-social empowerment of fishermen. Apart from the fishermen's resource capacity, the Meninting Local Government in the future needs to formulate a concrete Meninting coastal tourism program that is sourced from strengths or strengths of the socio-economic aspects of their life in the village.

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The Childless Couple Efforts to Harmonize Their Marital Relationships

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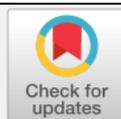
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ABSTRACT

This research is to reveal (1) the childless couple's efforts to harmonize their marital relationships, (2) the efforts against stigma related to childless couples. This research is a quantitative descriptive using a survey approach. This research was conducted in East Pantar District, Alor Regency, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) Province, Indonesia. The respondents were determined by using total sampling. Data collection techniques were carried out through questionnaires, interviews, and literature studies. Data were analyzed quantitatively using frequency tabulation and Likert Scale. The results showed that (1) The efforts to harmonize the marital relationships of childless couples are (a) internal efforts by strengthening communication and cooperation with a partner; (b) couples receive external support. (2) Efforts against stigma are (a) having positive thinking, (b) avoiding conflict, (c) avoiding sensitive talk. Based on the indicators, there were ten respondents' efforts to harmonize their marital relationships. This condition makes married couples have power and deal with the social stigma about them. The conclusion is that married couples make various efforts to harmonize their marital relationships and still hope to have children in their marriage life.

Keywords: Children; Childless; Harmonization; Marital Couples; Stigma

1. Introduction

Generally, every married couple wants offspring because children become a nuclear family maker as well as a generation successor. However, several couples find it not easy and encounter obstacles for having children. The absence of a child in the family results in the silence of a married couple in the household (Pandanwati & Suprapti, 2012) since the presence of children in a family becomes a big hope for married couples (Fariza, 2017). Therefore, they attempt to have children among them.

Consequently, the value of children for families or parents that children are placed where parents pour love, source of family happiness, reasons for consideration of a husband and wife to cancel divorce, and also a place where parents display their various expectations. The existence of children in a family is related to the child's function of parents or their needs who will be fulfilled as a lineage connector, successor to family traditions, the outpouring of love, expectations of parents to children because children are very valuable to married couples (Masdar et al., 2017).

However, not all couples are blessed with children even for years. Socially this problem has an impact on the stigma experienced by the childless married couple. The conditions without children in married life tend to influence decisions such as divorce, polygamy, adoption of children, IVF (In Vitro Fertilization) or stay alive together.

Several studies related to the problem have been carried out such as (1) Efforts to maintain marriage of childless couples where this study explains the phenomena in general, married couples try to have children in various ways. The efforts to have children for long-lasting married couples, both modern and traditional, starting from examining the obstetrician or the shamans. The advice that is needed enthusiasm and support to strengthen partners and eliminate loneliness that has been felt for a long time. All efforts have been conducted even though this did not come to any results. The study focused on the efforts of couples to have children (Fariza, 2017). (2) Research on "Marriage Satisfaction in Childless Couples". This study explains that couples who have marital satisfaction by fulfilling aspects of marital satisfaction that bring about intimate, calm and happy relationships. Couples who have dissatisfaction with aspects of communication, spiritual, conflict resolution, economic, family and friends, nurturing, personality, and role division experience anxiety, boredom, and cause rifts. This research seems to have a focus of study on the psycho-social aspects of married couples (Mardiyan & Kustanti, 2016). (3) Research on "Psychological problems of infertility wives in Sridadi Village, Siampog District, Brebes Regency" (Azizah, 2016). This study explains that couples experience stress with symptoms of heart rate stress becoming faster, sad, angry, afraid to meet people, mood swings, sleep patterns change, moody and not excited, depression with symptoms of fear, anxiety, anxiety, diet changes, feeling guilty, embarrassed and confused, quiet. Feeling disturbance with symptoms of sad, offended and emotional, jealous, avoiding crowds, feeling insecure, mindset disturbances that are thoughts filled with only one thing, feeling God is unfair, blaming themselves, husband/wife, and feeling imperfect. The study approach tends to be psychological.

Based on the studies above, this research focuses on the commitment and consistency of married couples to harmonize their marital relationships also to stand against the stigma about the childless couple. The reality happens to most couples in East Pantar district, Alor Regency, East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia.

This social reality has encouraged this research to reveal about childless couples to harmonize their marital relationships against social stigma.

2. Literature Review

A. The Family Strength

Family Strength is a dynamic condition of a family that has tenacity and resilience and contains physical and mental materials and spiritual abilities to live independently, develop themselves and their families to achieve a harmonious state in improving physical and spiritual well-being ((Undang-Undang-Undang Nomor 10 Tahun 1992 Tentang Perkembangan Penduduk dan Pembangunan Keluarga Sejahtera).

Family strength has five characteristics as a functional family that (1) An attitude of service, (2) Intimacy between husband and wife, (3) Parents who teach and train their children, (4) Husbands who are loving-leaders, and (5) Children who obey and honor their parents (Chapman, 2000).

Furthermore, it is stated that the secret of family strength or family resilience lies in the altruism spirit among family members that are trying to do something for others, doing and moving together, maintaining family relationships, creating a positive atmosphere, protecting shared dignity and celebrating life together (Pearsall, 1996).

Also, family resilience concerns the ability of an individual or family to exploit their potential to face life's challenges, including the ability to restore family functions to the way they were in the face of challenges and crises (*the National Network for Family Resilience*, 1995).

Family strength or family resilience also concerns the ability of families to manage the problems they face based on their resources to meet the needs of their families; Measured using a systems approach that includes input components (physical and non- physical resources), processes (family management, family problems, coping mechanisms) and outputs (meeting physical and psychosocial needs). So the family has: (a) Physical endurance if the fulfillment of food, clothing, housing, education and health needs (indicator: per capita income exceeds the minimum physical needs) and free from economic problems (indicator: free from economic problems). (b) Social resilience if oriented towards religious values, communication takes place effectively, high family commitment (a division of roles, support for advancing and family time together, fostering social relations and problem-solving mechanisms. (c) Psychological resilience of the family if the family can cope with non-physical problems, positive emotional control, positive self-concept (including expectations and satisfaction) and husband's care for his wife (Sunarti, 2001).

It is a holistic concept that assembles the flow of thought of a system, starting from the quality of resource resilience, coping and appraisal strategies. Family Resilience is a dynamic process within the family to make positive adaptations to external and internal hazards (McCubbin & Thompson, 1987).

Otto mentioned the components of family strengths include: (a) Family integrity, loyalty, and cooperation in the family, (b) Strong emotional ties, (c) Mutual respect among family members, (d) Flexibility in carrying out family roles, (e) The ability of care and care in child growth and development, (f) Effective communication, (g) The ability to listen sensitively, (h) Meeting the spiritual needs of the family, (i) Ability to maintain relationships with the environment outside the family, (j) Ability to ask for help when needed, (k) Ability to develop through experience, (l) Love and understand, (m) Spiritual commitment, (n) Active participation in the community (McCubbin & Thompson, 1987).

B. Social Stigma

Erving Goffman stated that Stigma is a concept of symbolic interactionism where the condition of a person or individual is excluded, excluded or disqualified from social acceptance.

Whereas sociologically, stigma arises from the process of interaction involving the community until the individual receives stigma from the community. A stigma is a form of social reaction from the community. Goffman mentions two categories of individuals who have certain characteristics that have the potential to be excluded, excluded, disqualified or rejected by society. Goffman's focus is the interaction between stigmatized individuals and the social control agents that create the stigma. Two types of individuals who are stigmatized according to Goffman include: (1) Discredited stigma, is a condition in which the differences of an individual have been known and proven significantly. Their shortcomings can be seen easily. (2) Discreditable stigma is an individual who gets the assumption that the stigma that exists in him is not directly given by the community because the differences they have are not immediately understood or known to the community. Stigma is accepted by families without children as a process of interaction with the community where families without children are considered as families that fail because it does not produce offspring or inheritors. The stigma given to families without children by the community is in the form of discredited stigma. The difference between families without children and other normal families can be seen clearly with the absence of children in the household. So that married couples who do not have children tend to be underestimated, humiliated or even get prejudice such as infertility, karma or disease. The stigma of a childless family as a family that fails to make one or both of them causes the husband and wife to experience discomfort from the absence of the child in their household, especially if the marriage has lasted long enough. Therefore, the stigma received by a husband and wife without children will affect interactions with the social environment and the social role played by married couples who do not have children.

C. Social Harmony

Social harmony is a state of balance in social life. Two mutually sustainable words, defining the ideal state desired by society. Harmony will be realized if there is an attitude of mutual respect and love between family members or communities who live together and have a variety of differences. The term illustrates the high ideals of social life. Social harmony will never be achieved if conflicts and tensions do not occur frequently within the community members.

In the same way; social harmony can also be understood as a condition where individuals live in harmony to reach development in their society (Mulya, 2015). Therefore, the social harmony that has been realized in the community is always marked by solidarity in various forms such as cooperation (known as *Gotong Royong*) and solidarity.

In this study, social harmonization is a safe and peaceful living condition that is achieved by married couples without children among them. A married couple continues living as a peaceful family in a negative public opinion of them.

3. Research Methodology

This study focuses on efforts to maintain family harmony carried out by married couples without children both biologically and adopted children at the time of this research conducted. There were 18 respondents in Toang Village, East Pantar District, Alor Regency, East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. This number is classified as the highest compared to other villages in the same sub-district (Anonymous, 2017). They were determined as respondents by using the Total Sampling technique. Data collection used questionnaire techniques, interview techniques, and literature review. The questionnaire technique use was intended to generate general data related to indicators in the strength of their marital life harmony. There were 10 questions in the questionnaire. Also, structured interview techniques used to generate deeper information about

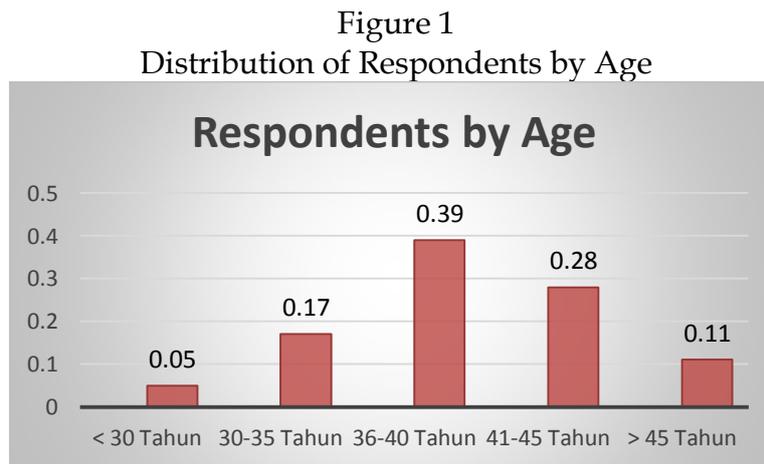
some questions in the questionnaire, so this interview serves as supporting data for the questionnaire. The literature review technique was used to strengthen the theoretical assumptions related to the focus of this study. Data analysis used frequency tabulation with a Likert Scale measurement technique (Sugiyono, 1998). At the indicator level, the measurement used a 5-point Likert Scale with different descriptions.

4. Results and Discussion

A. Respondent Characteristics

1) Ages

There were 18 respondents with various ages as described below:

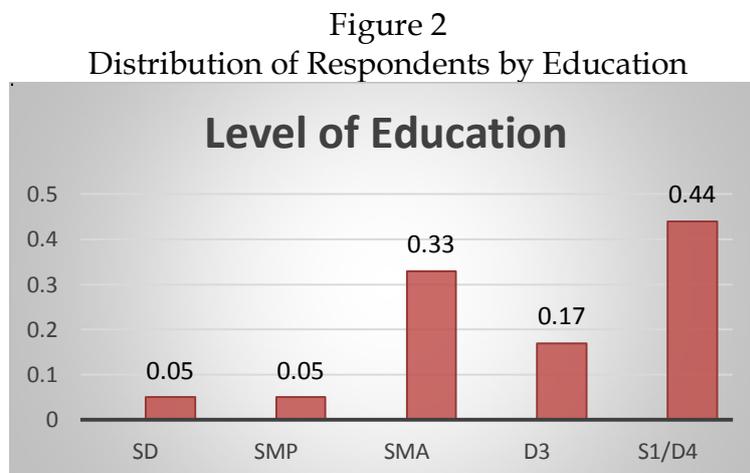


Source: (Primary Data, 2018)

From the figure 1 above, the number of respondents age of < 30 years old were 5% (1 respondent), the respondents between 30-35 years old were 17% (3 respondents), the respondents between 36-40 years old were 39% (7 respondents), the respondents between 41-45 years old were 28% (5 respondents), and the rest of respondents > 45 years old were 11% (2 respondents).

2) Education

Out of 18 respondents were different from the level of education. The differences as in figure 2 below:

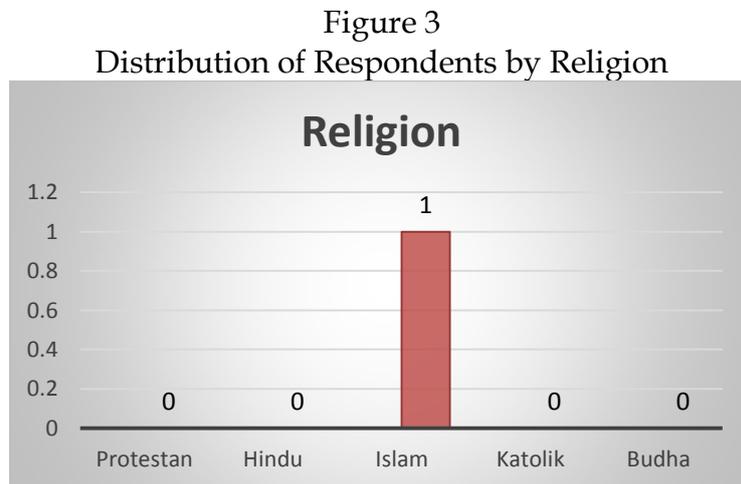


Source: (Primary Data, 2018)

From Figure 2 above, the level of education of respondents were differences. 5.5% (1 respondent) of respondents attended Primary School (SD), 5.5% (1 respondent) attended Junior High School (SMP), 33 % (6 respondents) of respondent attended Senior High School (SMA), 17 % (3 respondents) of respondents attended Three Years College Program (D3), and the rest were 39% (7 respondents) of respondents attended university (Bachelor Degree)

3) Religion

Overall, 18 respondents of this study were homogenous religion as shown in figure 3:

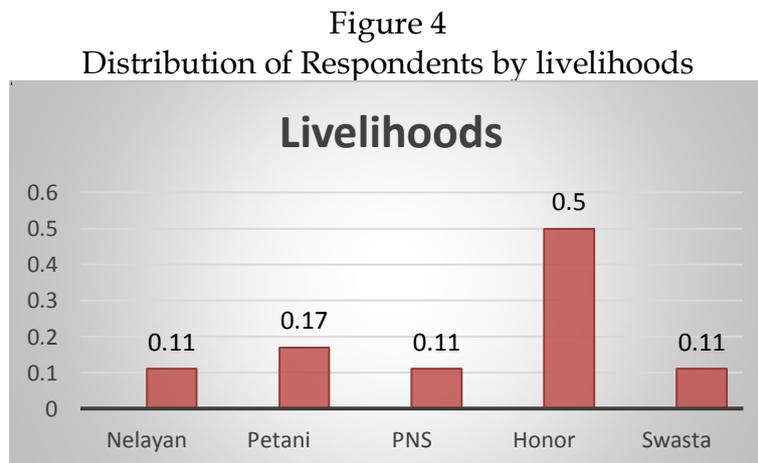


Source: (Primary Data, 2018)

From Figure 3 above, the overall of 18 respondents was Muslim (100%).

4) Livelihoods

Livelihoods are important to meet their daily needs. This indicator was to map the type of respondent's livelihoods.



Source: (Primary Data, 2018)

From Figure 4 above, the respondents' livelihood was varied. 50% (9 respondents) were non-permanent employee in Government service (known as *Honorer*), 11% (2 respondents) of respondents were private-sector employees, 11% (2 respondents) of respondents were

fishermen, 11% (2 respondents) were civil servants (PNS), and 17% (3 respondents) of respondents were farmers.

B. Childless Couple Efforts to Harmonize Their Marital Relationships Internal Efforts

1) Internal Efforts

All respondents stated that it is an ideal life for every couple to live in Harmonious family continuity. The descriptions as shown in table 1:

Table 1
Childless Couple Efforts to Harmonize Their Marital Relationships

No.	Indicators	Likert Scale and measurement
1.	Loyalty in a relationship	(1) never 0%, (2) rarely 0%, (3) sometimes 13,70%, (4) often 24,63%, (5) always 61,67%.
2.	Having emotional intimacy connection to partner	(1) never 0%, (2) rarely 0%, (3) sometimes 11, 46%, (4) often 13, 32%, (5) always 75, 40%.
3.	Respecting each other	(1) never 0%, (2) rarely 0%, (3) sometimes 14, 75%, (4) often 16, 40%, (5) always 68, 85%.
4.	Flexibility in relationships	(1) never 0%, (2) rarely 0%, (3) sometimes 6, 55%, (4) often 22, 95%, (5) always 70, 50%
5.	Communication in relationships	(1) never 0%, (2) rarely 0%, (3) sometimes 0%, (4) often 16, 40%, (5) always 83, 60%.
6.	Listen to partners intentionally	(1) never 0%, (2) rarely 0%, (3) sometimes 0%, (4) often 65, 80%, (5) never 54, 20%.
7.	Fulfilling partners spiritual needs	(1) never 0%, (2) rarely 0%, (3) sometimes 0%, (4) often 50, 82%, (5) always 49,18%.

No.	Indicators	Likert Scale and measurement
8.	Building relationships with partner relatives	(1) never 0%, (2) rarely 0%, (3) sometimes 0%, (4) often 55, 72%, (5) always 44, 28%.
9.	Loving and understanding partners	(1) never 0%, (2) rarely 0%, (3) sometimes 0 %, (4) often 20, 13%, (5) always 79, 87%.
10.	Participating together in society	(1) never 0%, (2) rarely 0%, (3) sometimes 13,70%, (4) often 21, 53%, (5) always 64, 77%.

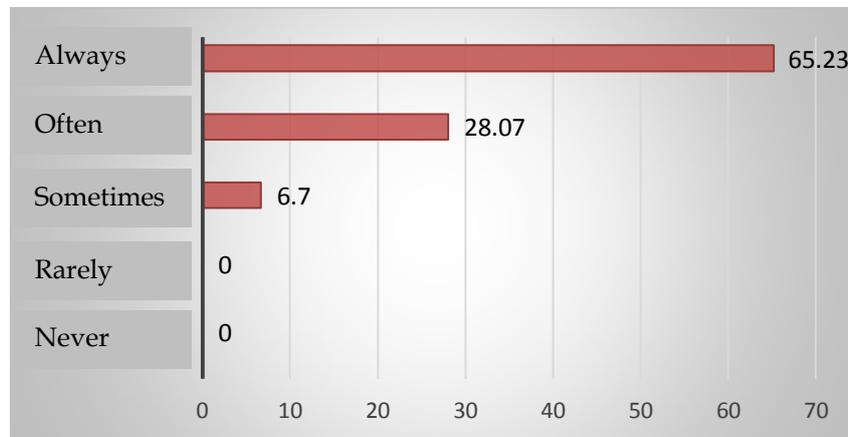
Source: (Primary Data, 2018)

According to Table 1 above, it can be illustrated that out of 10 indicators which represent the efforts of a married couple to maintain a family. The indicator is based on the questions outlined as follows;

- 1) Loyalty to each other, more than three quarters (86, 30%) of respondents who are loyal to the partners and the remaining 13.70% sometimes loyal.
- 2) Having a strong emotional tie with a partner, almost all have it (88, 72%), and only 11.46% sometimes have it.
- 3) Mutual respect, about 85.25% do it and the rest sometimes.
- 4) Flexibility with a partner is important in the family. This is done by almost all respondents (73.45%) and only 6.55% which is sometimes flexible.
- 5) The above flexibility is very much related to the item 'Communication with a partner'. This is a priority because all respondents do it in the details 'always' (16.40%), and 'often' (83, 60%).
- 6) Another thing related to communication is 'listen to partner intentionally.' The results of the questionnaire presented that all respondents listened to their partners intentionally (100%).
- 7) Meeting the spiritual needs of the couple implies inner satisfaction with the couple. It is recognized by all respondents that they meet their needs with each other (100%).
- 8) Maintaining relationships with each other's family environment, each partner does it fully (100%) as a form of support for their marriage.
- 9) Loving and understanding a partner is a must in marriage. All respondents admitted that they loved each other (100%) until the study took place.
- 10) Participating in society with a partner is an indicator of family resilience. Related to this, more than three quarters (86.30%) of respondents were indeed involved in social activities with their partners and the rest were involved only once depending on the availability of each time.

From the whole questionnaire items above, the outcome of the respondents' efforts to harmonize their marital relationships is as follows;

Figure 5
The Outcome of Respondents on Efforts to Harmonize Their Marital Relationships



Source: (Primary Data, 2018)

From Figure 5 above, almost all (92.3%) respondents who try to harmonize their marital relationships even though they do not have children. The rest (6.7%) in the 'sometimes' category does not mean not doing, but rather in certain aspects which conditionally influence their decisions.

To deepen the results of the questionnaire above, researchers also conducted in-depth interviews with 5 selected respondents based on the long-lasting marriage of 10 years and over.

Respondents who have been married for the last 10 years but still have no children, feel anxiety and loneliness but remain optimistic. Respondents stated that although they were anxious because there were no children and were afraid of being separated, they still lived it hopefully while strengthening their ties to remain calm. (Interview HS, 35 years old, on July 19 2018).

Another optimistic attitude was also expressed by married couples Q and F (32 years and 33 years) stated:

“Since we had been married, we were expecting a baby among us. But, the expectation is gone. We never had a baby until today. Maybe God has not blessed us, we are always expecting and praying for a baby, we always respect each other even we realize how important child as our offspring” (Interview on July 16, 2018).

According to the description of the interview above, it reveals that an optimistic attitude towards various things is strength to fight the pessimism due to the absence of children. This situation is also found in the results of research on future optimism in married couples who have not been blessed with children. This optimism is caused by religious belief (Sa'adah, 2018).

Another cause is satisfaction with each other. This is also explained in the findings of a research that although they do not have offspring, each partner is to provide a sense of comfort and satisfaction then the household must survive (Mardiyan & Kustanti, 2016).

The husband and wife above is an image of reality that reveals that the existence of children is indeed important, but far more important is the harmonization of the family with a partner. That is, they do not question the presence or absence of children in their midst. This situation shows that the couple made continuous renewal of the consensus that they had made together before marriage (Hadawiah, 2017).

In contrast to other families who make it a source of conflict so they are less harmonious (Fincham & Beach, 1999). This was confirmed by Sprey that the conflict with the partner was caused by incompatible interests (Laswell & Laswell, 1987).

Figure 6
One of the Respondents (A Childless Couple)



Source: (Kasim, 2018)

Theoretically, respondent efforts (couples without children) to harmonize their marital relationships as described by McCubbin and Thompson have two sides; strengthening inward with a partner and strengthening outward, it is the social environment. The reinforcement is more representative of strengthening interpersonal loyalty commitments for them. Strengthening out with a partner is more 'show on' on the loyalty of the couple that they show to neighbors or the surrounding community. If these two aspects function in parallel then family strength as a 'family resilience' can be realized. The impact then is family harmonization and social harmony.

2) External Efforts

Additionally, the internal efforts as described above, external support also strengthen the existence of a partner. The referred external support often comes from the closest people such as parents, siblings, and friends. They are the spirit of a couple to survive even though not all the closest people provide support. Even, they considered separating and finding a new partner.

In this study, the couple interviewed received support from relatives and parents to stay together with their partners. When there is a sense of boredom in a lonely situation due to the absence of children, then they appear and are present to provide support. This is following the

results of the interview with one of the respondents in the pair R and R (35 years and 37 years), stating:

"The one who understands my situation is my husband and my uncle. Both of them always remind me to stop blaming God. My husband also advises me to live in harmony with each other." (Interview on July 20, 2018).

Other support also comes from friends. This is for example as told by the HRF and RZD couple (47 years and 45 years) who revealed:

"We have an old friend and he often supports us to stay together forever. She also has been long-lasting married but at last, he had a baby. He always tried and prayed. His patience and his experience motivated us."

Based on the above interview description it can be said that support is very important and very helpful. In the context of this research, friends and family are the components that do it most often. In many cases, this aspect did not happen much.

C. Childless Couples Faced Social Stigma

1) Stigma Forms

a. Infertility

Infertility is often noted or stigmatized in couples who have been married for several years but have not yet had a child. This stigma is socially unfounded because couples who do not have children are not only caused by infertility issues but there are other personal factors.

Regarding infertility as a social stigma, there is an impression that this term tends to have a negative meaning. Couples are given the stigma of 'infertility' socially brings the impression that the couple is not good and indicates that there is something bad attached to the infertile couple. This is as revealed by the pairs of respondents CL (36 years) and RHN (32 years) that:

"The word mandul (infertility) means negative and the word is not interested in ears. We never heard the word pointed directly to us. But we sometimes hear it from others to point another. The word hurts us." (Interview on July 21, 2018).

Other couples with different processes so that they do not have offspring do not have the same sensitivity as the pair above. The reason is not due to infertility but weak content. Previously the couple had been pregnant twice but only lasted 3-4 months after having a miscarriage. The couple revealed the following:

"We were happy for 4 months because my wife got pregnant twice. But I don't know why the embryo died and miscarriage happened. It is we don't hurt when someone pronounces "infertility" in front of us because we are different from others. My wife had been pregnant so we are not infertility." (Interview on July 23, 2018).

Based on the description of the interview above, it can be stated that the stigma of 'infertility' is a label that is 'always' attached to people who do not have offspring. This stigma is not all true. But in status, stigma only arises in certain situations. Respondents also reacted naturally because it was part of the process they had to go through so they were just patient, accepted it gracefully.

b. Failed Family

The stigma as 'family fails' is also widely accepted by respondents. This is certainly in the sense that they 'fail' to have children. However, as a stigma, this has a psychological impact and seems negative.

Respondents as 'failed families' feel the psychological pressure both internally and externally. The DRW couple (45 years) and KMS (44 years) tell:

"Hearing people talk about the failed family pointed to us is hurt. But we always pray and hope we have children someday." (Interview on July 16, 2018).

Other respondents HRY (46 years) and SRN (44 years) also told the same:

"People always talk badly on us because of childless. But we just accept it and patience. We believe we will have children someday." (Interview on July 24, 2018).

Based on the description of the interview above, it is implied by the meaning of the respondents that stigma is a necessity that must exist. Therefore, stigma cannot be avoided, but attitude is important in responding.

2) Handling the Stigma

a. Positive Thinking

Respondents who do not have children experience psychological pressure. They are urged to provide evidence of the results of their marriage. Responding to those urges, they learn to control emotions. In this regard, the pairs of respondents Q and F (32 years and 33 years) stated:

"We always get pressure from the family to always check with the midwife about it and until repeatedly urged so that often they are labeled an infertile partner so that they feel bored with family opinions and sometimes even a small fight with the family." (Interview July 16, 2018).

Disputes with family members, such as with parents, in-laws, especially husbands are very difficult to avoid. One way to anticipate this is to discuss issues openly and make an agreement with her husband on how to deal with family pressures. And do not give negative reactions to anything related to the problem of having children. Give a positive response when parents or relatives, or even neighbors, constantly asking questions about children, and see it as a form of attention from them. In essence, respondents always respond to these problems with positive thinking.

b. Avoiding Conflict

Parents or families do not judge their married children even though do not have children. They still provide sincere support, not insistence and stigma. They avoid words that compare with other couples because doing so can offend them. According to the pair R and R (35 years and 37 years), it states that:

"The pressure from the family is very difficult to avoid even by constantly asking why we are not like other couples or because you can no longer have children?" (Interview on July 20, 2018).

It is also as I and S (32 years old and 34 years old), stated that:

“Somewhat difficult to stem the hopes of their parents who always ask when giving grandchildren to the grandmother, this makes them feel there is a burden in their partner's life.” (Interview on July 23, 2018).

A childless married couple is not only stigmatized by the family, but also from the community who always question the couple, which leads to self-isolation. Feeling isolated or feeling isolated is a condition that often occurs to married couples without children. This condition is expressed as feelings of isolation in their environment.

This is as according to pairs Q and F (32 years old and 33 years old) stated:

“They feel inferior when attending family events or gatherings or activities outside the home, such as a family gathering or school reunion because it will make them feel isolated because friends always talk about children's problems and ask them about it.” (Interview on July 16, 2018).

Based on the results of the interview above, it can be explained that avoiding conflict with family, friends, or neighbors is one of the efforts made by respondents. Therefore, when they meet or gather they are quiet or divert a lot of conversation when dealing with children's problems.

c. Avoiding Sensitive Talk

Couples without children often depend on one another for social support, because they do not discuss infertility problems with others, but only with people they trust can provide solutions or help with information. This is as stated by the AHM (44 years) and ZNB (44 years) respondent pairs that they tend to be closed and secretive in revealing their health condition to others, except those they know such as doctors or shamans (“smart people”). Therefore, they are more likely to avoid sensitive talks when meeting family or anyone (Interview on August 2, 2018).

Related to the description above, there are impacts that they can experience when responding to talk about their condition, such as sadness, jealousy or envy, anxiety, isolation, and anger. This condition then caused a shock in their family. However, this did not damage the household of a married couple without children.

In dealing with the problems described above, the couple reacts with one of four ways to overcome family problems, namely by avoiding conflict, succumbing, discussion, and competence (Fitzpatrick & Badzinski, 1994). The thing most often done in avoiding conflict by respondents is to change the subject, and discuss (Dewi & Basti, 2008)

5. Conclusion

Marital couples without children face many challenges, one of which is to maintain conditions of social harmony. There are various efforts to maintain their family or spouse both internal and external efforts. Internally they improve the quality of communication with their partners and externally receive support from family and friends who understand their condition.

Additionally, they also face negative stigma as infertile families and failed families. They deal with it by avoiding conflict, more discussion, and consultation.

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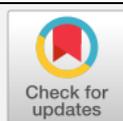
Fatalism and Poverty in Fishing Communities

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to reveal the fatalistic work culture process as a cause of poverty for fishermen. As part of an urgent cultural aspect, Fatalism has been an inseparable part of their social life. Fatalism is an attitude that has been a stronghold for a long time and becomes a habit. In this case, the most important thing to express is the belief or trust of fishermen related to the coastal environment. This research took place on the southern coast of the Sulawesi Island, in Pandang-Pandang village, Arungkeke District, Jeneponto Regency, South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia. The informants were 5 poor fishermen from the Sawi (fishing boat crew) who were interviewed in-depth and conducted observation of the surrounding environment. To strengthen research data, Literature studies, interview and observation results were also conducted. Data analysis used three path techniques including data reduction, categorization, and conclusion drawing. This research shows that; (1) The fatalistic attitude of the fishing community of Pandang-Pandang village manifested in the belief that life has been determined by God while humans only live and accept it, (2) Weak instrumental values of the fishing community in the form of not overly pursuing more values at work. Both of these are fatalistic attitudes. The conclusion of this research is the emergence of a fatalistic attitude in the fishing community is the result of their appreciation of God, Nature, Humans, and Life. This appreciation has been going on for a long time so that it is manifested in the form of an attitude of life than becoming an actor.

Keywords: Culture; Fatalism; Fishing Communities; Instrumental Values; Poverty

1. Introduction

Poverty among fishing communities in Indonesia has long been a concern for both the government and academics. The attention meant among others arises in the form of questions, why the fishing community remains poor on the one hand, while on the other hand, the country's economy experiences growth and improvement. This economic growth could theoretically reduce absolute poverty.

Some research on fishermen stated that this community belongs to the poor group (Suyanto, 2013; Mubyarto, 1984; Kusnadi, 2002, 2004; Masyhuri, 1999; Imron, 2001). Moreover, fishing communities have social groups, some groups are classified as very poor, and they are traditional fishermen and labor fishermen (Retni & Santiasih, 1993).

In fishing communities, indications of poverty seem empirical. This can be seen from the physical facts in the form of very simple residential conditions, woven bamboo walls and thatched roofs, bamboo floors and sandy soil, limited ownership of household furniture, relatively low-income levels, daily consumption patterns, and including education levels of their children (Arifin, 2015). This indicator is also used in Malaysia to see whether fishermen are poor or not (Rasool et al., 2011).

On the southern coast of Sulawesi, the reality of poverty is also seen in a fishing community in Jenepono Regency, South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia. The community is located on one of the long beaches and is occupied by several other fishing communities. One such community is the fishing community of Pandang-Pandang village, Arungkeke District.

In the fishing community, their livelihoods are only as fishermen and they do not have alternative jobs as fishermen in other regions in the same sub-district. The fishing community in this village uses various types of fishing gear by their abilities in the procurement of the equipment. Some of the tools that they commonly use are nets or *lanra* (gillnet), *rinta* (fishing line), and *rengge`* (purse seine). The fishermen rely on these tools as the main source of income for their lives. The condition is also as in Palu (Central Sulawesi) and Sinjai (South Sulawesi) areas where local fishermen use traditional fishing gear (Anriani, 2018; Kamaruddin & Halim, 2014). However, the works do not automatically improve their welfare in general. The fishing community lives is categorized as a backward, isolated, slum, and poor village.

Another social reality as an indicator of poverty in *Sawi* fishermen in Pandang-Pandang village is the levels of dependence on *Punggawa* (the financier), a very low-level education, and uncertainty income. The *Sawi* depend on the *Punggawa* to finance their work activities. Every time they want to go fishing, the *Sawi* always go to the Retainer earlier for routine and maintenance costs. Loan repayments are made after they have income earned after returning from fishing, and so on. Likewise, housewives in meeting their family consumption needs, they must take loans from the Retainer so that eventually they are in debt. They did this because of an income imbalance with their daily needs. The situation gets worse if the season and the weather do not allow fishermen to go fishing so that the debt to Retainer is getting bigger.

The poor fisherman family can still survive. It seems they do not feel the conditions of limitations experienced and even their daily behavior continues and lives life as usual. Besides, they don't even feel poor. Feeling not poor is led to the concepts of structural poverty and cultural poverty.

Several studies related to poverty of fishermen, including; Firth (1966) "Malay Fisherman", Sallatang (1982) on the Fishing Community that emphasizes the term "*Punggawa-Sawi*", a small group of sociological study, with a functional structural approach that found that in the *Punggawa-Sawi* group adaptation functions had taken place, achievement of goals, integration, and maintenance of patterns to create social harmony. Likewise with research conducted by

Basuni (1981) on the view of fishermen who think that fishing is indeed a necessity and is fate for them; Nurland (1988) and Anriani, et al., (2018), regarding the role of women fishermen in a structurally functional household see the role and function of husband and wife in a fisherman's household.

Cahaya (2015), Wekke & Cahaya (2015) found that the root causes of poverty among fishermen are a lack of ability to manage resources and time, as well as access to education that is not utilized. This is caused by cultural factors that fetter the fishermen.

Also, Siswono (2008) highlighted the poverty resistance of the fishermen. The study was about poverty in fishermen due to the lack of response to available jobs, so they could not develop as expected. This is also related to cultural aspects in the lives of fishermen.

This study focuses on the cultural aspect of religious appreciation in the form of fatalistic attitudes as the cause of fishermen poverty. Arifin et al., (2018) stated that fishermen in Indonesia stronghold the supra-rational aspects of their lives. This condition also occurs in the people in the Segeri Sub-district, Pangkajene Islands District, South Sulawesi Province, who have strongly implemented the rituals connected to the metaphysics (Halim et al., 2017). This study aims to explore and reveal the work process of religious appreciation that rise fatalistic attitudes that are the cause of poverty in the fishing community.

2. Literature Review

A. Culture in Fishing Communities

Culture is a value or habit that is owned by the community in carrying out actions in their lives. Culture means material or material and non-material aspects. Taylor (2010) argues that culture is a historical force that adversely affects the low productivity and social inequality in fishing communities is internal because it has long undermined our society, precisely at the beginning of the 17th century. The strength these are spiritual forces (Sufism) which have implications for poverty culture from a cultural perspective.

Cultural factors in economic development in Indonesia were firstly discussed by Boeke in his dissertation (1946). the study concluded that Indonesia's economic system in the past was static and pre-capitalist and impossible to turn into a dynamic and capitalist economic system because in the people's economic system orientation mysticism is stronger than the orientation of economic development. This static nature, according to Boeke, had caused people in Indonesia poor in the colonial era.

Geertz (1963) in his involuntary theory refutes Boeke's conclusion that the static nature of people in Indonesia causes being poor and colonized, it is colonized so that the static nature arises. During the colonial period, the Dutch did not encourage agrarian-industrial transformation, but crushed a dynamic economic system over a static economic system (the era of forced cultivation), so that population growth was absorbed inward, Indonesians became static and deterrent looked forward. In this phenomenon, Geertz calls it agricultural involution, a negative change from an agrarian-industrial transformation.

Geertz's statement about forced cultivation as a cause of Indonesian weakness was denied by Soewardi (1996: 280) with the fact that Indonesians had been weak since the mid-17th century. According to Soewardi, the weak nature is caused by the fact that Muslims entering Indonesia have lost their vital role. At first, the merchants were very dynamic, but because most were married to aristocratic daughters, their offspring were educated in royal traditions that prioritized character and abandoned trade, then combined with Hinduism which gave priority to nobility, eventually giving birth to a culture of nobility with instrumental values the weak.

B. Fishermen Poverty

Poverty has various main dimensions, including; the material dimension is in the form of food shortages and employment that leads to hunger or lack of food. The next dimension is the psychological dimension, among others; powerless, voiceless, dependency, inferior feeling. On the access dimension, which is in the form of inability to access services/infrastructure, as well as the dimensions of assets or property, in the embodiment of not having assets as capital to conduct a decent life such as physical capital (land, livestock, work equipment, occupancy and so on).

Poverty is defined as a condition where a person is unable to maintain himself following the standard of life of the group and is also unable to utilize his mental or physical energy in the group. Historically, the rich and poor together side by side has not been a social problem. Social problems occur when trading develops very rapidly and the emergence of new social values. With the development of trade throughout the world and the establishment of a certain standard of living as a habit of society, poverty arises as a social problem. Poverty is considered a social problem if the difference in the economic position of the community members is determined explicitly (Soekanto, 1997).

According to Lewis (1960), poverty is a culture. The statement is a finding of his study in Latin American Communities both in rural and urban areas to understand their causes of poverty. This research also explains that poverty can arise as a result of cultural values shared by the poor themselves. This situation is rooted in poor environmental conditions and has been passed down from generation to generation. In other words, the poor have promoted the values and behavior of poverty for generations. This behavior resulted; people who live in a culture of poverty find it difficult to free themselves from their influence.

Cultural poverty refers to the problem of individual attitude or society caused by cultural factors, such as laziness, inefficiently life, passive, despite some efforts to solve their problems.

3. Research Methodology

This study is a qualitative study that reveals aspects of culture as a cause of poverty in fishing communities. There are two cultural aspects in this study namely; (1) instrumental value, and (2) fatalistic attitude. Data on this indicator was obtained through in-depth interviews from five traditional fishermen categorized as *Sawi* in Pandang -Pandang Village, Arungkeke District, Jeneponto Regency, South Sulawesi Province. To strengthen the interview data, observations were also made on the social life of the fishing community supported by related literature studies. The data collection was analyzed using the three path technique (Miles & Huberman, 2000) such as data reduction, categorization, and concluding.

4. Results and Discussion

A. Sustenance is God Determination

Faith and hope in God is a tradition handed down from the fishing community of Pandang-Pandang village. This belief is also strengthened and preserved in the form of rituals led by *Pinati* (*The Elders*). The *Pinati* share the belief that Life is God-Given. God has determined men's fortune and men do not know the magnitude of the provisions of that provision. Men only seek and live, but all about sustenance is God's determination. A *Pinati*, KK (58 years old), who is also an informant stated:

"If God has determined sustenance for a certain man that he only has a glass of water so the man must work hard to catch it. The man cannot go beyond a glass of water. If

he tried to go beyond that capacity, the water will spill to another man." (Interview on August 20, 2018)

Additionally, *Sawi Papekang* (crew of a fishing boat) believes the same thing that sustenance has been determined. They are indicated to be quickly satisfied when they have obtained fishing yield, so they prefer the work of *Pagandeng Juku* (fish retailer) to *Papekang Lompo* (fishing fishermen with their equipment). Although some of them, have an income, that is only enough to live daily, not for the long term.

According to Kluckhohn (in Koentjaraningrat, 1982), this is indicated as a cultural orientation, such as the resignation of the fishermen who accept the fate of having to bear the debt due to the fishing yield does not cover the production costs that have been calculated by the parachutes' (financiers and production equipment). In the view of fishermen, sustenance is the same as death. Whatever is done, whatever the outcome, it has been destiny. In general, the fishermen believe in the principle of "*anjo nikanaya assele 'batuji ridalleka*" meaning that the yield (catch) is very dependent on the sustenance (fate or fate of God) for them, *dalle* (sustenance) everyone has been determined (both quality and quantity) by the Almighty. This shows the systematic dependence of "worldly" life on sacred "religion", where the worldly has no value unless it is related to "religion". The dualistic work and fate where worldly work is not done are based on efficiency for productive work ethics. "God's approval" with sharia observance, on the one hand, works efficiently and the sustained fortune is interrelated but not causal.

For those who have the understanding "*bahwa anjo nikanaya assele' batuji ridalleka*" contains the meaning of *hassele* or *dalle* which refers to *Erona Karaeng Allahu Taala* ("merciful of God") which is abstract and mysterious. Fishermen believe that the number of fish caught is believed to be God's "Merciful of God" which is absolutely by His will so that what can be done is to pray and improve e sharia, not by enhancing professional skills in service.

In the end, the belief as above gives birth to the absolute dependence of all events on the "favor" of God in His destiny, which is free from all human actions, making ascetic piety not resting on the empirical world, but on that destiny. They strongly believe in that belief, even in the extreme a fisherman informant (49 years) expressly states:

"The tools or equipment, modern or traditional, it does not affect our yield." (Interview on August 24, 2018).

On the other hand, the "Merciful of God" is also supernatural and mysterious that cannot be recognized after the event. High enthusiasm for achieving economic achievement is believed not to be causally related to fate, fortune, and achievement unless seen as lacking trust in God's "favor". This understanding is seen in different levels of fishermen. But for other groups of fishermen, the more inconsistent with the *Erona Kareng Allahu Taala* or "God's favor", the more productive they look, even though they are seen and see themselves as less godly.

Looking for sustenance can be done in two ways, namely through the mind (supernatural) and the outward way (effort). For many fishermen, the inner (supernatural) method is more dominantly believed to be the only "best" way to find sustenance. This was seen at the salvation ceremony before each fish season in honor of the Khaidir Prophet *Alaihissalam*. The ceremony is a way to request that they survive in the sea and get the abundant fortune. They are convinced that the Khaidir Prophet *Alaihissalam* will appear with his white robe which is a sign of good luck. Although, it is not easy for fishermen watch it.

They are familiar with the old tradition of belief (ancestors) that in the unseen world as in the real world, every place is inhabited (controlled) by spirits. They communicated with spirits traditionally through offerings and prayers from a *Pinati*. This tradition has lasted since pre-Islam until now. Likewise, fortune - fate - destiny is also seen from the unseen world because it comes from God. The unseen world is ruled by God's messenger. Therefore the question of a better livelihood (increased income, prosperity, and luck, etc.) must be pursued supernaturally, namely by respecting the resident (ruler) who was rescued. Therefore, in the Bugis community of Makassar, especially in rural areas contained "dualism of trust", on the one hand, believe in spirits as bearers of sustenance sourced from ancestral beliefs, on the other hand, because they have embraced Islam then they also believe in God Almighty as a provider of sustenance.

All results of operations are submitted to the Almighty. If they don't get profits or they catch less, they accept what they are. Because they believe that the sustenance obtained is determined by the Almighty. This causes a lack of motivation or ambition of fishermen to improve their economy and standard of living because they always feel sufficient in their lives. Although with the conditions of life as it is, but never feel worried about the situation.

Through the inner way, the fishing communities in the Pandang-Pandang village tend to be passive, so that instrumental values do not develop. They prioritize prayer in the form of rites and mystics rather than efforts to develop their instrumental values. Herein lies the relevance of what McClelland (1987: 48) states, cultures that have low Achievement Motives (nAch) may pay more attention to the preservation of their traditions, especially in religious settings.

B. The Weakness of Instrumental Values

Weak instrumental values for some fishermen informants were formed through a long historical process, sourced from the cosmological local doctrine which in its development became part of the local fishermen's knowledge system, including: (1) reliance on the absolute will of God carried out through the inculcation of surrender oneself to fate and destiny; (2) neglect of world affairs which is done through prioritizing the fulfillment of the Godhead orientation and "ignoring" worldly orientation and inculcation of attitude: *zuhud* (distance from world affairs), *qanaah* (limiting world love), *uzlah* (avoiding the crowd).

Poverty and social inequality in fishing communities are not only caused by the exploitation of financiers but also by cultural aspects that are not so visible. Related to this cultural aspect, it can be traced through the *Punggawa-Sawi* work relation system of *parangka'* and work conditions of the fishermen themselves.

In the *parangka'* system, the *Punggawa* guarantees all the needs of *Sawi* and his family. This situation is evident especially in the lean season which makes fishermen unable to go to sea. For the *Sawi*, this is a blessing because their needs are still being met for the *Punggawa's* dependents even though they are unemployed. Yet in this situation, other job opportunities must be sought and done to supplement income. Some work can be done such as masons or construction workers, and plantations. This happens because the cultural orientation that exists in him is only limited to work for a living. In another aspect, they believe in the fate that happens to them. An informant namely BHR (46 years) revealed the following:

"To live in this life, we must believe one thing; whatever we do, our lives never change because God has determined ours." (Interview on August 21, 2018)

This belief is embedded very strongly in their communities. The impact that occurs further due to dependence is the lack of fighting spirit and enthusiasm to work harder.

Their beliefs are also contained in the principle of '*Sukkuruminne tawwa rinigappayya nasaba' ni amo nikanre siagang punna la' busuki niaji parangka' ka assaretawwa angnginrang'* which means that the income is limited to daily needs, after all, *parangka'*, the fishermen leader, has guaranteed their needs. In the context of cultural orientation, this principle ends at the conclusion that fishermen work only for a living. If this is placed in the concept of cultural orientation, Kluckhohn (in Koentjaraningrat, 1982); then the orientation of such fishermen belongs to the fatalistic group. This is because they stop working after income is fulfilled. They work no more than that, even though they can do more than that, for example, to save money in preparation for the future.

On the other hand, during the fishing season, adequate catches obtained are not directed to the stability of the fulfillment of their basic needs but directed to the fulfillment of consumptive needs.

Observing the above description, we can see an indication of the weakness of instrumental value in the fishermen themselves as contained in a fatalistic cultural orientation, consumptive cultural orientation, and income levels that are full of uncertainties.

The phenomenon of poverty in the fishing community based on the results of this study places a fatalistic attitude in a central position in historical studies as a cause of the weak instrumental values of some fishing communities.

In the course of history, religious appreciation related to God, Man, and Nature as a cosmological system of local communities has formed cognitive assumptions about the basic problems in life that are a fatalist. This causes the instrumental values of adherents to not develop and eventually experience poverty which in this study is called cultural poverty. In South Sulawesi, cultural aspects have a distinctive style that may be different in other places, that is, they still believe in mystical things.

Cultural poverty for working fishermen in fishing communities is traced through traits commonly called a strong feeling of marginalities such as fatalism or resignation to fate, wastefulness, and dependency. It can be traced through the comprehension of five basic problems in life as stated by Kluckhohn (in Koentjaraningrat, 1982: 31) which includes; the nature of life, the nature of work, human perception of time, human views of nature, and the nature of human relationships with each other that determine the orientation of human cultural values.

At the research location, the origin of the fatalistic attitude is seen in the way of their comprehension or interpretation of various things. The appreciation of the nature of life is temporary, marked in work only for a living, more time orientation leads to the afterlife, and submissive to the awesome nature and a sense of dependence on others high enough so that there is no need to be too diligent in trying. Human cultural orientation like this is classified in the fatalistic group. In the Islamic psychology perspective, *Jabariyyah* adherents tend to be apathetic, and have weak instrumental value or are not motivated to excel.

Weak instrumental value is then exacerbated through exploitative work relations by capital owners towards working fishermen, both of which are functionally related in the social structure of the fishing community as their container as a cause of poverty (Hakim, 2016). This exploitation was also strengthened by research by Arifin (2015) and Agustang (2006) in the form of unfair distribution of fishermen's catches that benefited the owners of capital rather than working fishermen.

The results of historical studies show the relevance of empirical evidence through the study of several cases to see the influence of exploitative capitalism. Through the power of capital

owners, with the main doctrine of maximizing profits, has formed an exploitative attitude for capital owners towards working fishermen and also towards marine fisheries resources.

5. Conclusion

Fatalistic or an Islamic term known as '*Jabariyyah*', is a cultural value as the result of their appreciation of God, the nature of life, and the nature of human beings. Fatalism is one of the trust values which is a cause of poverty in the fishing communities in South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia.

Fatalism as a result of appreciation (thoughts and experiences) is a dialectical process that lasts a long time in the community. The indicators are the appreciation of God, appreciation of man, appreciation of nature, and appreciation of life. The result of this appreciation is to accept that sustenance is God's determination and men only live and accept it as well. As in a saying "men only seek and live, but all about sustenance is God's determination". This belief is what manifested in the social actions of fishermen. The manifestation leads them not to overworking to improve their situation and condition.

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Accommodating Religious Practices in the Workplace: The Case of Indonesian Workers in Taiwan

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ABSTRACT

The increasing number of Indonesian migrant workers, who are largely Muslims in Taiwan, makes the work environment more diverse. Consequently, the need for diversity management programs such as accommodating religious practices in the workplace has become significantly more relevant. But the extant studies and reports point out those migrant workers, who are largely Muslims, have not been properly accommodated to implement their religious practices in the workplace. The study seeks to understand as how Indonesian migrant workers, who are largely Muslims, experience a kind of deprivation of their religious practices in the workplace. To that end, it uses a qualitative case study method to investigate a group of Indonesian Muslim workers of the X Company who were deprived to observe daily prayers in the workplace. The results of the study evidently found that the employer views that accommodation of such religious practices in the workplace as unreasonable for the company. The results further showed that the accommodation of religious practices of Indonesian Muslim workers was considered as unreasonable because of some important issues such as disruption of job duty, inflexible work schedule, other workers' concern/objection, facility cost and management response/approach. Accordingly, the study suggests some recommendations. First, the Taiwanese employer needs to sit together with relevant government institutions and religious leaders to formulate a specific policy on the accommodation of religious practices in the workplace. Second, as a single case study, the results of this study might lack of external validity (generalizability). It therefore strongly suggests prospective researchers to do a cross-cases study of this phenomenon or issue.

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1. Introduction

The increasing number of Indonesian migrant workers who are largely Muslims in Taiwan, makes the work environment more diverse. According to the Taiwanese official report released by the Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS), numbers of migrant workers in Taiwan amount to 706,000. Indonesian are the largest with 271,000 people (38.4 percent), followed by Vietnamese with 221,000 people (31.4 percent), and Filipinos with 154,000 people (21.8 percent) (DGBAS, 2019). Indonesian Economic and Financial Statistics Report released by the Bank Indonesia (2019) gives a different number of Indonesian migrant workers in Asia excluding ASEAN as below:

Table1
Number of Indonesian Migrant Workers (IMWs) By Host Country
(Thousands of People)

No	Country	2015	2016	2017	2018
1	Hong Kong	153	132	178	208
2	Taiwan	182	177	208	264
3	South Korea	31	25	24	28
4	Japan	26	24	23	23
5	Macau	16	16	16	16
6	Others	3	1	1	0
Total		411	375	450	539

Source: (Bank Indonesia, 2019)

The data evidently show the increasing numbers of Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan for the last four years. This increasing trend has been partly due to the attracting and welcoming policy of Taiwanese companies and government to migrant labor market such as Indonesia, Philippine, Vietnam etc. Along with opportunities, the increasing flow of migrant workers brings unintended impacts culturally and socially on both Taiwanese society and companies, and the migrant workers themselves. One of the unintended impacts is the urge of diversity management program for the migrant workers such as accommodation of their religious practices in the workplace. Whilst, for the Taiwanese employers this also demands more work environment adjustments which might cause more costly to the company.

Although some recent studies and practices extend the health and safety issue to include religious, gender, and other cultural needs as integral part of employee well-being (Achyldurdyeva et al., 2019; Sharma, 2016; Wu & Chiang, 2007). Yet the policy makers and company managements in particular did not pay due attention to deal with such issues properly. For instance, The Newslens (2016/08/16), quoting from The 2015 International Religious Freedom Report says: "Taiwanese authorities appear to have finally noticed that despite the protections for religious freedom enshrined in the Constitution, hundreds of thousands of domestic workers are still unable to attend religious services". The news further says, "The largest single group of migrant workers is from Indonesia, with a population of

approximately 236,000 persons who are largely Muslim". This finding is strengthened by 2017 Human Rights Report on Taiwan, which points out that a large number of foreign workers, approximately 600,000, who primarily from Indonesia were not properly guaranteed their rights to attend religious services (U.S. Department of State, 2017).

Taiwan has actually enacted some relevant regulations and laws concerning migrant workers. It started from the Employment Service Act of 1992 which established a regular guest worker program to the Fair Labour Standards Act and the Labour Safety and Health Act. But the problem is that such basic labor protection legislations do not cover all basic rights of migrant workers yet, especially religious rights (FIDH/TAHR, 2013; Abella, 2009). For instance, the 2018 Human Rights Report on Taiwan reports that although amendment to the law for health and safety standards was recently made, yet it did not address the issue of migrant workers' rights to observe religious practices (U.S. Department of State, 2017).

Beside of regulatory issues, deprivation of such basic rights is because migrant workers are mostly not aware of the Taiwanese labor rights and ways to seek legal help. Even if they are aware, they are usually unwilling to report employer abuses for fear the employer would fire them (Melchert, 2017). Melchert (2017) further argues that a lack of government monitoring also makes these policies or regulations ineffective.

It is therefore not surprising that cases related violations of the basic rights of migrant workers continue until today. For example, in the beginning of 2019, many Indonesian newspapers were massively reporting the issue of maltreatment of Indonesian workers in Taiwan (CNN Indonesia, Jan 2, 2019; Kompas.com, Jan 3, 2019; Republika.co.id, Jan 2, 2019). The issue has raised a grievance concern from Indonesia government, and Taiwanese government and companies. The maltreatment issues range from over-working hour, unhealthy working conditions to the harassment of religious belief and practices. The issue of employees harassment in the workplace in Taiwan was not really new and has been well covered by some studies (Chiao, 2008).

Based on the aforementioned issues, this study seeks to answer questions such as: How do Indonesian Muslim workers experience the deprivation of religious practices in the workplace? Why does the company management not accommodate the religious practices of Muslim workers in the workplace?

2. Literature Review

Accommodation of religious practices in the workplace has lately become an important topic in the field of Human resource Management, especially the diversity management program. Some studies point out the emerging trend of religiosity in the workplace which are mostly in the European context. For instance, Webley (2011) points out the contextual factors of religion in the workplace, such as immigration, the internationalization of business operations, the diversity agenda, generational differences, employee well-being, and recent legal developments. The other factor is wider acceptance that workforce diversity is not only ethically correct, but also economically beneficial. Griffiths (2016), for instance, argues that accommodating the employees' religious needs in the workplace can improve important company goals; "employees' well-being, a company's public image and help with the recruitment and retention of staff". The other scholars point out that the issue of generational differences has a significant impact on the religiosity in the workplace. It is argued that employees' conception and expectations of the workplace today are quite different from their predecessors. As Griffiths (2007) correctly point out, "They are part of a culture which has

placed a strong emphasis on the freedom to choose – not just for goods and services, but the freedom to choose their own value systems, beliefs and lifestyle”.

Consequently, companies will need to consider of accommodating diverse religious identities and practices in the workplace. But the questions arise as follows: (1) to what extent the company has to accommodate the religious practices? (2) Whether is it reasonable or unreasonable to accommodate such religious practices in the workplace? And many other related questions. To answer this question, we need to have a comprehensive understanding of what really means by reasonable accommodation. There is no agreed upon definition of reasonable accommodation. A number of studies define reasonable accommodation as one that eliminates the employee conflict between the religious practices and work requirements and that does not cause an undue hardship for the employer (Anti-Defamation League, 2015). On the contrary, employer’s refusal or reluctance to make any meaningful adjustment to the work environment that allows employee to comply with the religious belief is considered as a failure/absence of reasonable accommodation (Ghumman et al., 2013). Such work environment adjustment varies from place to place or religion to another. But generally it relates to various religious needs from work schedule, dress and grooming, to religious expression or practice at work.

In addition, Dessler (2014) points out that reasonable accommodation might include redesigning the job, modifying work schedules, or modifying or acquiring equipment or other devices. It is a broad area that might include almost anything of a religious nature. Practically, an employee may need a leave for a particular day every year for a religious holiday; a particular hour of every week for Sabbath/Friday sermon; or to wear religious garb; to have a place to pray. But Van Bever (2018) argues that companies need not to agree to all religion-related demands of employees, but what they need to do is to make an attempt at a reasonable accommodation. Reasonable accommodation is that an employer cannot simply say “NO” to employee’s religious needs.

Another characteristic that constitutes a reasonable accommodation is that such accommodation does not cause undue hardship. Undue hardship means that the accommodation of employee’s religious needs causes no harm to others, and involves minimal cost, disruption or inconvenience (Wintemute, 2014). A similar definition is put forward by Harrison (1977) that undue hardship is viewed as an accommodation which creates a “more than de minimis cost” or burden to the employer. Whereas Griffiths (2016) go further by proposing the idea of ‘reasonableness’ threshold, that includes an assessment of the impact of the accommodation. In principle, the implementation scenario must be based on a rational scale of priority as Bader et al., (2013) put it:

“Where a fully equal treatment is either impossible or unfair to cultural and religious majorities, fairness-as-evenhandedness is the right second-order principle and reasonable accommodation is the appropriate way or method to sort things out”.

According to Ghumman et al., (2013) there are three major aspects of accommodations that have been the subject of study and need further research/investigation: (1) grooming and dress accommodation, (2) observance and practice accommodation, and (3) work duties accommodation. Extant studies on grooming/dress code accommodations usually center on the treatment of Muslim applicants and employees wearing head scarves (Ball & Haque, 2003). While the literature on accommodation of religious practice usually centers on the time of its implementation as conflicted with work schedules. Above all, one of the more contentious

accommodation issues, according to Kelly (2008) are cases where employees object to performing work duties that conflict with religious beliefs.

3. Research Methodology

The study is a qualitative case study of a group of Indonesian migrant workers who experienced a deprivation of religious practices in the workplace. It uses a case study because it has the capacity to provide in-depth knowledge about an individual's experience in a particular context and time (Merriam, 1998). The other rationale is because of its focus on depth rather than breadth (Yin, 2014).

Participants of the study were four Indonesian migrant workers who experienced a kind of deprived accommodation of their regular prayers in their workplace in Tainan. The study used purposive and snowball sampling technique in that it is initially relying on two workers, but in order to verify and crosscheck the data, the other two workers were invited into the interview. In addition, one participant was a Taiwanese employer.

The data were collected mainly through an in-depth interview and a loosely group discussion. The study was conducted intensively from September to December 2018. Nonetheless, the interaction with the participants had begun from early 2018. The interviews with participants took place several times, especially during their gathering activity on Sunday mostly in Tainan Park. The gathering usually formally lasted for 2 hours. But a light discussion and chatting continue until evening. Within such situation, we conducted a loosely group discussion about the issue/case. The interview and discussion were done in Indonesian language. But the excerpts were later on translate into English.

Finally, we run the data analysis through the following processes: coding, combining emerging codes into themes, verifying themes through a follow-up interview, and drawing conclusions (Creswell, 2008; Miles et al., 2014). The validity mechanism used triangulation or multiple sources of data, and looking for counter examples (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2011). Apart from that, a prolonged interaction with participants strengthens the validity of this study.

4. Results and Discussion

A. Results

1) The Case Overview

The study took a case happened at an electrical equipment manufacture in Tainan, a southern part of Taiwan, wherein some Indonesian migrant workers experience a kind of deprivation of religious practices, daily prayers. In terms of employee size, the firm is categorized as a medium enterprise with approximately less than 200 employees who are mostly migrants from Southeast Asia. Indonesian workers are approximately 50. There is not valid information as when Indonesian migrant workers exactly started working there. For confidentiality reasons it will be simply referred as "the X Company".

The deprivation of religious practices, especially daily prayers actually happens since they have been working in the company. Not all Muslim workers really pay heed to daily prayers. Some of them just succumbed to such unsupportive situation and simply did not offer prayers. But some others tried to inquire as how they could perform daily prayers during the work hours in the workplace. But they found that it was quite hard to do so. They consequently either left the prayers or postponed it until they got to their dormitories. But as time goes on, they tried to a find a way to do daily prayers in the workplace. Sometimes they did it during the afternoon break at some places that were considered "safe" and unnoticed by supervisor and other employees. But sometimes they did it during work hours for the evening prayers. They

used to take some minutes off, for example, twice during work hours for the noon and evening prayer. They admitted that sometimes they “cheat” work time. At the end of 2017, some of them caught red-handed by their superior. As a result, they were punished and were strongly warned if they continue to do so. According to them, they tried to explain to the supervisors about their religious duties to perform daily prayers. However, the supervisor could not accept their explanation and stick to the decision to forbid them from doing them at the workplace. The supervisor insisted that such practices might disrupt the performance and reduce productivity. The supervisor threatened them to be fined and even fired if they keep doing so.

2) Participant Profile

For confidentiality reasons, participants of the study are only named as participant A, B, C and so on. Participant A is 25 years old and a single. The participant is from Tegal, a city in the Central Java province, Indonesia. At the time of this study, the participant has been working in the company for almost 2 years. Participant B is about 40 years old from Ponorogo, a city in the East Java Province, Indonesia. The participant is married and has 3 children and has been working for 3 years. Participant C is 30 years old from Magetan, a city in the East Java Province, Indonesia. The participant is married and has a son. The participant has been working in the company for 2 years. These three participants have been working in the X Company. Participant D is about 40 years old and also from Magetan. Participant D is not working in the X Company and did not really experience a deprivation of religious practices in the workplace. Participant D was interviewed because the person is a committee member of the Indonesia Migrant Forum in Tainan. Participant D might give a broader view and more information about such cases in other companies in Taiwan. All these participants came to and work in Taiwan because they hardly found a good job for them in their home cities. They got job opportunities in Taiwan through an agent in Indonesia. Last, participant E is a Taiwanese employer. The person owns a relatively small electrical equipment manufacture. The participant E employs migrant workers from Southeast Asia, some of them are Indonesian. We are able to have a contact with participant E, facilitated by a senior Indonesian who has been in Taiwan for almost 10 years. We met and had a discussion three times in a restaurant in Tainan. The view, opinion and experience help us to have a better and more balance understanding about the case.

3) Community and Religiosity

Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan and Tainan in particular come from different region of Indonesia. They mostly come from Central and East Java. As such, they have been affiliated into different ethnic, locality, and religious groups and communities. All these different groups and communities are coordinated by Forum Kerukunan Keluarga Besar Warga Indonesia di Taiwan (FKKBWIT), a forum for Indonesian Migrant Workers. It is an organization recognized by Kantor Dagang dan Ekonomi Indonesia (KDEI), Indonesian Government Representative. They used to have a gathering and agenda on Sunday and some religious holidays like Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha. The activities usually take place in public places such as Tainan Park. Based on a long participant-observation, generally, Indonesian migrant workers, including the participants were not really adhering to their religious teaching and practices. But the circumstances changed when they came and lived in Taiwan. Perhaps being far away from home and family, and living in a foreign country strengthens their religiosity. For instance, according to participants, when they were in Indonesia they did not practice daily prayers regularly. But since they have been working in Taiwan, they started to do it regularly.

Performing religious practices help them console their sense of alienation. They, therefore, regularly organize and attend religious festival, sermon and teaching (*pengajian*).

4) Job Description

Three main participants are mainly working on the production line. As unskilled workers, their main job deals with packaging. The job duties are two types; (1) to wrap finished electronic goods, (2) to place all finished products on pallets to be delivered to other locations within the factory. According to participant A, there is no a really written job description for this kind of position. What participant A needs to do is just making sure that all finished electronic products pass by the person is being packed properly. The entire day participant A just sits or stands in front of hundreds or thousands of electronic products that are lined up and ready to pack. If the shifting time comes, participant A is usually tasked to place all finished products on pallets to be delivered to other locations within the factory. But, again the main duty is just a rough work dealing with the last chain of the production line. Participant A could not recall the number of finished stuffs that participant A can wrap in a day. The number is quite a lot. There is hundreds of finished stuff lined up in front of participant A. Although the job seems very easy and simple, the burden is in its process. It is demanding, in that participant A has to keep wrapping one after another without interval. According to participant A, it is really painstaking. Not because it is hard, but because the number is huge and the process without interval. The same description is also told by the other two participants.

5) Job Requirement

Basically, there is no such specific skill needed to perform that job. The only job requirements are diligent, tidiness and precision in wrapping. This is understandable in line with the job duties described above. Participant B commented that 'patience' is the key and properness is the performance. There is no special job orientation given to perform such duty. Participant D was trained to just observe first how thing done. And within days the person had been able to perform that. The qualification for this job is low. An employee who even did not finish secondary school might also be recruited. According to this participant most of the co-workers who happen to be migrants had never attended any college or university. Quite differently, participant C narrated a kind of brief and informal orientation when joined the company.

6) Job Responsibility

As packaging workers, the participants are responsible for a kind of production line supervisor. According to them, usually the supervisor will give a short instruction and inspection several times a day such as before the working, before and after breaking and before leaving. The supervisor usually makes sure that the job is done before the workers leave the workplace either for noon break or for final leave. But the supervisor also may from time to time makes an inspection to make sure the things are done properly and smoothly. If the supervisor considers the packing is improper or the working pace slowing down, the supervisor will rebuke and even scold the workers. If the person and any worker need do an urgent thing such as going to rest room, the worker needs to make sure that the supervisor considers it to be the real situation. Not just a cheating to avoid the duty.

7) Team Work

They do not perform this job themselves. There are other migrant workers from different countries. The workers are made into groupings. In particular spot there are some groups doing the packaging. A group usually consists of five to ten workers. The working relationship with co-workers is an important part of job performance. The participants consider that it is important to have friendly co-workers. If there is no a kind of understanding among group members, some sort of jealousy or suspicion of free riding usually arises. For instance, to take permission to rest room needs a kind of "gentlemen" agreement among them about frequency, duration and so on. If they fail to develop such kind of understanding, the working environment will be stressful. According to participant A, it happens many times that the supervisor knows something happened due to the report from the co-worker. In a nutshell, a co-worker may be a good friend and also hostile foe.

8) Working Schedule

Their working day is four days and one day overtime work in a week. The working hours per day are twelve hours; two hours considered as break time and the other two hours calculated as overtime. There are two shift times; day and night shift. The working hours starts from 8 or 9 am until 9 pm. The first break is in the noon for lunch time and the second break in the evening for dinner time. Except for these times, the employee is not allowed to take another rest or break.

B. Discussion

Based on the above case overview, we might have a clue why it is difficult for them to perform daily prayers in the workplace. It might be also understood why the supervisor insisted that they cannot continue performing prayers during working hours and in the workplace. Following discussion elaborates further emerging themes which might give us a better understanding of the case.

1) Disruption of Job Duty

Packaging is not really hard, but painstaking and patience demanding. It is a job duty to continually do packaging with a huge number of finished stuffs and without a real flexible interval that makes them difficult to leave a job and perform prayer. If they leave two times, for instance, the lined up stuff will be a lot and somehow overload them. The impact is not only on their job duty alone, but also affect the workers in the group. According to them, their supervisor objected to accept the explanation with some considerations. First, if the supervisor grants the Muslim workers such additional break for prayer the other workers might demand the same treatment based on belief or religious claims. The supervisor argues that the company cannot make sure which religious claims are really true. Every worker may make such "fake" religious claim. Participant A says:

"...My supervisor once said who knows you guys are really performing a prayer or just cheating the break".

Second, the number of Muslim workers is quite huge. If he allows them to perform prayer during working hours, it may cause a kind of disruptions.

2) Other Workers' Concern/Objection

The other issue is that their regular leave of the job also affects the performance of the whole group. The workload will be felt also by their co-workers. This situation may cause inconvenience to their co-workers. The frequent rest taking is considered as an act of free riding. It, thus, causes a kind of unfriendly working relationship among group members. On this issue, participant A comments:

"I think our non-Muslim friends feel uneasy if we too often go to restroom to perform a prayer. I feel uncomfortable too".

In addition, according to them, they suspect that their co-worker who really inform the supervisor about their practices. It is therefore very important to make sure that all of their co-workers really understand the religious practices. If they can accept that, they may be also able to convince the supervisor that the practice will not disrupt the performance. But as participant B admits that it is a matter of cultural difference in that it is not easy to understand different religious issues. Sometime this participant may be able to discuss with the co-workers about religious duties. But most of the time it is quite hard to expect co-workers to regularly give participant B a kind of "special treatment". Some employees, the participant said, even question why it is so often to perform five times in a day. The others are just arguing that the workplace has nothing to do with religious practices. Likewise, participant C used to encounter complaint from the non-Muslim coworkers and question from the supervisor. Participant C narrates:

"...my non-Muslim friends and supervisor do not understand why I have to do prayer many times every day. They consider me very conservative".

3) Inflexible Work Schedule

"Fifteen minutes are so precious," participant C said, imitating the supervisor's comment. That was approximately the statement of the supervisor after finding this participant regularly performing prayer during working hours in the factory. Tight working schedule makes participant C difficult to perform the prayer. And at the same time, it is also difficult for the supervisor and the co-workers to make necessary adjustment. Once the co-worker told this participant that they are unskilled workers, doing rough jobs. "We are not a white collar worker, so do not expect more," the co-worker told the participant. According to this person, due to such working schedule the participant used to miss three times prayer. Participant D who is a committee member of FKKBWIT agreed that to adjust work schedule to accommodate daily prayers is still a common issue faced by most Muslim workers. But the participant argued that especially for Islamic festivals/ holidays like Eid Al-Fitr many companies have already given a day break or leave to their Muslim workers.

4) Prayer Room and Facility Cost

The other issue is that performing regular prayer, five times in a day, also requires praying room facilities in the workplace. But the factory design is not supported for such religious practice or meditation. According to them, there is a proper place to perform prayer, but it is outside the working place. Most of the times they perform a prayer just near by the rest room that may be considered not proper. According to their story, apart from the cost calculation, the supervisor argues that it is quite unreasonable to allocate a specific room for employee prayer

or mediation. For it may cause a kind of redesigning of workplace and providing related facilities.

In fact, to do daily prayers need not a specifically- designed prayer room like *Musala* (small mosque) in Indonesia. The only requirement for the place is clean and proper. It seems that most Indonesian workers, including participants do not really understand this properly. Participant D shared the experience and the experience of other Indonesian workers, participant D narrates:

“..There is no a prayer room like musala in Indonesia. But I am still able to use some proper places easily. It is ok for me”.

Nevertheless, the person argues that recently some Taiwanese companies, especially in Tainan have tried to understand and accommodate their Muslim employees’ practices. Furthermore, the participant says that some companies nowadays already have provided a space for meditation or a multi-function place.

5) Management Response

The company management, particularly the supervisor responded to a demand for accommodation of such religious practices with some sorts of suspicion and confusion. The management used to suspect that such demand as “fake claim”. Sometimes the management also got confused and failed to understand as why Muslims need to rigidly observe prayers many times in a day. Unfortunately, due to resource and access issue, we are unable to interview the management of the X Company. As an alternative, we have an opportunity to have an interview with a Taiwanese employer who employs many Indonesian workers. This interview helps us to enrich the discussion and gives a better understanding of the case. This participant confirms that most of Taiwanese employers are quite curious why a Muslim is so rigid to pray five times a day. This person also openly argues that workplace is a secular place and has nothing to do with religion. He argues:

“In my opinion, religion is private business and need not to disrupt public concerns. While the factory is a secular place, so you guys just do a prayer in church or your home”.

In terms of any specific policy on the issue, the participant admits that the company has not developed any written policy yet. But discussing about the claim that accommodating such religious practices might cost the company a lot, insofar the participant does not make any solid proof. Even this participant admits that most of the company does not really make any real calculation and estimate. The participant argues:

“There is no really valid account about the cost. It is just a guess”.

Apart from the management role, this participant also claims that such accommodations might be easily provided if the government advocates a friendlier working environment for Muslim workers through formulating a clear and specific regulation and policy. For instance, Tainan government, in coordination with companies’ management, took some measures to facilitate religious practices of Muslim workers such as instructing the firms to offer a day-off for celebrating Holy days such as Eid al-Fitr or Eid al-Adha. The government of Tainan even

arranges a kind of open-house and festival on the occasion of Eidl al-Fitr and invites the Muslim workers and students to come. This participant further argues that government, Indonesian representative and authoritative religious leaders need to sit together with companies to give correct information about such religious practices and discuss how to properly accommodate such practices in the workplace. But this person also admits that practically, accommodation of such religious practices mostly depends on the management approach of each and every particular company.

5. Conclusion

The study found that the religious practices of Indonesian Muslim workers such as daily prayers have not been accommodated properly in the workplace. The employer views that accommodation of such religious practices in the workplace as unreasonable for the company. The study found a number of reasons behind this as follows. 1) Job disruption. The result showed that tight and painstaking job duty might not tolerate Muslim workers to perform daily prayers in the workplace. 2) Working schedule. The conventional and inflexible working schedule might not be compatible with prayer times for Muslim workers to offer prayers during work hours. 3) Facility cost. The result showed that accommodating daily prayers of Muslim workers also encounters a problem of providing a special prayer room and its related facilities. The company management also views that it may cause more costly to the company. Although, claims such companies, are not supported by calculations and real estimates. 4) Other workers' concerns. This study pointed out that accommodation of the daily prayers of Muslim workers strongly relates to other non-Muslim workers. Objections or concerns from other workers might make such accommodation unreasonable. 5) Management response/approach. The accommodation of religious practices of Muslim workers very much depends on the management response/approach. If the employer or management is willing to understand or at least open a dialogue with employees about their religious practices, it would be more reasonable to accommodate such religious practices.

Based on these findings, the study suggests following recommendations. First, Taiwanese employer needs to understand the implication of hiring Muslim migrant workers such as accommodation of their religious practices. Second, practically the management should review extant policies on migrant workers as whether these have covered the accommodation of religious practices or not. If they do not, they need to formulate such policies. Third, the management needs to build a constructive communication with employees concerning their religious belief and practices, and pursue a kind of understanding and agreement on their accommodation. Fifth, technically the management also needs to develop metrics to assess the cost of accommodation to address any claims of undue hardship. In doing these steps, management needs to sit together with relevant government institutions and to consult representatives of employees' religious group. Last, as a single case study, the results of this study might lack of external validity (generalizability). It therefore strongly suggests prospectus researchers to do a cross-cases study of this phenomenon or issue.

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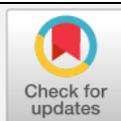
The Process of Migration and Communication Technology Roles among Labor Migrants in Batam - Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This research explains the roles of communication technology on the migration process of labor migrants in Batam, Indonesia. Differences between places are strong reasons for people to migrate. The advances in communication technology have freed up opportunities for people to migrate. Technology has made it more accessible for migrants to raise links to their next destination through the internet. Interactions within communication technology make migration easier by decreasing the expenses and risks of moving. The explanations in this research are to understand the communication technology for the migrating process and calculate the social networks of migrants. This research applied mixed methods to explore the migration process with data collected included quantitative data from a survey with 500 respondents and supported by qualitative data from in-depth interviews. The results: 1) Communication technology helps migrants in the migration process, especially for searching for information about the destination area. 2) The migrant who uses communication technology has a strong social network and less risk of migration. The role of communication technology in the migration's processes is as a tool to maintain social ties of migrants, migrant uses their social media to make contact and gain information about their destination. This research related to Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) target number 10.7 which facilitates orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies, communications technology facilitate safe and well-managed migration.

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1. Introduction

Social and economic differences between the two regions are a strong reason for people to migrate. This condition supported by the development of communication technology. Technology makes migration more accessible and opened up an opportunity for people to migrate. Information from communication technology through social media reduces the cost and risk of moving. Social media minimized geographical boundaries from places and sensitized people to move.

Migrants move to a place where they have a connection; this connection sped up by information technology through the internet and social media. In this globalization era, migrants communicate with more modern internet technology. Using these technologies, the migrant will better understand the conditions of their destination. Social media are used to create and establish a long-distance connection.

This paper is to explain the impact of communication technology on the migration process of labor migrants in Batam, Indonesia. Communication technologies can act as a tool and facilitate migration. Migrants use social media to establish a connection with the people in destination areas. Communication technology also determines the selection of migration locations. The social media establish a new relationship between migrants and their next destination, primarily to help in finding accommodations or jobs (Hiller & Franz, 2004).

Economic factors, including job availability and wage differentials, are among the primary motivations of the population to migrate. This migration flow caused by economic factors was revealed by Todaro (1980) and Harris & Todaro (1970) who stated that migration developed because of differences in income between regions, especially between urban and rural areas. Migrants from areas that receive lower wages choose various employment opportunities available in other cities and maximize the benefits they get from migrating. Likewise, with labor migration, migrants will constantly come to regions that have attractive factors, including better employment opportunities and wages. Vidyattama's (2014) study shows that differences in wages and types of work have a positive effect on the flow of labor migration in Indonesia.

Batam is one of the objectives of internal migration in Indonesia (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2016) and most of the working age migrant population, namely in the age range of 20-34 years. The migration of working age migrants is motivated by improving their competitiveness. Through migration, they are expected to increase their human capital and competitiveness. In addition to economic reasons, the factors that influence migration are personal motives such as education, career development, returning to the place of origin, to get new experiences (Malamassam et al., 2016). Batam City, as a destination for migration, has answered the expectations of migrant workers in fulfilling their motivation to move.

Batam has become the primary destination for migration because the government's success in developing this city has become an area of the industry, trade, shipbuilding, and tourism. The tidal conditions of Foreign Investment (PMA) and Domestic Investment (PMDN) did not dampen the interest of migrants to find work in Batam City. In fact, according to Indonesia Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM) data in 2016, the value of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) increased by 46.6 percent (Rp. 4.27 trillion or 63 projects) compared to 2015. This increase

in FDI and PMDN attracted more interest in migrants coming to Batam City, which provided thousands of jobs for young people.

2. Research Methodology

The explanations in this research are to understand the communication technology for the migrating process and calculate the social networks of migrants. This research used primary data to explore the research questions. The data collection included quantitative data from a survey with 500 respondents and supported by qualitative data from in-depth interviews. The sample selection method used the three-stage Probability Proportional Size (PPS) sampling. The first stage of this sample selection technique was the random selection of districts (five districts). Next, the second stage was carried out to select four villages randomly from the selected sub-districts in the previous stage. In the last stage, respondents were chosen randomly in each selected village. Questionnaires will be filled out if the selected respondents met the criteria for ages 20-34 and the main activity during the past week was work.

3. Results and Discussion

A. Batam as a Destination Area for Migrant Worker

Batam is one of the industrial cities in Indonesia that provides thousands of jobs. This condition makes it the destination of labor migration from all regions in Indonesia. Various job opportunities created by the industry and higher minimum wages of the city are the main attraction for migrant workers to come to Batam.

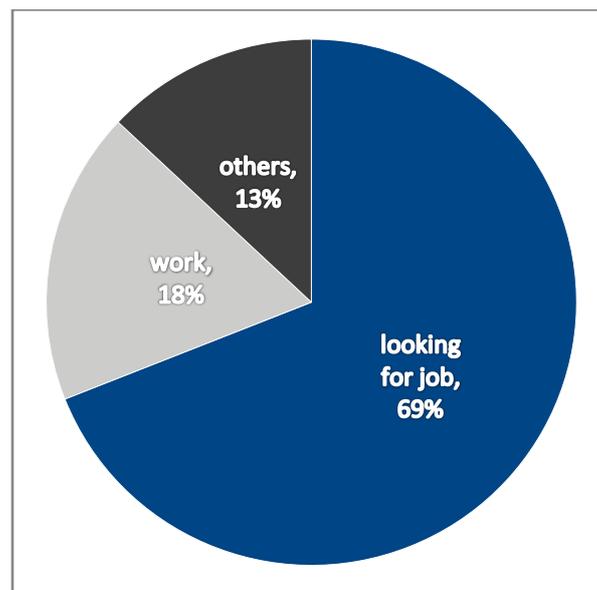
Labor migration in Batam is the result of rapid economic growth in the decade of the 2000s where investment was massive. The existence of an industrial sector in Batam creates industry-based employment and requires labor-intensive labor. The amount of job needed in Batam requires precise specifications, and residents cannot meet their needs. This creates a large-scale migration to work in the manufacturing industry (Nasution, 2016).

Weak global economic conditions did not discourage prospective migrants from coming to Batam to find work. Not infrequently migrants arriving in Batam do not yet have a clear work destination. The motivation of migrants to go to Batam to work sometimes comes with stories from family or friends who previously worked there.

B. The Motivation of Labor Migrants in Batam

The survey shows that 69 percent of migrants who come to Batam have the motivation to find work. The rest migrated to this city for reasons of transfer of work location (mutation) and personal reasons such as family reasons. Batam has a very high attraction for job seekers because of the typology of the city as an industrial and trade area. This is in line with the concept of economic push and pulls factors where most people migrate for economic reasons (Fratzscher, 2012). Batam, as a provider of employment, is a pull factor for workers to migrate. The consideration of the availability of jobs and the level of income with migrant-originated areas increasingly make Batam attractive to migrant workers.

Figure 1
The Motivation of Migrants Moving to Batam (N=500)



Source: (Survey, 2018)

The results of the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with labor union and local community associations indicated that Batam was a destination for migration because of the existence of a company that could receive a large number of workers. Many migrants think that if they want to work in a factory, they must migrate to Batam.

“There are many factories in my hometown. I was invited by a friend from Garut to move to Batam. At first, I did not get a job. I am struggling here. Work hard. I tried to register in several factories. Moreover, thank God, I did it. If I am still home, I cannot work at the factory. Many stories in the village, if you want to work, go to Batam”. (Community FGD, Batam).

According to the age group, the survey results showed that migrants aged 20-24 years were the largest group that had the motivation to find work in Batam. They are high school graduates who enter the age of job seekers. According to the survey, 79 percent of migrants aged 20-24 years have a senior high school education. This age group is the first-timer workforce who is migrating to Batam. The availability of employment as an operator in the manufacturing industry allows young migrant workers with high school education or below to meet the workforce needs in Batam, Companies in Batam also tend to accept workers who have just graduated from school and without work experience.

“Companies tend to renew their workforce, looking for 'fresh and new', younger, on average 25-30 years. Contract-based, so it is a new average. The old company also had many new contract laborers and recruits. Small companies usually need 'fresh and new' people”. (Interview, Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan, Penelitian dan Pengembangan Daerah, Batam).

Job vacancies in the manufacturing industry shows how easy it is to find a work position in Batam. Migrants can go to Batam without enough capital because of the variety of job availability. Prospective worker sometimes does not need educational requirement.

“My last education is in high school. However, to apply for a job does not require job qualifications. I used to take training and study on my own. Leaders in the company teach it. I learned self-taught to do welding”. (Labor Union FGD, Batam).

C. Push and Pull Factors of Migration in Batam

Migrants in Batam decide to migrate when the place of origin does not have many employment options and naturally, they move to other places that provide many jobs. The difference in economic conditions and the availability of fields that vary from one region to another is one of the triggers of migration flows. Batam is a city that provides employment, has a tremendous pull factor for job seekers. Migrants even attempt to decide to migrate to Batam without obtaining the certainty of getting a job first. According to information from the informant, some of them came to Batam, only friends' invitation and there was no certainty of getting a job.

“I just applied for a job after arriving in Batam. The salary offered is around 2.5 million. I got a job after 2.5 months. I was lucky to have a friend who helped me. Provide a temporary bed. Every day I try to apply for a job at a company in Muka Kuning. I wondered and looked for information. Many friendship networks helped me get a job”. (Ar, 29 years old, in-depth interview, Batam).

Based on the results of the survey, 59 percent of job seekers in Batam got jobs after 1-3 months of their arrival day. Job seekers who have difficulty getting a job for up to 4 months by 13.7 percent. The number of companies spread across several industrial zones allows workers to enter work. Short-term contract work systems also facilitate the entry of new workers into a company. The characteristics of jobs that do not require a high level of expertise also further shorten the time of finding work for migrants who have just arrived in Batam.

The condition in Batam shows that the theory of pull factors and drivers of migration from Lee (1966) is still relevant when associated with the phenomenon of labor migration. Lee says that migration occurs because of the different conditions between one region and another. The differences between regions encourage migration flows from ones that have deficiency factors to another that have favorable factors. The difference in cumulative values between the two regions tends to cause migration flows. Lee further explained that the size of migration flows is also influenced by several obstacles, such as costs, transportation, geographical conditions and communication between the two regions. However, the most crucial factor is the individual migration factor, the perception and assessment of the usefulness of the two regions, which in the end will decide to move or settle.

Table 1
The Reason for Migration to Batam

	Number	Percent
Family and marriage	65	13
Education	5	1
Work	80	16
Find a job	350	70
Total	500	100

Source: (Survey, 2018)

In line with Lee's concept, the survey results also reveal the driving factors and attractors of labor migration in Batam. A total of 70 percent of migrants leave their home areas because they are looking for work in Batam. The survey results confirmed that migrants chose to leave their home areas because there was limited employment in their home areas (29.3 percent) covering the type of employment for the number of wages received. Even though the national economic condition tended to slow down in 2017, Batam's city minimum wage (Indonesian: Upah Minimum Kabupaten/Kota or UMK) experienced an increase of 8.71 percent, which was around Rp. 3.5 million. This amount is relatively large when compared to the Kuningan West Java UMK, which is only around 1.4 million Rupiah in the same year. Until now, drinking wages in Batam have indeed become a lucrative attraction for migrant workers, especially those from small cities.

Also, some leave their home areas for entrepreneurship in Batam (2 percent), migrants consider the business opportunity to be higher than their hometown. As an industrial city, Batam requires informal sector businesses such as food stalls, hairdressing salons, and health services, in which entrepreneurs from various regions can enter opportunities. One of the migrants who came from the West Java, move to Batam for opening Sundanese food stall. The decision-making process considers the advantages and disadvantages that will be received.

"I have been in a culinary business in Batam for five years. Batam is a bustling city with many factories. Many employees need food. In the end, I decided to sell Sundanese food. Our food specialties are chicken and fried duck with vegetables. I brought dinner utensils from my hometown so that the food was kept authentic with traditional plates. The plate I brought from home. Traditional dishes from rattan. My chef assistant also from West Java". (Indonesian interview with a migrant from West Java, Batam).

In addition to the push factors, pull factors also influence the flow of labor migration to Batam. Batam, as a particular industrial area, has a wide variety of jobs, both large and medium industries and makes this city a destination for job seekers. Migrants come to Batam in the hope of fulfilling their life needs economically and will ultimately increase their human capital.

Most of the attractive or pull factors of labor to Batam are because the city has a lot of job availability. Besides that, information and the social network factors are also very influential,

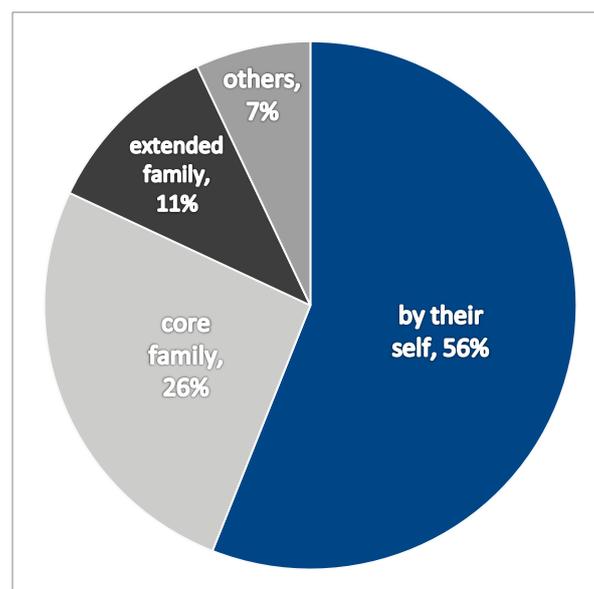
which includes the existence of family and friends in Batam, information on the success of people who have worked in Batam, invited by family or friends to work at the company where they work to higher lure in Batam. The survey results showed that 28.6 percent of migrants chose Batam because there were already family and friends there. 32.8 percent of prospective migrants have obtained job information about the success of the people who have worked there. Other reasons include large salaries (6 percent), invited by friends and friends to work (6 percent), massive entrepreneurial opportunities (1.3 percent) to the choice of Batam because of the strategic and developing location of the city.

D. Effect of Social Networks on the Dynamics of Labor Migration in Batam

Social networks are an essential component in the migration process. Social networks formed between former migrants with new migrants and between migrants and local communities (Massey & Espana, 1987). Previous migrants included family, relatives, and neighbors to friends from their home areas with new migrants. Ideally, social networks formed before migration. The existence of social networks increasingly drives and influences a person's motivation to migrate. The invitation of family and friends from their origin and whereabouts in the destination area is a draw factor for new migrants.

The role of social networks is to help migrants prepare their migration processes, especially in digging up information about destination cities, both before arriving and when they have arrived in Batam. Various types of information related to migration that is important for migrants to know including information on employment opportunities, living costs, accommodation, public facilities, introduction to the area and place of residence, finances to work-related matters. Ideally, the information will come from families, friends and migrant colleagues who have been or are living in Batam and information media, both conventional mass media (newspapers, TV, and magazines) and online media.

Figure 2
With Whom Migrate to Batam? (N=500)



Source: (Survey, 2018)

The survey revealed that more than half of migrant workers in Batam moved to the city without being accompanied by family or friends. This is because most migrants in Batam are residents aged 20-24 years and are not married and migrate for reasons of working or looking for work. Even though migrating without a family member, migrants still have a robust social network with the family they leave behind. More than a quarter of migrants still have the opportunity to return to their hometown at least once a year. Most of the reason is to visit family in the framework of religious holidays.

The existing social networks are expected to encourage job seekers to go to Batam City. Information from colleagues or relatives, especially those who have been successful (getting a job) increasingly triggers migrants to move. With work, new migrants will wrestle with a type of work that is not much different from the network they have. This relates to the information sources that new migrants have from their social networks. This explains why migrants from the same area sometimes dominate specific jobs in a city. The results of the FGD with community groups showed that the selection of workers and colleagues with the same background reason already understood the behavior of the workforce concerned.

Batam is the destination city of migrants from various regions of origin and ethnicity. Each community with ethnic background and place of origin has an association/community whose activities are to strengthen friendship. Each association has a regular agenda for a meeting of its members. (FGD with migrant communities, Batam).

Social networks also play a role in adaptation strategies for migrants in the destination. Previous migrants can act as directors in everything for new migrants. The current migrant can help provide shelter, provide information about areas of residence and work, to help get work. The existence of the ethnic association is also essential when there is ethnic conflict. The head of the association usually acts as a mediator during resolving inter-ethnic conflict. Migrant interactions with the residence and workplace will affect migrant social networks. Most migrants in Batam generally spend their time working. Migrant has limited time for interaction and spending time with colleagues and neighbors around the house where they live. Various forms of social interaction in the destination area are the participation of migrants in social activities in their local areas such as religious-based activities, sports, skills, social gatherings, cooperation, death, and others. When people actively involved in their environment, they will get to know the people around them, and this will facilitate the adaptation of migrants in their new environment. Survey data shows that most migrants participate in "arisan" activities (72%) in their environment; this formed strong ties of the social networks.

"In a social gathering ("arisan"), we can borrow money for our daily needs. Social gathering is beneficial, especially for residents who live alone. Friendship is everything because we do not have family here". (In-depth interview, Housewife, Batam).

Irfan (2007) and Safitri (2013) in their research divided the functions of social networks into three types: economic, social and information functions. Economic functions include access to assistance in the form of money and goods when migrants need it, especially in the early days in a new residence; economic functions given by relatives or close friends who have already migrated. The next social function is a form of social security and work socialization. Social security includes the availability of shelter and food and assistance from previous migrants, while work socialization is the ins and outs of the work that migrants will do. The last is the function of information, which is to forward all work-related information.

At the beginning of the migration process, migrants generally get the function of social networks from family, friends and online media. The various types of information collected by

migrants will be the provision and also the forms of decision-making that they take. Forms of information obtained include family and friends about job opportunities (63%) and information on living costs from online media (74%). Field observation data and FGDs showed that most migrants in their early days of stay in Batam City received various assistances from relatives and social networks. In fact, in the FGD, the fact was that the kinship-based on ethnicity/background of the place of origin was very strong. One entrepreneur engaged in food (restaurant) has even helped migrants from his home region to work. This brotherhood bond is very close and can be a source of assistance for migrants in need.

E. Migration and Communication Technology

The differences between regions have become the main reason for migrating. This reinforced by advances in information technology, which are increasingly paving the way to make it easier for residents to move. Technology through social media has made relations between regions of origin and destination areas closer and affordable. Interactions between migrants can be more accessible and minimize the risks and costs of migration.

Nowadays, social media is no longer just a communication tool. Social media has developed into a source of information that can be widely accessed. Social media have strengthened the relationship between two people in two different places from weak ties to strong ties (Haythornthwaite, 2002). Through social media, migrants can still establish relationships with families they leave behind quickly (Mahler, 2001).

The survey shows that migrants in Batam have begun to use social media in their daily lives. More than half have accessed social media for all daily needs such as searching for news, entertainment and social contact (63.1%). Batam migrant workers who are dominated by young people have begun to use social media to connect with their social networks. Plentiful information accessed from social media can help migrants make decisions to migrate more carefully. The internet and social media act as providers of information about destinations and media to build social contacts.

One of the facilities increasing the network of migration is communication technology. Advances in technology have given users a chance, in this case, the migrant, to organize and contribute to the data and information in their networks.

There are some uses of social media in facilitating the process of migration. Communication technology makes the process of migration more efficient and inexpensive; the platform of communication technology provides information about the destination area. Instantly, communication technology cuts the distance and time. With its platform, communication technology consolidates the relationship between migrant. Communication technology allows the migrant to create a network with destinations that are rich in sources (Wellman & Hampton, 1999).

Social media is not just a channel of communication in the network migration, but a virtual infrastructure, sync contacts, and relatively open to facilitate the migration properly. Relationships between users created in the social media network of the migrant can reduce the cost and risk of migration through the exchange of information, resources, and support. The migration network theory assumes that people are going to go to places where they have had contact.

Social media encourage the decision-making process to choose places to work and migrate. All of the informants use communication technology to earn information about the job vacancy and general information about daily life in the destination. To gain more information, they use

Facebook and Whatsapp to making contact with the company and their colleagues in the destination country or place? Participants' comments are proud of these narratives:

"I knew everything about Batam from friends' posts on Facebook." (In-depth interview, P, Batam).

There are some uses of Facebook as communication technology in facilitating the process of migration. Communication technology makes its process faster, more efficient, and more modest. Migrants can share information with co-workers and families with communication technology manage to cut the distance geographically. Even the possible migration will be even higher in the future if advances in communication support it through social media.

Contact of the migrant, mostly in destination countries, provides information about the destination and things related to work. This can minimize migrant's fear of their destination countries. They can be preparing themselves for the migration process. Communication technology is a tool to strengthen the connection between them. Social media allow the migrant to build a network with destinations that are rich in resources (Wellman & Hampton, 1999).

The role of social media in the context of migration is a tool to maintain social ties from migrants. Even with social media is an essential factor in the migration process. According to Dekker & Engberson (2014), communication channels through social media can facilitate the migration through four functions: strengthening social networks between migrants with families and friends, creating strong ties during migration and integration, creating latent ties and becoming the sources of information and knowledge for migrant candidates.

4. Conclusion

The process of globalization will continue to bring significant implications on the upward trend in population mobility. The deletion process of borders often interprets globalization because the world is getting connected and interdependence among regions is increasing. This process occurs as a result of a rapid increase in information technology, communication, and transportation service, which are getting better and affordable. Distribution of migrants in the global era is expanding into many regions (spread across the borders) and migrant communities, in general, form bonds to more than one place (destination and origin) that is sometimes referred to as transnational migrants.

The motivations for migration are affected by the push and pull factors. Push factors always exist at the point of origin and pull factors in the destination. Migration can only occur if the corresponding pull at destination remedies the reason to migrate. Migrant workers in Batam use their social media to gain information before they choose that company to work. They use Facebook and Whatsapp to make contact with their friends and colleagues in the destination country or place.

According to SDGS number 10.7, the government is obliged to facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and population mobility, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies. Perceiving the importance of population migration events in increasing the livelihood up to the economic growth of a country, the government needs to facilitate migrants by providing safe and reliable communication technology channels. The social networks, through the communication technology of migrants, have proven socio-economic implications / socio-economic impacts. Migrants need to establish social relations with family or friends who have experience in the destination. (The conclusion does not represent the idea of the article)

5. Acknowledgement

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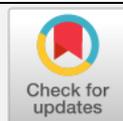
Domain Dimension of Family Relationships in the South of Johor through the Family Well-Being Index 2017

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ABSTRACT

Family institutions are fundamental units of social importance in the process of human development, construction, and development, through the capacity of human capital formation. Physical development alone is meaningless if it is not accompanied by human development based on its natural nature. It is impossible to deal with internal conflicts and to challenge current family institutions because families cannot handle progressive social and economic development processes with simplicity and balance in the family. For example, when there is a disruption in family interaction, there is a loss of family relationships and non-compliance with the value system. Therefore, efforts to balance the demands of social and economic development must be consistent with strengthening relationships within family institutions, as emphasized in the Family Well-Being Index through the Family Relationships dimension. This effort is in line with the desire to create prosperity in family institutions which involves developing individuals and families in a balanced and holistic manner physically, spiritually, economically, socially and mentally. In line with that, a study aimed at testing the Family Well-Being Index was conducted on 319 respondents representing their families in the Pasir Gudang district, Johor Bahru, Malaysia, in 2017. For discussions in this study, the focus would be on the family relationships dimension in terms of Motivational Support, Togetherness, and Curiosity. Overall study findings indicate that the Family Well-Being Index for the Family Relationships dimension is at an excellent level, thus providing relevant interpretations of positive perceptions and practices among study respondents, through testing the Family Relationships domain in three main dimensions.

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Index; Well-Being*

1. Introduction

The family is a very dynamic social institution and an important element in helping to produce a holistic generation. The function of family relationships is a key element in strengthening families to live more prosperous and happy (Hassan, 2013). Having a happy family is a dream for every human being as long as it can affect the emotional, physical, and behavioral aspects. Parents-led family institutions are key agents that serve as significant variables in the process of developing educational styles, communication, interaction and child attends and the continuing commitment of parents to children. As emphasized in the theory of Abraham Maslow, it is argued that before humanity reaches a higher level of life, which is a hallmark of success, the fact that humans need love. Clearly, the love that children want to have comes from the sincere interaction and focus of both parents and siblings. Because of that love and affection, a child's soul will have the power to continue to breathe in the more meaningful days of life. This section will further describe the criteria in the Family Relationships dimension index as a complement to the Family Well-Being Index.

2. Literature Review

A. The Style of Parenting

Among the criteria closely related to the dimension of Family Relationships is the style of parenting or also referred to as the style of parenting among parents towards their family. This criteria has a significant relations with the causes and effects of family relationships scenarios. Style refers to the way parents educate their children about strengthening and punishment, to develop personalities that are appropriate to the situation (Hassan, 2013). There are several main parenting styles mentioned by Baumrind (1991) in Baharudin & Ibrahim (2008), which are authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive.

1) Authoritative Style

Authoritative style is the interaction between mother, father and child, which only focuses on children in various aspects of needs. This style of parenting shows that parents are always confident, kind, responsive, and accept and make decisions based on reasonable reasons. This method is more likely to provide support than provide punishment (Hassan, 2013). Therefore, it is common for children as a result of this parenting style to develop into a personal child that is in line with community and family norms. Children will also become more confident, brave, independent and able to achieve stronger emotional development processes, along with positive social systems.

2) Authoritarian Style

This parenting style is traditional because it shows parents have full control over their children. Therefore, children cannot defy and must obey what their parents have set. The family situation becomes more rigid, tighter, very structured, and physically punishable by mistake. As a result, children will become stubborn, depressed, rebellious in silence, and low self-concept (Baharudin & Ibrahim 2008).

3) Permissive Style

This kind of parenting also has a very high tolerance for children, which causes children to freely do anything they want without parental control. Parents only obey whatever their children are asked for without confrontation. As a result, children become mischievous, unresponsive, irresponsible, weak in control, immature, and fail to set real-life goals. Children as a result of this parenting style are also very vulnerable to behavioral deficiency and tend to violate the rules (Baharudin & Ibrahim 2008).

B. Parent Involvement in Children's Life

This depends on the aspect of parental skills in understanding and caring for children. Children with high levels of adherence to parents were found to have an external locus of control. These children believe that external forces are behavioral determinants and underlie their adherence to authority (Yusof et al., 2002). Excessive parental care does not actually help make children better, but it makes children uncomfortable in the long run. The role of parental support and involvement in children's affairs and needs greatly influences their lives.

Therefore, parents need to have skills in managing their own involvement in the daily lives of children, such as knowledge of children's activities, always open to discussion, ready to help, and getting to know their children's friends. Parental involvement that is relevant to the situation can be an intimate entity that positively influences children's emotional, mental, and behavioral development.

The ability of parents to be involved in the lives of children is also described as the ability of parents to use a focused and interesting educational method by paying attention to children's problems more seriously and wisely. In fact, it may be reasonable for children to achieve long-term family well-being.

C. Family Resilience

This criteria is in the domain of childcare ability to foster strength that allows families to endure the problems of life. Creating positive self-esteem in children as a result of dynamic care and education is one way to achieve endurance. This dimension is closely related to parents' ability to provide motivation and positive support for children.

In addition, parents who can provide a strong source of encouragement to children can help elevate children's self-concept more positively. Mutual relationships, meetings, and prosperity between parents and children will build an appropriate appreciation for self-sufficiency in children (Bulanda & Majumdar, 2009). The influence of parents is very strong in establishing children's self-esteem through involvement and quality of relationships. As a result, parents and children can become more resilient family members in solving various problems, while also being more united in the pursuit of mutual success and happiness.

D. Family Function

Family functions are functions related to psychological adjustment and involve an explanation of rules, standards of behavior, control and appropriate methods for handling family problems (Hassan, 2013). Unity and flexibility are elements that make the family work. Family cohesion is a bond of feelings and emotions between family members, while adaptability refers to the ability of the family to change the structure of power, role relationships, and relationships between members according to the family circumstances (Nasir & Omar, 2006).

Family functions include how family members communicate, relate, and maintain relationships with one another, and work together to solve problems. Healthy communication among family members also affects family functions, while also being able to strengthen relationships. To be clear, the strength of family functioning is also the result of good interaction through understanding, emotional connection and effective communication (Bailey, 2009).

E. Togetherness

This domain focuses on the time that parents need for themselves and the time they have to spend with family members. Involving in the family, such as spending time together and trying to avoid family conflict is one of the key factors in family function (Hassan, 2013). The influence of parents is very strong in establishing the true family meaning because it is important for the personalities of children while spending time together in every family activity. Family involvement is the main factor of a family function. Quality time spent, such as family activities, parenting and parental efforts to balance work time with family can have a positive effect on family relationships (Hornberger et al., 2009). With parents' efforts to develop children's good behavior, give each other strength, to respect each other, and interact well in any problem, the family relationships will be closer.

3. Research Methodology

This study uses a mixed methodology that is quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative methods through surveys using questionnaires were conducted to collect data. This study also cross-sectional study.

The use of qualitative methods is through a roundtable approach conducted by inviting a panel of experts to gain critical thinking to strengthen the role of the Darul-Ta'zim Family Development Foundation (*Yayasan Pengembangan Keluarga Darul-Ta'zim* or YPKDT) as an organization that serves To create a prosperous family and strengthen the insights gained through surveys. The panel consists of the National Population and Family Development (*Lembaga Penduduk dan Pembangunan Keluarga Negara* or LPPKN) officers, representatives of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), representatives of the Single Mother Union, and YPKDT activists.

As for sampling, a total of 319 samples with different backgrounds was selected for this study. The selected respondents also consisted of respondents who had participated in the program or who had never participated in the YPKDT program. Respondents were also divided into those who lived in urban and rural areas.

Quantitative data were then analyzed using SPSS software version 22.0. Qualitative data were analyzed using Pareto Analysis.

4. Results and Discussion

A. Domain Dimension Indicator of Family Relationships

In daily life, the family relationships form is one of the key elements in achieving the well-being and happiness of the family (Hassan, 2013). According to the Minister for Women, Family and Community Development, Dato 'Sri Rohani Abdul Karim (Kementerian Pembangunan Wanita, Keluarga dan Masyarakat Malaysia, 2017), producing a Family Well-Being Index every three to five years, needs to be implemented, so that it can be used as a guide and important input for policy makers, planners and program managers to evaluate the extent of the well-being level of family life in Malaysia. Go further, to help them develop more effective strategies and programs that fit their goals. This is a proactive step that can be implemented by LPPKN to

continuously monitor the well-being of Malaysian families. In line with this statement, this study was also conducted as a measurement effort on the family relationships domain indicator of the Family Well-Being Index in Malaysia. The discussion will be based on the analysis that has been done.

1) Family Relationships Domain (Overall)

The findings from the table below show the index scores for the entire dimension domain in family relationships. From the average rate table for the entire domain of the Family Relationships dimension, it was found that 237 respondents were in excellent condition with a total percentage of 74.3%, compared with a value of 21.6% for a good level with a total of 69 people. The amount is far different from the value of 3.8% and 0.3%, respectively at the level of weak and moderate with a total of 13 respondents.

The average score for all domains of this dimension was 8.47 from a maximum scale of 10, and it was found that the level for all domains of this dimension was at an excellent level. Thus, it clearly shows that excellent numbers are dominant in the results of this study, but it can also indicate that the Family Relationships indicators in the Family Well-Being Index provide relevant interpretations of positive perception and practice in the family relationships domain through three main dimensions.

Table 1
Score of Average Level of Family Relationships Domain

Level	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Weak	1	0.3
Moderate	12	3.8
Good	69	21.6
Excellent	237	74.3

Source: (Primary Data, 2017)

2) Family Relationships Domain (Motivational Support)

The results of these study analyses based on questions numbers 24, 25, 26, 28, and 29, it was found that the domain level of motivational support is at an excellent level. The average score value indicates the maximum average is 8.83, while the minimum is 8.31. The average score value indicates the maximum average is 8.83, while the minimum is 8.31. This figure indicates that the family relationships score for the parent motivational support domain for children in the family is 8.55 from a maximum of 10. Based on the above analysis, the majority of respondents agreed that there were indeed discussion activities with their families. Respondents also agreed that they trained their family members to become self-reliant in their daily lives to better understand their responsibilities and to understand each other's functions and responsibilities for the well-being of the family.

Respondents agreed that they felt more at ease when they were with family members. In total, the scores in the motivational support domain are at a high level, and excellent. This clearly shows that the Family Relationships Index in the motivational support domain has been practiced among the heads of the family such as father or mother. These practices clearly show that the head of the family strives to provide motivational support, and encouragement towards

the shaping of Family Relationships, which is predominantly positive. This finding also shows that the high and excellent scores obtained, are in line with the high scores obtained in the Family Relationships domain in the Malaysian Family Well-Being Index Study conducted by the National Population and Family Development (*Lembaga Penduduk dan Pembangunan Keluarga Negara* or LPPKN) (2016) as a cross-sectional study to examine the level of family well-being.

Table 2
Average Score by Family Relationships Domain (Motivational Support)

Number	Description	Average	Level
24.	I talked to my family if there was a problem.	8.31	Excellent
25.	I train my family members to be self-reliant.	8.34	Excellent
26.	I felt calm with my family members.	8.82	Excellent
28.	The decision I made was the result of a discussion with my family members.	8.44	Excellent
29.	I give praise when family members do good things.	8.83	Excellent
Average Score by Family Relationships Domain (Motivational Support)		8.55	Excellent

Source: (Primary Data, 2017)

3) Family Relationships Domain (Togetherness)

Based on questions from numbers 27 and 33, it was found that the domain level of togetherness is at an excellent level. Total shows the average family relation score for domain togetherness by parents with children in the family is 8.31 from a maximum of 10. The analysis below is a test for domain togetherness. The findings show that the majority of respondents agreed with the practice of eating together with their family members. In addition, they also agreed that they could balance work time with family time. The high level of results obtained in this domain can give the impression that family well-being still exists in the Malaysian community, despite the current challenges. That time needs to be organized and arranged by the head of the family and accepted together to create a better interaction with family members. It can also prevent children from being trapped with various problems, and the delinquent behavior that gives a negative impression to all (Zakaria et al., 2016).

Table 3
Average Score by Family Relationships Domain (Togetherness)

Number	Description	Average	Level
27.	I ate together with my family members.	8.62	Excellent
33.	I can balance between work time and time with family.	8.00	Excellent
Average Score by Family Relationships Domain (Togetherness)		8.31	Excellent

Source: (Primary Data, 2017)

4) Family Relationships Domain (Curiosity)

Based on questions from numbers 30 to 32, it was found that the domain level of curiosity is at an excellent level. The average score indicates the maximum average is 8.51, while the minimum average is 8.17. This figure shows the average Family Relationships score for the curiosity domain by parents of children in the family is 8.33 from a maximum scale of 10.

Analysis that examines the domain of curiosity as shown below shows that the majority of respondents agreed on the existence of anxiety practices for their family members. The head of the family can convey their anxiety and curiosity by asking members of their family with who they are if they are outside the house. It seems that the head of the family does not hesitate to interfere in such matters with family members, but such practices are the responsibility of the head of the family and must be accepted rationally by their family members on the basis of goodness, and mutual prosperity. They also agreed that they knew their family friends. They also agreed with the statement about the practice of curiosity about the daily activities of their family members. The need for curiosity is important, because in the family there should be many things to be shared together so that anxiety and suspicion do not arise. High-level and excellent results for this domain can provide a strong picture of family relationships, and the responsibilities of the head of the family are still dominant among the people in Malaysia. The domain is also a subjective perception among respondents that is closely related to respondents' past realistic experiences, and involves methods related to the elements of quality of life through the well-being of family relationships (Noor, 2014).

Table 4
Average Score by Family Relationships Domain (Curiosity)

Number	Description	Average	Level
30.	I asked family members with whom they came out.	8.51	Excellent
31.	I recognize my family friends.	8.31	Excellent
32.	I know the daily activities of my family.	8.17	Excellent
Average Score by Family Relationships Domain (Curiosity)		8.31	Excellent

Source: (Primary Data, 2017)

B. Recommendations for the Family Relationships Domain

There are a number of recommendations that can be implemented by government agencies or Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to help family institutions reach the Family Well-Being Index, which is balanced and integrated, thus helping to create a dominant effective and the quality family institution

1) Organize a Parenting Course Regularly but Permanently

The aim is to be a guide and guidance for parents, in leading the family life, which is more directed and more meaningful. In fact, this program can help to increase the role of parents as the best role models for children, so that parents realize that they must be on the right track as parents with positive and relevant parenting styles to the needs of children. This course is also

important for young parents because it is very important for them to learn and understand the techniques and methods that are appropriate in building a prosperous family.

2) Conducting Personality Tests among Parents

The aim is to help parents recognize their personalities, and their true potential, in order to help them function as parents who are able to recognize and understand the souls and behaviors of their children. When parents become more aware of their own personality, they can try to adapt their personality in parenting towards their children who have various characters and souls. Thus, communication between parents and children will be more effective and meaningful through the interpretation of words and body language which is clearly understood, thereby avoiding misinterpretation or misunderstanding that can cause conflict.

3) Encourage Parents to Attend Individual and Group Counseling

The aim is to help parents solve family problems in the right way, such as being able to control their emotions, understand their own emotional changes and children's emotions. Even parents can express themselves in the right way to reduce stress when dealing with problems and family conflicts. Counseling sessions also help parents and children learn how to be honest with each other, to prevent them from continuing to have self-destructive feelings, or cause more problems due to loss of control. Likewise, family relationships become more intimate when communication becomes clearer and reaches deeper into their expectations and aspirations, while also understanding the importance of appreciating and being appreciated.

The findings of this study should be able to help the society and national experts, not to be tired of continuing to plan, design and implement programs to maintain family well-being, and to prevent the collapse of family institutions consistently. For dimension indicators in this family relationships, parents as the head of the family can continue to be assisted in attending parenting skills programs, especially involving verbal and non-verbal communication skills with children.

This skill is crucial in preventing conflicts that lead to instability, crisis, and family breakdown. Conflicts can occur only due to misinformation, misunderstanding, misinterpretation, negative thoughts and emotions, difficulty in being flexible in any circumstance. Even the practice of attitudes that are too dominating or too dominated is also not appropriate to be practiced in family life and other committed relationships, because the situation will only become more chronic when there are serious ethical violations against self, family, and community.

Therefore, the family institution should be developed with more knowledgeable and scientific elements, to continue the legacy of human resources which more affectionately, on foundations that align with universal values and moral values.

5. Conclusions

Family institutions are the leading socialization agents in creating new generations. Parents as heads of family institutions are very important agents of change, because they act as the main catalyst in the process of shaping children's lives, as a result of continuing a prosperous generation through dynamic family relationships. Significantly, parents need to play a more efficient role in ensuring that the self-concept and attitudes of children are on the right track, and fulfilling the demands of a value, religious and universal system, for the continuity of a more meaningful future, while at the same time bringing continuity to a generation that has good character, discipline, and has knowledge.

The positive elements of the child's human development are also closely related to the shaping of self-concept in them. The development of the self-concept of children positively is very closely related to the function and character of parents in family institutions, because it is clear that it is the most dominant institution towards children from birth until they become part of the community.

The shaping of self-concept, which is normal and stable, is the result of healthy parenting, which leads to the preservation of identity, 'I'm fine - you're fine'. These elements are the catalyst for creating prosperity in family relationships. The main factor is not only the body size and appearance style, but every gesture and speech of parents have a major influence on every inch of children's development and life in a long time.

Children are active observers, but they are also passive assessors. Children from early age actively observe the behavior of parents, family members, and members of the community, so that conditions are formed, which become 'mirrors' and 'models' that are embedded in their subconscious minds.

Thus, parents need to be more careful to guide and direct the children's attention and assessment, in order to align with the value system. In fact, parents are responsible for maintaining and ensuring the influence that surrounds the daily lives of their children and their entire families is an influence that can build the personality of family members more brilliantly, both directly and indirectly.

6. Acknowledgement

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A Symbolic Interaction Analysis of Waria (Transgender Women) in Makassar - Eastern Indonesia

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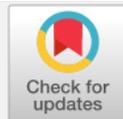
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ABSTRACT

Transgender women (in Indonesia known as Waria) still experience social stigma and exclusion in society. This phenomenon is interesting to study because it is related to the existence of transgender women in dealing with stigma and social exclusion. This study aims to describe the way transgender women perceive social exclusion and to describe the construction of their knowledge which, despite facing social exclusion, still maintains their existence. This study used a qualitative-phenomenological study method, using a purposive sampling technique. Data collection was done by conducting observations, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Data were analyzed using qualitative descriptive using symbolic interaction theory. The results showed that transgender women perceive the stigma and social exclusion they faced was manifested by planned actions in the form of conditional neglect and delay in introducing their existence. They respond to social situations they face with adaptive and not frontal. Transgender women's knowledge construction to maintain their existence is passed through four stages, namely impulse, perception, manipulation, and completion.

Keywords: Social Exclusion; Stigma; Transgender Women; Waria

1. Introduction

Humans are born in two sex forms, male and female. Over time, the changes occur; some men change their appearance or gender into women and feel themselves as women, also, not a few women change their appearance and behavior like men.

The phenomenon of transgender persons has been around for a long time and they are considered deviant people. Transgender women (in Indonesia known as *Waria*), is a variant of the transgender phenomenon which is classified as a transgender type of MtF (Male to Female). By birth as a male but there is a desire to be accepted as a woman by society.

In Indonesia, the number of *waria* populations is not known with certainty. The Ministry of Health Republic of Indonesia stated that there was a significant increase in the number of transgender women between 2002 and 2009, but there was no increase between 2009 and 2012. The population is not certain but referring to data on populations prone to being affected by HIV, the number of *waria* is estimated at 597 thousand people, while men are included in the bisexual category reached more than 1 million people (Kementerian Kesehatan Republik Indonesia, 2014).

Although gradually the people have begun to understand and accept the existence of transgender women, they still face stigma and social exclusion. Pierson (2002: 15) stated that social exclusion is a process that blocks or inhibits individuals and families, groups and villages from the resources needed to participate in social, economic, and political activities in society as a whole. The community accepts *waria*'s participation very specifically which is the acceptance of special functions that are considered to be their expertise such as work in a beauty salon and bridal makeup.

The social exclusion will certainly be followed by actions that harm their interests. In the book "Harsh Realities: The Experiences of Transgender Youth in Our Nation's Schools", Greytak et al., (2009: xi) revealed the facts about the treatment of transgender students in schools in the USA as follows:

- a. Almost all transgender students had been verbally harassed (e.g., called names or threatened) in the past year at school because of their sexual orientation (89%) and their gender expression (87%);
- b. Over half of all transgender students had been physically harassed (e.g., pushed or shoved) in school in the past year because of their sexual orientation (55%) and their gender expression (53%);
- c. Many transgender students had been physically assaulted (e.g., punched, kicked, or injured with a weapon) in school in the past year because of their sexual orientation (28%) and their gender expression (26%);
- d. Although LGBT students overall reported high levels of harassment and assault in school, transgender students experienced even higher levels than non-transgender students;

The unfair treatment of transgender people is referred to as a general phenomenon that is relatively the same in every country. The community's treatment certainly does not symbolize a humanistic approach.

Culturally, people in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, (Eastern Indonesia), recognize a transgender variant called *calabai* and another is *bissu*. There are five gender variants in the culture of South Sulawesi, namely *men-calabai-bissu-balaki-women*. *Calabai* is similar to the type of MtF (Male to Female) and *balaki* is similar to the type of FtM (Female to Male), while *bissu* cannot be considered as transgender women because they do not wear clothes from any gender group but wear after certain and separate for their group.

The biggest challenges of their existence in society are on people's negative perceptions about themselves. Stigma both on culture and religion is at the root of a negative perspective on transgender women. As citizens, they also have the same rights in the public sphere. However, due to their massive social exclusion, their rights as citizens are hindered. The social exclusion phenomenon is more or less affecting the transgender women which in this study took place in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

The community reactions more or less influenced how the transgender women perceive themselves. The others represented by people bring transgender women to map self-concepts which are then used in interacting in the community. This study, using the perspective of symbolic interaction, seeks to map descriptions of the way transgender women perceive themselves and the role in society, especially how they respond to the social stigma and exclusion they face.

The social exclusion of transgender women provides their perspectives in understanding their existence. The way they understand themselves and their robustness to maintain the existence of their citizenship certainly present problems for them and their community. Therefore, this study aims to describe the way a *waria* perceives the marginalization and to describe the construction of transgender knowledge which despite facing social exclusion still maintains their existence.

2. Literature Review

A. Transgender Concepts and Social Exclusion on Waria

Transgender is a term that refers to behavior changes in certain sexes that lead to other sexual behaviors. Technically, transgender women types are MtF (Male to Female) and FtM (Female to Male). *Waria* is in the type of MtF (Male to Female). The term transgender was coined in the late 1980s by men who did not find the label *waria* adequate to describe their desire to live as women (Carroll et al., 2002: 131).

Physically, a *waria* is a man by birth but certain mental conditions or experiences make them transformed to live as women. Gesture and femininity are one of the main signs of womanhood. At a certain level, they take extreme measures by changing their genitals. After all, the condition has been distinguished in two key terms; sex and gender.

Benjamin (1999: 6) separates these two terms, sex is more applicable associated with things of sexuality, libido or sexual activities. While gender is the nonsexuality side of sex. Based on the level of expression, gender is "located above" and sex is below the belt. Although the terms are often used interchangeably, sex and gender must be used separately.

Benjamin's statement implicated for two types of *waria*; *waria* at the gender level by only changing the gestures and behavior of men to women, and another is not only changing gender but do medical surgery to replace their genital. The last type will also experience changes in sexual activity like women but pregnant.

Being a *waria* does not change themselves but also changes social relationships that have been happening. Community treats them that allows the *waria* to experience a lot of depression (Budge et al., 2013: 545)

The studies of anxiety levels and depression in perspectives of sociology occur due to social processes between the *waria* and the community. A study conducted by Budge et al., (2013) found that distress varies based on several factors, including the individual's transition process, the coping mechanism used, and the level of social support. Budge et al., explicitly mentioned the existence of sociological determinants that caused social exclusion in transgender women.

The main problem of social exclusion in transgender women is behavior irregularities that are considered not following social norms. Social exclusion causes people's acceptance to be at their lowest point. The physical transformation of transgender men is directly proportional to how the transsexual behaves and the reaction of the people who still consider the transformation contrary to social norms. According to Ruhghea et al., (2014: 12), transgender women internalize into the brain about sex that will determine attitudes and behaviors in their social life.

Action and reaction are general laws of social reality. Actions that give rise to behaviors that are considered contrary to the norm automatically meet negative reactions from the local community. From time to time in many places, transgender men tend to get into a conflict which results in conflicts with both family and society in general.

The process of development of a *waria* (transgender woman) at some level managed to adapt to their environment. Succeeded through psychological difficulties and succeeded in achieving a healthy level of social adjustment and psychological happiness (Pardo, 2008: 2). Nevertheless, it can be ascertained that discrimination, harassment, and fear of rejection become an inseparable part of the growth and development of a person's process of becoming a *waria* who will face the risk of disruption in growth both psychologically, socially and physically (Grossman & D'Augelli in Pardo, 2008: 2).

The challenge faced by *waria* is prevalence. The courage in expressing their behavior is an impossible effort that does not get opposition from the community. At this point, a *waria* has an experience that will shape his views and the role he plays socially. The variety of responses from the community becomes the raw material for the formation of identity and at the same time fosters a perspective about the transgender self and the challenges it faces. All of this will guide them in adapting to various threats and disturbances.

B. Waria (MtF) Phenomena in Symbolic Interaction Theory

The symbolic interaction theory focuses on individual analysis, especially the way individuals perceive themselves and their environment. This theory is the antithesis of structural approaches such as structural functionalism theory. This theory was pioneered by G. H. Mead and his student H. Blumer. This theory reveals that the phenomenon of transgender self-concept as a result of interactional processes that are mediated by the configuration of symbols which then affect the social interaction between transgender and the surrounding community.

Symbolic interaction focuses its attention on the actor as the object of discussion. This theory elaborates on the process of interpretation of various symbols carried out by social actors to others. For symbolic interaction theory, the specific actions of actors are centered on the network of good intentions based on an understanding of symbols. The next general action is very possible because of the views are similar to a symbol that occurs due to symbolic interaction between community members. Symbolic capacity pushes an individual to become an object for an individual itself to get the reflective ability of the actions and others toward the individuals themselves (Tsekeris & Katrivesis, 2008: 7).

During the process of interaction, social actors use symbols that are interpreted reflectively by other social actors to cause diverse reactions. The root of the symbolic interaction process is the theory of social interaction. Social interaction occurs because there are two manifested elements namely social contact and communication. The process of reciprocal relations in the form of communication in this there is an exchange and interpretation of symbols. The theory of

symbolic interaction has several characteristics expressed by Blumer in Raho (2007: 106) as follows:

- 1) *The ability to think*. Individuals in society are not seen as beings who are motivated by actors outside their control to act. Instead, they see humans as being reflective and can, therefore, behave reflectively. *Waria* or transgender women are social actors who can think that they have independence and the ability to perceive situations outside of themselves.
- 2) *Think and Interact*. People have only the ability to think in a general way. This ability must be formed in the process of social interaction. This view brings symbolic interaction to pay attention to one particular form of social interaction, namely socialization. For symbolic interaction, socialization is a dynamic process. In that process, the man not only receives information but the person perceives and adjusts the information according to his needs. *Waria* or transgender women are social actors who can perceive any community reaction to behavior that is deemed deviant. The results of the transgender interpretation then affect the way transgender women carry out their social interactions.
- 3) *Learning the Meaning of Symbols*. In social interaction, people learn symbols and meanings. If people react to signs without thinking then in giving reactions to symbols, people must first think. Signs have meaning in themselves, for example, the movements of an angry dog are a sign that he is angry. While symbols are social objects that are used to represent (take place of) anything that is agreed to represent, for example, the red and white flag is the symbol of the Indonesian nation. Symbols that arise from social interaction between *waria* and the community. Interpreting meaning is a work step that will affect a transgender's actions towards the community or vice versa.
- 4) *Action and Interaction*. The main concern of symbolic interaction is the impact of meaning and symbols in human action and interaction. The impact of social actions in the form of symbols will also have an impact on the social interactions that are formed between *waria* with the community or vice versa.
- 5) *Make Choices*. Because of the ability to understand the meaning and symbols of human beings can make choices about the actions taken. Humans do not need to simply accept the meanings and symbols that are forced upon them. Instead, they can act on their interpretations of the situation. In other words, humans can give new meaning to the situation. The meaning interpreted by a *waria* from community reactions in the form of symbols will be carefully considered and manifested in the chosen social action according to the social situation faced by the *waria*.
- 6) *Self*. Self is an extremely important concept for symbolic interaction. To understand this concept, we must first understand the idea of looking glass self-developed by Charles Horton Cooley. What is meant by looking glass self by Cooley is that humans can see themselves as themselves see other social objects. The idea of looking glass self can be broken down into three components, namely: first, the self imagines how it will appear to others; secondly, imagine how they would evaluate their appearance; third, how the self develops a certain kind of feeling as a result of the shadow about the person's judgment. Blumer defines self very simply. According to him, self merely means that human beings can be the object of their actions. He does something about himself and directs himself in certain actions. Self allows humans to do something and not just react to stimuli or stimuli that come from outside.
- 7) *Groups and Society*. According to Blumer, society is not made of macrostructures. The essence of society must be found in the actor and his actions. Human society must be seen as people acting and community life is seen as part of their actions. Group life is the whole

action that is taking place. However, society is not made from isolated actions. There are collective actions involving individuals who adjust their actions towards one another. In other words, they influence each other in taking action. Mead called this a social act and Blumer called it a joint action.

However, Ritzer & Smart (2011: 430) argues that the main assumptions of the theory of symbolic interaction are as follows: (a) People are special abilities according to their ability to use symbols, (b) People become human typically through the interaction they have, (c) People involved conscious and self-reflection that actively shapes his behavior, (d) People are purposeful objectives that engage in and fight interactions, (e) Society consists of people who engage in dialogue, (f) To discuss one's social actions, the use of methods that allow seeing the meaning issued by the person with the actions.

As social actors, *waria* use symbols. This ability is then manifested in the space of social interaction. transgender women are also social actors who have reflective and conscious abilities that are active with these transgender social forms that are formed and are developing. They are actors who have goals that are then opposed to what they face as stigma and social exclusion against transgender women. The society in which transgender members is formed, developed and dynamic because it involves them in the process of symbolic interaction. To understand transgender social actions requires a method that allows seeing the meaning requested by the person with the transgender's actions.

The process of social interaction based on symbolic interaction theory is the social action of social actors. An action directed at other actors with specific aims and objectives. *Waria* want their existence to be accepted. But the community's reaction allows them getting a reaction that is not as their wishes. The fact that the community is a collection of various relationships and interactions between community members because the social as embedded in relations and interactions society is merely a constellation of individuals who are the actual realities (Simmel in Plummer, 2010: 20)

According to Simmel, the basic of Sociology is a way to comprehensively collaborate on social interactions that are manifested in society. Understanding the self-concept of a *waria* is an effort to observe in-depth and comprehensively the process of social interaction, especially symbolic interactions between *waria* and other community members.

Social Actions of *Waria* are implemented into social spaces that react to various reactions from other community members. Weber in Ritzer (1992: 45) mentioned the five main characteristics of sociological study as follows:

- 1) Human actions, according to the actor contain subjective meaning. This includes a variety of concrete actions. What *waria* display in the form of social behavior contains subjective meanings for themselves.
- 2) Actual and subjective actions thought entirely and are subjective. *Waria* social action is understood and believed to be the value of subjectivity and is considered true.
- 3) Actions that include the positive influence of a situation, actions that are intentionally repeated as well as actions in the form of tacit agreement. Social actions that cause positive reactions from community members will always be repeated. In some aspects, the community can accept the social role played by *waria* in certain segments such as bridal stylists.
- 4) The action was directed at someone or some individuals. Social actions that contain values believed of *waria* will be directed to other members of the community. The diversity of

actions and reactions or feedback from other community members will influence the transgender self-concept and subsequent social actions.

- 5) That action pays attention to the others and is directed at others. *Waria* social actions are realized and calculated carefully to whom the social actions are directed and what reactions that arise afterward.

3. Research Methodology

This study used a qualitative-phenomenological study method. A qualitative study examines social phenomena based on the context that surrounds them. The qualitative study focuses on the in-depth elaboration of an individual's perception of his social world. This means that transgender person perceptions of community behavior are the focus of this study.

The phenomenological method is used to deepen the lived experience by trying to understand deeply the interpretation activities carried out by the informants delaying all forms of presupposition. Kuswarno (2009: 36) stated several characteristics of phenomenological study:

- 1) Exploring value in human experience and life;
- 2) The focus of the study is on the whole, not on the parts that make up the whole;
- 3) The purpose of the study is to find the meaning and nature of experience, not just to search for explanations or to look for measures of reality;
- 4) Obtain a description of life from a first-person perspective, through formal and informal interviews;
- 5) The data obtained form the basis for scientific knowledge to understand human behavior;
- 6) Questions are made reflecting the interests, involvement and personal commitment of the study;
- 7) Seeing experience and behavior as a unity that can not be separated, both the unity between subjects and objects, as well as between parts and the whole.

This study was conducted in Makassar City, South Sulawesi, Indonesia (Eastern Indonesia), since the *waria* community in the city is quite large and easy to access. There is also a transgender organization in Makassar as a forum to fight for their rights.

Data collection was done by conducting observations, in-depth interviews with 10 informants and documentation. This study was carried out for 3 months, with earlier observing the transgender community in their boarding house. The technique of taking informants is done by using the purposive technique. Sugiyono (2012: 126) explained the characteristics of a purposive technique that purposive is a technique of taking data sources through certain considerations. The consideration that the study intends is that the informant is the person who is considered most knowledgeable about the focus of the study that the study adopts making it easier to explore the object/social situation under study. As for the characteristics of the informants in this study are men who have changed their appearance to become women (work as transgender women), have been doing it for more than 4 years and until the time of the study were still living as transgender women and living in Makassar City.

After the data collection process was completed, then proceed with conducting data analysis. Kuswarno (2009: 69) explained the stages of qualitative-phenomenological study data analysis as follows:

- 1) A complete description of events experienced directly by the informants;
- 2) From the informant's verbal statements then;
- 3) Perform the steps in section 2 of each informant;

- 4) Make a thorough explanation of each meaning and essence of the phenomenon obtained.
- 5) Horizontalization of data obtained. Such as the activities of completing data from various sources, and other points of view. Including other statements that are relevant to the study topic, and other data that have the same value.
- 6) Make a list of meanings and meaning units.
- 7) Grouping into groups or certain themes. Try not to have statements that are overlapping and repetitive.
- 8) Make a description or textural description.
- 9) Make a structural description.
- 10) Unifying textural and structural descriptions to produce the meaning and essence of the phenomena constructed.

Then, the data was analyzed using descriptive qualitative by the theory of the symbolic interaction approach.

4. Results and Discussion

A. Waria Perception of Their Social Exclusion

People confirm a common view accepted by the majority that transgender is a kind of life pattern that deviates from what it should be. The community generally has an understanding that being transvestite means to distance you from what is considered normal by the community. In this context transgender women often face stigma and even social exclusion.

Lived experience of transgender women inevitably faces constraints of stigma and social exclusion. Informants in this study also had an experience of stigma and social exclusion. Every informant has experience dealing with social stigma and exclusion. The following are the results of the interview with the first informant:

“Becoming a transpuan (in local language for transgender woman or Waria) there is a phase. In the past time, people always bullied us every day because they underestimated us. We were considered unlucky and all kinds of things. But now, I am grateful. Time changes. Technology and media have been developed and revealed successful transpuan and people regard our potencies so that fewer people are bullying transgender women like us”. (Interview, Yl)

The second informant also told the same:

“I have always been close to neighbors, and they already know that I like to hang out with women, so there is no stigma from neighbors, but when I go to the mall, I am often seen by people or also usually laughed at”. (Interview, Wd)

As in the third informant:

“I am comfortable in other villages (in Manado, North Sulawesi) because I can express myself and identity with long hair looked like a real woman. But in Makassar, I am depressed because I live in a family that does not accept me if I become a transpuan”. (Interview, Ay)

Also fourth informant:

"I often get treated when I go to public places, for example to the mall, but I just ignore it. I used to be yelled at but I just ignored. Moreover, I often get the stigma when I go out in the afternoon and wear a skirt, usually, I get yelled bencong (negative name-calling for transgender women in Indonesia) at but I still don't care". (Interview, Mm)

The lived experience of the informants above confirms the stigma and social exclusion is something inseparable from transvestite life. Varamitha et al., (2014: 106) stated: "Stigma is formed through social cognitive processes, namely cues, stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination". The components of stigma which include gestures, stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination can be seen from the information of the informant above. Behavior that is contrary to the norms those are believed and adopted by the majority is a trigger for the emergence of stigma. Goffman in Utami (2018: 190) stated that stigma is a sign or signs that are considered a "disturbance" and therefore is considered less than normal people. Individuals who are stigmatized are considered as dangerous, disabled and somewhat underdeveloped compared to people in general.

Even so, the normative expectations constructed by the community may change. Yl's experience shows a decrease in the escalation of stigma against him. The development of life, especially science and technology also reduces the quantity of stigma against transgender women. At some level, although informants emphasized that stigma was reduced, community normative stigma still considered transgender women abnormal. Transgender women have their way of responding to the stigma that occurs in him. The following is the explanation of the informant:

"Initially when I was bullied, my reaction had to be angry, after a long time I was silent and finally they stopped by themselves and out of 100 people maybe 2 people were still bullying. I am an indifferent person, I think if the more I respond it will clash. I am a hard-working type person, with people stigmatizing and bullying then I have to work, I have to show the results of my works. If they see success, then surely they stop themselves. Therefore, the way I deal with society's stigma is that I must excel, in their minds I should be better than them. I see from them generally from the lower classes who are stigmatizing and bullying. If from among classy and educated people there might not be. So on average they are from marginal people and marginalize us. So with achievement, they will stop themselves". (Interview, Yl)

The second informant said the same:

"There must be a stigma, but for what I do, I just ignore it. If people say that I don't care because we are wrong, but if they poke me then I will be angry". (Interview, Ay)

As in the third informant:

"I feel comfortable being a transpuan because I can express what I want and be comfortable hanging out, dressing like a woman and more confident by becoming a transgender woman. I don't care about people's stigma". (Interview Mm)

The transactions show that social stigma and exclusion from the community, in general, were responded by conditional neglect. Conditional neglect is characterized by indifference towards ridicule as long as it does not interfere physically. In the perspective of symbolic interaction theory, conditional neglect is a reaction to the symbol of the other party. Forms of verbal and nonverbal cues are symbols that are interpreted by those who undergo social interaction. Every symbol that is born from the process of interaction produces meaning. The meaning is then transmitted through social action to others. Others give reactions that do not always match the wishes of the other party. Mockery, shouting and other treatments are various types of symbols transmitted by people towards transgender women. Symbolic treatment in perception was relatively uniform by transgender women who were informants in this study. All informants produce conditional neglect as a general behavior of the symbolic stimulus of the community.

The center of analysis of symbolic interaction theory is in symbols. Charron in Ahmadi (2008) explained that:

Symbols are social objects in interactions that are used as representatives and communication that are determined by the people who use them. These people give meaning, create and change objects in interactions. These social symbols can be realized in the form of physical objects (invisible objects), words (to represent physical objects, feelings, ideas, and values), and actions (which people do to give meaning in communicating with others). (p. 302)

Conditional neglect in addition to the reaction to the symbolic treatment of the community also symbolizes the symbol which is then directed at the community. Reduced stigma is evidence of symbolic effectiveness in the form of conditional disregarding behavior or actions.

Social situations laden with symbols and one's interpretative activities are the main ingredients of the Theory of Symbolic Interaction. Sobur in Khairan et al., (2016: 4) mentioned the basic premises of the Symbolic Interaction Theory:

- 1) Individuals respond to a symbolic situation, they respond to the environment including physical objects (objects) and social objects (human behavior) based on the media that these environmental components contain for them. Each informant responds to symbolic situations in the form of stereotypical stimulants that undermine their existence.
- 2) Meaning is a product of social interaction because that is the meaning does not look at objects, but because humans can color everything not only physical objects, actions, or events (even without the presence of physical objects, actions, or events) but also abstract ideas. The way transgender women respond to stimulants in the form of stigma and social exclusion is the act of meaning born of the informant's social interaction with the community. Informants perceive social situations and respond according to the meaning they construct.
- 3) The meaning interpreted by an individual can change from time to time in line with changes in the situation found in social interaction. Changes in interpretation are possible because individuals can perform mental processes, namely communicating with themselves. A dynamic social situation also allows the process of meaning to be dynamic. Changes in informant behavior from closed to open are the fruit of the dynamics of meaning based on the dynamics of social situations that differ from time to time.

Configuring symbol systems in public spaces is a necessary thing in social processes. Every social process reflects the dynamics of symbolic exchange and the complexity of their interpretations. Laksmi (2017) stated that:

Humans use symbols to present their intentions and vice versa. The process of interpreting these symbols to the behavior of the parties involved in social interaction is a product of their interpretation of the world around them. Individuals choose behavior as something worth doing, based on how individuals define the existing situation. Meaning arises because there is an interaction between individuals, which arises from the results of interpretations of the human mind about themselves, and their relationships in society. Understanding of symbols must be understood that symbols are social objects that arise from the results of mutual agreement of the individuals who use them. These individuals give meaning, create, and change objects in interactions. These social symbols can manifest in the form of physical objects, language, and actions. (p. 124)

Transgender women define the situation they face is based on community treatment in the form of perceptions, attitudes and stigmatic actions that underestimate and even undermine their existence. The relatively intense stigma found by the informants caused the informants to respond by ignoring the stigma but with certain limitations. Stigma does not make transgender women or *waria* an absolute adjustment process. In a sense, changing their existence. The reaction that transgender women show is to do the process of adjustment without having to meet the expectations of the community. The informants remain *waria*, but differ in strategies especially in dealing with immediate family. The purpose of the adjustment behavior is simply done so as not to make sudden changes that can harm the informant. The adjustment strategy is only done so that the community can accept its existence.

Different strategies often make transgender in the public sphere take the role of adjusting to community expectations. Transgender women who have strategic considerations facing the rigors of social stigma tend not to present themselves as they are in public spaces.

Social interaction occurs or arises because of social objects, symbols, languages , and perspectives that are central to human social life whose importance can be found in human social reality, human social life and individual life. Symbols are nothing but special types of social objects. Language is nothing but a special type of symbol and perspective is a collection of symbols.

Social objects, symbols, languages , and perspectives are constructed by humans so that their social life goes the way they want. Social objects, symbols, languages , and perspectives developed by one group can certainly be different from other groups. The meaning comes from the interpretation of social objects, symbols, languages, and perspectives. Meaning determines the behavior of a person's interactions with others. Social interaction involves communication and meeting/face to face. Informants seek social interaction even though the community still has a negative meaning for them. At this point, the construction of knowledge to reduce the problem of interaction that gives birth to conflict is carried out by the informants.

B. Construction of Waria`s Knowledge to Exist

The construction of knowledge as something inevitably leads one to interpret something with a specific purpose. In conflictual social situations, the aim of reducing tension is one of the considerations for concocting certain knowledge constructs. The construction of knowledge is something important in sociological analysis.

Sociology is a branch of science that focuses on human social behavior. The focus of analysis on how humans construct meaning in certain social situations is a unit of micro-sociological analysis.

The phenomenon of transgender life experience involves two processes, namely macro and micro-scale processes. The theory of symbolic interaction focuses more on microanalysis by observing deeply the internal complexity of individuals including the process of constructing knowledge.

The theory of symbolic interaction is a theory that emphasizes the internal dynamics of actors, especially the way an actor constructs the meaning of a symbol. Who we are is very much determined from the interpretations of others, whether we follow the expectations of others or not. Contemplation, ridicule, stereotypes and unpleasant treatments have been part of their lives. Every informant's lived experience cannot be separated from social stigma and exclusion. The informants have a way of constructing symbolic meaning in both verbal and nonverbal forms.

The construction of knowledge is inevitable because each symbol has a certain meaning. Social stigma and exclusion in the eyes of informants are interpreted differently. The following are the statements of the first informant:

"I don't care about the community, I am more focused work earning money. We must be role models of people, motivate people. I am a role model of other transpuan to be their reflection, so I have to do good for many people and have to work hard". (Interview, Yl)

As in the second informant:

"Initially I just "hang out" in Karebosi, looking around and traveling with friends who are also transsexual (in a local language known as transpuan). Indeed, at that time I was invited to a friend. I started to hang out when I was in high school in grade 2 around 1998. I worked so until 20 years and because of the age factor is old so I thought of working in a salon. I want to be called Senior in Herman's Salon, so all my friends at my place of work and fellow transpuan are close. We interact well, even though at Herman's Salon some are not transpuan but we are still close". (Interview, Wd)

Also, the third informant told as follow:

"Although there is a stigma, I still have to work. Initially, I worked as a prostitute. In Makassar, I have always known it up to now. To get my information, by a friend named Ade, I was invited to join the organization. If I enter the organization, if I can get condoms and lubricants so that they are also safety, then I will join the organization in 2001. In 2013 I took a short course from PKBI (a course to improve English language skills). And in 2014, I run a beauty salon, but I continue to be a prostitute at night until this day". (Interview, Ay)

The fourth informant also said that:

"After graduating from high school I worked in a shop for 5 years, but I found it hard to express myself, so I left and worked in a beauty salon. But it turned out that my

talent wasn't there, although I tried continuously but was unable to work in the salon. Now I have been working for an NGO for 2 years and I am comfortable working here. Our fellow friends support and our fraternity among transpuan is very high". (Interview, Mm)

The statements above show that the way the informant constructs knowledge of the stigma and social exclusion it faces. Knowledge construction is nothing but an act of interpretation of the symbols they receive in the form of stigma and social exclusion from the community. Interpretation influences informant behavior. Behavioral variation is closely related to variations in interpretation. The construction of knowledge is directed at other social actors that provide certain symbolic stimulation.

In the theory of symbolic interaction, humans are perceived as animal symbols. Humans cannot be separated from the act of interpreting symbols. According to Mulyana in Haliemah & Kertamukti (2017: 496), there are 3 premises of the theory of symbolic interaction namely:

- 1) Individuals respond to a symbolic situation. They respond to the environment, including physical objects (objects) and social objects (human behavior) based on the meaning that these environmental components contain for them. The response given when facing the situation is not mechanical, nor is it determined by external factors. Their response depends on how they define the situation encountered in social interaction. So it is individuals who are seen as active in determining their environment. The data above shows that the informant was active and responded to the symbolic situation that was stimulated to him. Various interpretations mean that humans are not mechanical. Humans are active, creative and innovative creatures in constructing knowledge of the social situation they face. The knowledge construction process is the way the informant defines the situation of stigma and social exclusion that it faces.
- 2) Meaning is a product of social interaction, therefore meaning is not inherent in objects, but is negotiated through the use of language. Negotiations are possible because humans can name everything, not just physical objects, actions or events (even without the presence of physical objects, actions or events), but also abstract ideas. The mockery and ridicule faced by informants are symbolic stimulants in the form of verbal language expressions. The main problem is to negotiate the existence of transgender women from rejection to acceptance. The fact of the study shows that the relations of informants with those closest to them tend to change towards proclamation and automatically eliminate stigma on the part of the family meaning changes.
- 3) The meaning interpreted by an individual can change from time to time, in line with changes in the situation found in social interaction. Changes in interpretation are possible because individuals can perform mental processes, namely communicating with themselves. Humans imagine or plan what they will do. The facts of the study show that there has been a change in meaning, especially from the community towards the existence of transgender people. This indicates the construction of knowledge is very dynamic. Study facts show changes in meaning occur in the closest people and educated people even though their acceptance varies. Changes in meaning occur because of the process of social interaction of informants with their communities. Some informants understand that with achievement, the quantity and intensity of stigma and social exclusion can decrease. Conditional neglect is a behavior that is planned with the aim that the informants do not face excessive reaction from the community.

Symbolic interaction theory seeks to observe deeply and comprehensively the internal dynamics of transgender women who are informants in this study. The internal dynamics in question are the process of informants constructing their knowledge in response to social situations in which stigma and social exclusion occur. The problematic social situation faced by the informant requires the informant to be adaptive and not frontal. Observing the responses of informants shows a reluctance to escalate conflicts with the community.

Perception to reduce tension with society in the form of knowledge construction that is considered the most effective in reducing social stigma and exclusion. Mead in Tamunu (2018: 11) revealed 4 elements in social interaction, they are:

- 1) Impulse. The first stage is the impulse (impulse, impulse) which involves “instant sensory stimulation” and the actor's reaction to the stimulus, the need to do something about it. Hunger is a good example of impulse. Hunger may come from the actor's stomach or may be caused by the presence of food in his environment, or the most likely feeling that arises from a combination of the two. Furthermore, a hungry person must find a way to satisfy an existing impulse. Overall from Mead's theory, impulses involve both actors and their environments. social stigma and exclusion are impulses that influence the way of informants' thinking and behavior. The conditional neglect and postponement strategy of introducing its existence is the response of the impulse that comes from the community.
- 2) Perception. The second stage of action is perception, i.e the actor seeks, and reacts to stimuli associated with impulses, in this case, hunger and various tools or ways to satisfy it. People can feel or understand stimuli through hearing, smelling, tasting, and so on. People not only respond instantaneously to external stimuli but rather think about it, estimate it through mental depictions. People are not only subject to external stimulation; they also actively choose the characteristics of a stimulus and choose among a group of stimuli. That is, a stimulus may have several dimensions, and the actor can select between them. Mead refused to separate the objects he felt. The act of feeling is what makes it an object for someone; perceptions and objects cannot be separated (dialectically related) with one another. Stimulation in the form of stigma and social exclusion will then be perceived by the informant. This study found that informants understood the stimulation as part of discriminating themselves. One of the informants even categorized the aspects of the stigma of the perpetrators of the stigma and understand if the stigmatized perpetrators were ordinary people, but would not understand if the perpetrators were from educated or educated circles.
- 3) Manipulation. The third stage is manipulation. When the impulse has manifested itself and the object has been felt, the next step is to manipulate the object or take action to please it. For Mead, the manipulation phase is an important temporary pause in the process so that a response is not realized immediately. A hungry human sees a fungus, but before eating it he may take it first and examine it before eating. People may think of past experiences when they ate certain fungi and the consequences that occur after eating the fungus. Checking and studying before eating the fungus becomes experimental when the actor mentally tests hypotheses about what will happen when the fungus is eaten. Conditional neglect and delays in opening existence are part of the way informants manipulate stigmatic stimulants. Informants take time to consider various strategies. There is a pause to consider several options for answering implants that come from the community.
- 4) Resolution. Based on the above considerations, the actor may decide to eat the fungus or not, and that is the final phase of the action, settlement (consummation) or more generally taking action to satisfy the initial impulse. The settlement phase is the decision making

phase in responding to the impulse that afflicts transgender women. The settlement phase is also the result of all the deliberations directed at responding to the stigmatic impulses of the community. Conditional neglect and delay in opening up are manifestations of the completion phase.

Based on the study facts, the informant developed 4 elements of Mead social interaction above, namely:

- 1) The impulse stage, marked by the informant's reaction to stimuli in the form of stigma and social exclusion that they face. Impulse is nothing but a portrait of social interaction between informants and their environment.
- 2) The stage of perception, marked by a post-impulse analysis which is characterized by efforts to find ways that stigma and social exclusion can be reduced and not endanger himself and his group.
- 3) The manipulation phase is characterized by manipulating social stigma and exclusion by responding to it. Conditional neglect is a form of manipulation by informants based on knowledge construction and is not realized immediately. The way the informant chooses the moment of expressing his existence is a form of manipulation in the form of a delay in the recognition of the existence of his personality. Two methods of manipulation namely conditional neglect and procrastination are something planned by the informant.
- 4) The completion phase, marked by the actualization of planned actions from the informants to reduce social stigma and exclusion so that their existence can be understood or accepted. The settlement stage is the stage of decision making over several strategic options to respond to the stigmatic impulses coming from the community. The strategy of conditional neglect and delay in opening existence is the final decision that is considered best by the informant.

The general determination of society about sex is reflected in basically binding social norms. Social sanctions will be actual if there are individuals or groups of individuals whose thoughts and actions conflict with the norm. Transvestite thoughts and behavior are considered to be distorted. This became the basis of social stigma and exclusion befalling transgender women. Social norms, from the perspective of symbolic interaction theory, are collections of symbols that have a very significant meaning in influencing someone.

The problem of symbolic interaction which is the basis of transgender social interaction with the community is a form of communication mediated by symbols that have different bases. General social norms about sex are contrary to the understanding of transgender women. Symbolic conflict is reflected in the structure of knowledge about what is good and right or not. This symbolic conflict naturally affects the social cohesion between transgender and society. Low social cohesion is detrimental to transgender who throughout their lives face social stigma and exclusion.

Low social cohesion between community and waria causes them to develop social interaction strategies gradually to be accepted in the community. Some informants in this study were found trying to adjust and delay opening their identities. The unpreparedness to open a conflict front with the community is the basis of the informant's social actions.

Theoretically, Forrest & Kearns in Nisa & Juneman (2012: 90) outlined the areas of social cohesion, namely: (1) shared values and a civic culture, (2) social order and social control, (3) social solidarity, (4) social networking and social capital, and (5) attachment and identification in places (place attachment and identity). This understanding is still sociological (as with most

studies of social cohesion) and forms the basis for objectively measuring social cohesion or cohesiveness. Bollen & Hoyle (1990) filled the gap of existing literature on social cohesion. According to them, in addition to objective measurements, measurements of individual group members' perceptions of the level of cohesion with the group must also not be ignored because these perceptions affect the behavior of the individual and the behavior of the group as a whole. Their construction is called the perception of social cohesion (perceived cohesion), is subjective psychological.

The problem of social cohesion between transgender and society lies in conflicting social values which ultimately affect other domains. Conflicting values cause social order to be disrupted, especially in transgender groups. Conflicting values also cause social solidarity between *waria* and society to tend to be low so that social networks are torn and social capital is difficult to maintain between them. Finally, attachment and identification in the place uprooted or uprooted from transgender women. The community is less accepting of their existence in their environment. People tend to think that transgender women are social anomalies or social deviations.

This community prejudice by Etty & Sri in Arfanda & Anwar (2015) caused social conflict between transgender women and the community:

Social conflict impacts the social pressures faced by them. Transvestite life must face social pressure that is coercion from the environment that requires their behavior to want to follow the habits that exist in that environment. There are two social pressures faced by transgender women, namely pressure from families who are usually transgender women seen as a disgrace because transgender women is often framed by the prostitution and abnormal sexual behavior, this usually makes them not comfortable in the family environment. The next pressure is from the community due to behavior that deviates from the norm". (p. 96)

The social pressure of transgender women experiencing stigma and social exclusion is a logical consequence that must be faced by transgender as reflected in this study.

5. Conclusions

The study of *Waria* (Transgender women) in perspective of Symbolic Interaction Theory generated a conclusion that a way of *waria* or transgender women perceive their social exclusion is manifested in planned actions in the form of conditional neglect and delay in introducing their existence. These two actions stem from the perception that a problematic existence should not lead to a large escalation of the conflict. The construction of transgender knowledge to maintain its existence is passed through 4 stages of interaction according to the symbolic interaction theory they are impulse, perception, manipulation, and resolution. Knowledge construction is nothing but an act of informant's perceptions of the social situation in the form of stigma and social exclusion.

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Malay Political Tradition: The Appointment and Succession Analysis of The Sultanate of Palembang Darussalam

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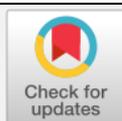
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ABSTRACT

This study aims to determine and explore how Islam and Malay as an intertwined entity influence the formation of political institutions in the Sultanate of Palembang, especially influencing the appointment and succession of the Sultan. This study is the result of qualitative research based on a literature review using interpretive analysis techniques. In the practice of Islam in Indonesia, cultural values of non-Islamic religions are maintained and practiced by Islamic entities such as practices in the replacement of the King and Sultan. A theoretical approach to society by looking at the evolution of kings approached to explain the history of state administration and the transition of power, combined with Elite; Political Culture, and Cultural Politics. The results of this study found that the system of appointment and change of power in the Sultanate of Palembang, namely the existence of its characteristics associated with a blend of Malay and Javanese culture. Differences in political culture greatly influence the process of succession that occurs. Malay culture which emphasizes more on its economy in the maritime field and Arabic symbols will be different from Javanese culture which is more agrarian and syncretic.

Keywords: Islam; Malay Culture; Palembang; Succession; Sultanate

1. Introduction

The rapid development of studies on Islam, Malay and local traditions is as two things integrated into the social formation, especially in Indonesia. Islam as a religion that teaches various normative and humanist aspects undergoes a process of acceptance and rejection in society, whereas Malay and tradition as a particular community's identity also undergo dialectical processes in establishing conformity with Islamic teachings.

Islam, Malay and local traditions are constantly studied with scientific approaches that are generally based on ideographic. It proves the encounter of Islam, Malay and local traditions is not only understood as a teaching process but also created social, cultural, economic institutions and even political power institutions that tolerate local values. The circle of Islam, Malay, and local traditions becomes magnetism that cannot be separated from the dynamics and changes occur. Further, forming wider and dominant social formations.

The term "*Malay*" is not identical to a particular ethnic community or ethnic group but an entity that is flexible and resembles entity a nation and even groups of allied ethnicities that share the same religion and language. Malay is the fusion of foreign descents such as Arabic, Persian, Chinese and Indian, and other ethnic in Nusantara. Adaptation which is followed by a process of defusion can occur because of some factors such as migration and the process of settling which makes them live longer with Malay people and local tribes. The other side is embracing the same religion and using Malay in daily communication. It makes Malays have their distinct characteristics that are different from other ethnicities such as Javanese, Sundanese or Betawi. Although Malay people live in several separate areas, both on land and in water, even among them far apart, wherever they are, their language and religion are the same as the core culture of Malay's main identity. Several factors of the process can form the structure and functional "*Malay*" typical of other Indonesian tribes, including:

- 1) Trades and Ports are entry points for various activities related to commerce and power relations;
- 2) Marriage between Muslim migrants and indigenous women then forms a new kinship between families;
- 3) Expansion of political power and the decrease of the Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms influences;
- 4) Starting to accept orthodoxy and heterodoxy Islamic teachings marked by the presence of Sufi scholars and *fiqh* (Islamic Law);
- 5) The process of Islamization of native kings by Sufi scholars or Sufism experts;
- 6) Malay as the language of the spread of Islam and the language of instruction in Islamic educational institutions both speaking and writing (Malay Arabic with various types);
- 7) Sufi entities and scholars began to build new intellectual traditions within the realm of kingdoms and some even became advisors to the King or Sultan.

The factors above greatly affect the lives of people in Indonesia. Although it is difficult to prove that local traditions are not identical to Islam or vice versa, Islam is what forms the local tradition of power. Therefore, the practice of Islam in Indonesia can be found in the cultural values of non-Islamic religions that are maintained and practiced by Islamic entities such as practices in changing the power of kings and sultans.

In examining the system of appointment and succession (dismissal) of the king or sultan can not be separated from the problems of social and political institutions that present in power such as descent, belief, palace, and others. The traditional form presence of power with some concepts that exist in the power itself, according to the political culture adopted and determine

a process of succession of kings or sultans occurred at that time. The fusion point is to meet the two great Hindu, Buddhist, and Malay traditions in the process of creating traditional kings and sultan.

2. Literature Review

Horikoshi & Wahid (1986: 76-78) stated that the nature of leadership can be built through a social process, specifically the interaction of models and figures that occur between religious leaders influencing followers, then the follower responds to the qualities they want. This charismatic phenomenon only occurs in a social interaction initiated by the appearance of a character who has inherent, learned and disciplined abilities.

Also, Syamsudin (2001: 56-58), believed that the relationship between Islam and Leadership is a classic discourse that continues to develop. In the mid-20th century Islamic countries experienced difficulties in developing a possible synthesis between Islam and Leadership, the fact explained that indeed in many Islamic countries have not been able to show a harmonious relationship between Islam and modern leadership. In his writings, Syamsudin, also sharply elaborated various paradigms of Islamic leadership and political thought in Indonesia.

Another researcher, Al-Attas (1999: 77-79), revealed that the arrival of Islam caused a rational and intellectual awakening of religious style in the Nusantara that had never been experienced before. Apart from that Islam also encourages major changes in the soul of the Malay people and their culture. Islam fosters scientific and intellectual activities and frees them from the shackles of mythology that dominated their souls before. The presence of Islam opened a new page and caused a very fundamental process of social, economic and political change. Furthermore, in society, there is a process of forming Islam into the face of power institutions around the kingdom which had previously been influenced by Malay and local civilizations. From Pasai and Aceh, Islam then spread to other areas in the Nusantara. Islamic empires also appeared on other islands since the 16th century AD after local authorities embraced Islam and their kingdoms were involved in regional trade activities.

Ambary (1998: 33-35) found that the Java kingdoms such as Demak, Banten, Pajang, Mataram, Cirebon, and Madura emerged in the 16th and 17th centuries AD; in Maluku: The Kingdoms of Ternate and Tidore in the 16th century; and then in Sulawesi: Buton, Selayar and Gowa, also in Nusa Tenggara: Bima and Lombok, in Kalimantan: Banjarmasin, and Pontianak, and others in the 17th and 18th centuries. Malay itself, other centers of Islamic power and civilization also emerged following the decline of Aceh Darussalam from the early 18th century AD, for example, Palembang, Johor, Riau, Banjarmasin, Minangkabau, and others.

Abdullah (2002: 7-8) stated that another important factor that caused Islam to develop rapidly was the settlements of civilization circle centers at the right three points, they are the Palace, Islamic Boarding School and Market (Abdullah, 1988, in Fadil, 1991). The palace as a center of power plays a role in politics and the structuring of social life. under the support of the ulama who were directly involved in the government bureaucracy where Islamic law was formulated and implemented.

Furthermore, the book of history is a basis of legitimacy for Muslim rulers. The *pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School) played a role in the field of education and was the second cultural center after the palace. The dismissal process of the Sultan in Palembang has only been found to be referenced in one of the ancient manuscripts "The Tale of Palembang" (*Hikayat Palembang*) (UBL Text 7) which today is in the Leiden Museum, the Netherlands.

Leur (1955: 97-99) in the dissertation studied Hinduism, Islam, and the west influences the history of Southeast Asia, in this case, Indonesia. According to Leur, the spread and

development of Islam are directly related to international shipping, since Islamic traders are also preachers. However, the acceptance of Islam does not occur both by coercion from outside and the appeal of a higher cultural system enters the local power system.

Based on the previous findings and studies above, the influence of Islam, Malay and local traditions have shaped the conversion process in the succession of kings and sultans in Nusantara including the Sultanate of Palembang. It is just a necessary sorting out in terms of institutionalization of power related to the succession, awarding titles associated with religion, for example, the used of the kings of Mataram by using titles *Panembahan*, *Susuhunan* or Sultan and the title of *Sayidin Panatagama* as shown in the series of titles used by *Susuhunan*, the kings of Surakarta, as well as the sultan, the kings of Yogyakarta, showed that these kings were considered religious leaders. The title *Khalifatullah* as used in the Sultans of Yogyakarta also shows the religious element in the position of king.

Thus, various theoretical constructions and the previous studies on the system of appointment and Succession (Dismissal) of the King or Sultan in Nusantara constantly involve cultural issues and the institutionalization of power which is influenced by Islam, Malay and local traditions. Therefore sociological analysis through patron-client and charismatic theory is used to explore the political system, which includes charismatic or traditional authority, patrimonialism, feudalism, traditional bureaucracy, and so on since the realm of Kings and Sultans is included in classical historical studies characterized by symbolic values in a society that has a genealogic-heretically-based (hereditary) and charismatic type of leadership.

For this reason, this study seeks to explore further other matters that have not been the focus of previous researchers in the legitimacy of leaders or kings, which lies in the values of tradition, which shape the leader charismatic either from descendants or existing symbols.

3. Research Methodology

This study used a qualitative method and literature review. This study seeks to reveal the dynamics of social, political, cultural change in the process of Islamization and institutional processes as well as the sociocultural process of Islam and Malay in the Sultanate of Palembang Darussalam. To sharpen this study, certain themes from the history of Sultanate of Palembang Darussalam was taken, for example, the formation process of the Sultanate of Palembang and the use of the word "*Kesultanan (sultanate)*", Political Succession Traditions of the Sultanate of Palembang, The *Ulama* (Islamic elders) of the Sultanate, the pattern of Arab Muslim formation and Malay Muslim entities, emergence of Arab adaptation strategies and indigenous, and the formation of political institutions from the kingdom to the sultanate.

Sociological and historical understanding related to all historical and historiographical experiences becomes very important. Since the expression of ideas, ideas, thoughts, beliefs, organizational systems, social systems and cultural systems that move the other historical experiences, especially the process of Islamization that takes place simultaneously with the expansion of trade activities that cannot be separated from the emergence of new economic centers in the local kingdom that has strong Islamic characteristics. The existence of religious and economic social networks is very important for the continuation of the role and function of Muslims in trading activities and relations with the role of the local kingdom.

This study had two sources of data, they were: (1) Literature review and documentation as primary data; (2) Field sources as secondary data were used as complementary information sources. The data sources of literature review and documentary were sought by observation techniques and documentary studies, both books, and other literacy methods; Islamization, Arabic, and indigenous people, the history of Palembang, History of Palembang Sultanate and

the formation of the Sultan's successional pattern in the Sultanate of Palembang Darussalam such as (1) Rahim (1998), "*Sistem otoritas dan administrasi Islam di Palembang: studi tentang pejabat agama masa kesultanan dan kolonial di Palembang*"; (2) Resink (1987), "*Raja dan kerajaan yang merdeka di Indonesia, 1850-1910*"; (3) Ricklefs (1990), "*Sejarah Indonesia Modern*"; (4) Saleh (1999), "*Mitos dan Legenda dalam Konsep Kerajaan dan Kenegaraan Melayu Tradisional*" in Hashim & Perret (1999); (5) Wolders (1975), "*Het Sultanaat Palembang 1811-1825*"; (6) Azra (2002), "*Islam Nusantara: Jaringan global dan lokal*"; (7) Berg (1989), "*Hadramaut dan koloni Arab di Nusantara*", Translation by Rahayu Hidayat; (8) Hanafiah (1988), "*Kuto gawang: Pergolakan dan permainan politik dalam kelahiran kesultanan Palembang Darussalam*"; (9) Sevenhoven (1971), "*Lukisan Tentang Ibukota Palembang*", Translation by Sugarda Purbakawatja. (10) Zuhdi et al., (1996), "*Kerajaan tradisional Sulawesi Tenggara: Kesultanan Buton*"; (11) Ali (1986), "*Refleksi paham 'kekuasaan Jawa' dalam Indonesia modern*"; (12) Hasymy (1993), "*Sejarah masuk dan berkembangnya Islam di Indonesia*"; (13) Leonard (1988), "*Persekutuan Aneh Pemukim Cina, Wanita Peranakan dan Belanda di Batavia VOC*", (Translated); (14) Budi (2005), "*A Study on the History and Development of the Javanese Mosque: Part 2: The Historical Setting and Role of the Javanese Mosque under the Sultanates*".

The secondary data were generated by interviews with some informants. This technique was to better understand the cohesive interpretations of various historical data found. The result is a chronological description, a reconstruction and a strong conclusion to the study subjects.

Interpretation analysis was to understand the various circumstances that are in social relations, conflicts and dynamics of power formation such as status, roles, values, norms, knowledge, ideas, symbols, which describe events. This analysis is a method in cultural science to result in scientific knowledge of objectivity. Hence, this analysis was used to address neglected dimensions in sociological analysis, namely the analysis of social, cultural, and material aspects by understanding the meaning related to historical or social situations that view the social-cultural environment as a phenomenon of human creation. This study focused on the shared-meaning in a social process which was expected to explain the significance of existing conditions and relationships and implicitly create conflict and the deepest insights were obtained about the actions that occurred in social relations.

The data was validated using triangulation techniques. According to Sutopo (2002: 7-8) triangulation is the most commonly used for increasing validity in qualitative research. Patton (in Sutopo, 2002: 78) stated four kinds of triangulation techniques, they are (1) data triangulation, that is, researchers in collecting data must use a variety of different data sources, (2) methodological triangulation is a way for researchers to test the validity of data by collecting similar data but by using different data collection techniques or methods, (3) investigator triangulation, which is the results of research both data or conclusions about a particular section or the whole can be tested for validity from several researchers, and (4) theoretical triangulation, namely in testing the validity of the data using the perspective of more than one theory in discussing the problems examined, so that it can be analyzed and drawn more complete and comprehensive conclusions. This study used the theoretical triangulation technique to validate the data. The theoretical triangulation technique tested the validity of the data using more than one perspective in discussing the problems being studied so that it can be analyzed and drawn more complete and comprehensive conclusions.

In the context of this study, the relevant data related to Malay political culture were collected and grouped them based on the method used, inventorying conclusions related to the existing literature, which were finally tested with relevant theories to draw complete conclusions.

4. Results and Discussion

A. The Succession of the Kings and Sultans of The Sultanate of Palembang Darussalam

In Indonesia, the system of succession for the kings had been standardized in a particular way in the form of their respective traditions and customs. However, history also records the frequent conflicts between the royal elite during the succession process. It happened when the ruling king before did not appoint a successor or had not appointed the crown prince. The intrigue among princes often sparked the process which often leads to death among one of them. It also happened to the kingdom or Sultanate of Palembang Darussalam. To explore the process of replacing kings and sultans in Palembang, it can be seen in the book "Het Sultanaat Palembang" compiled by Woelders based on several manuscripts in Leiden, Netherlands. The text is given UBL Text Codes 4 - 7, TR-1, TR-3 and Text KI-4 (Woelders, 1975).

The list of the kings and sultans who ruled in Palembang is also included in table 1 listed by Husni Rahim concerning various sources (Rahim, 1998). However, there is a difference between lists. Husni Rahim listed the table begins with Aria Dilah, while the others begin with Ki Gede Ing Suro. On the other hand, based on the old manuscripts compiled by Woelders there also appears to be differences, especially in the reign of kings and sultans when ruling. Nonetheless, the texts all include the name of Ki Gede Ing Suro as the first ruler in Palembang. Although as a forerunner to genealogy is not always the same. UBL Text 6 (The Book of *Toeroenan Radja-radja in Palembang*), for instance, stated that the genealogy of the kings of Palembang starts from Sayyidina Husin.

The differences between the length of reign- ruling kings and sultans can be attributed to the period of writing these texts which all originated after the abolition of the monarchy. UBL texts 4-6 written in 1851; while the UBL-7 text was written between 1863-1880 (Woelders, 1975). The process of reign-succession in Palembang began with the reign of Ki Gede Ing Suro until the abolition of the monarchy by the Dutch Colonial in 1823. In the book "*Het Sultanaat Palembang*" and the oral traditions of people in Palembang, the first ruling - king in Palembang was Ki Gede Ing Suro. According to De Graaf & Pigeaud (2001), Ki Gede Ing Suro Tua was considered as the first king and ruled from 1547 to 1552. Ki Gede Ing Suro Tua was one of the fugitives from Jipang who later took office in Palembang in 1541.

This year's figures were obtained by De Graaf & Pigeaud based on de Kock's notes (De Graaf & Pigeaud, 2001: 337). However, Sturler (1943) stated that Ki Gede Ing Suro Tua arrived in Palembang in 1549. This year's figure was approved by Graff & Pigeaud because in 1541 Sultan Trenggono was reign in Demak. Apart from the year difference of Ki Gede Ing Suro's arrival, it is clear that this figure was never buried in Palembang since the King died while on a voyage back to Java. According to Husni Rahim, the length of Ki Gede Ing Suro reign was 21 years. Husni Rahim also mentioned that before Ki Gede Ing Suro was in the reign, Prince Sido Ing Lautan, whose reign lasted for 5 years. Meanwhile, according to the text TR-1, his reign is 22 years.

From the length of reign, it can be concluded that at that time Palembang's condition was stable. Thus, it is possible if before returning to Java, the King mandated to the brother, Ki Gede Ing Suro Muda to rule in Palembang which then ruled Palembang from 1572-1589 or for 17 years. The number of years mentioned by Husni Rahim turns out to be different from what is contained in the text TR-1, which mentions his reign was only one year, which began in 968 Hijri. Ki Gede Ing Suro Muda is the possibility of building a funeral complex in Gedingsuro. This figure is also known as Ki Gede Ing Suro Ilir or Kiai Mas Anom Adipati Ing Suro. If Ki Gede Ing Suro Ilir was only replaced in 977 Hijri, then he should have been in reign for around

9 years, not one year. The difference of reign-length of Kemas Depati between Husni Rahim and TR-1 is 7 years.

The length of reign around 9-17 years is not to be short, so Ki Gede Ing Suro Ilir then handed over the rule to the son, Prince Kemas Dipati (1589-1594), so that the duration of his reign was only five years. This year's figures are also experiencing differences with those listed in the text TR-1 because it mentions the year of 977 Hijri as the beginning of his reign and was only replaced in 989 Hijri or ruling for 12 years. Apart from the difference in reign, it was clear that in 1595 the reign replaced to his brother, Pangeran Madi Angsoka (son of Ki Gede Ing Suro Muda) who ruled around 1594-1627 or around 34 -35 years. Although during the time of Prince Madi Angsoka there was an "infidel" war with Bantam. The length of Madi Angsoka's reign (34-35 years) shows the economic and political conditions at that time which were relatively stable and safe.

When Prince Madi Angsoka passed away, there was a power struggle between the son-in-law (Prince Jambi) and two uncles of his wife (Prince Madi Angsoka's brothers) which the victory on the uncle's side. Even so, Prince Madi Alit (son of Ki Gede Ing Suro Muda) became the King then called Raja Depati (1629-1630). Prince Madi Alit only ruled for one year and he was killed due to a woman's case (De la Faille, 1971: 14). Prince Madi Alit was later replaced by his brother Pangeran Seding Puro or also called Pangeran Made Sokan, known as Raden Aria who was the son of Kiai Mas Adipati and ruled around 1629-1636. Raden Aria's reign of only seven years is relatively short, but given the title Prince Seding Puro (meaning death in the temple or palace), then his death is likely due to illness that has long suffered during his reign, therefore there is a possibility before Raden Aria died, he still had time to leave a will and appointing someone to succeed him as ruler in the kingdom of Palembang.

Then, Raden Aria was replaced by his brother Prince Seding Kenayan who ruled around 1636-1652 whose wife was Queen Sinuhun who was very well known in Palembang society (Ibid., p. 21). During the reign, there had been tensions with the Dutch in Batavia regarding the breach of contract he had committed on October 20, 1642, in favor of the Dutch. Pangeran Sedo Ing Kenayan did not fulfill the contents of the contract and raised the price of pepper in 1647, so the Dutch did not benefit from his monopoly (Rahim, 1998: 73). Although there was a "tension" with the Dutch, it seemed that the security and political conditions at that time did not have much influence and were relatively stable, so that it could rule for 16 years. It was during this reign that the "*Simbur Cahaya*" Law was born, which the Palembang people believed was the work of queen Sinuhun (wife of Prince Sido Ing Kenayan). The stability of Seding Kenayan's reign was also supported by the fact that he was replaced after he passed away.

After Prince Seding Kenayan passed away, he was succeeded by queen Sinuhun's nephew, Prince Seding Pesariyan (1652-1653) who was later replaced by his son Prince Seding Rajak (1653-1660). From the nickname, Prince Seding Pesariyan (meaning Prince who passed away in *Pesariyan* or bed), then the short period of the reign was allegedly caused by this king who suffered sudden death. Prince Sedo Ing Kenayan's bravery against the Dutch was also followed by his successor, Prince Seding Rajak who in 1657 captured two Dutch ships in the Musi River (Ibid., p. 74). Because of that, the Dutch finally attacked and burned Kuto Gawang's palace in 1659, so Prince Seding Rajak moved to Inderalaya and until the death. Prince Seding Rajak was buried in the village of Sakatiga, Ogan Ilir Regency. His position was replaced by Raden Tumenggung or Ki Mas Endi Ario Kesumo who was known as Sultan Abdurrahman or Sultan Abdul Hamal/Jamal and another name is as Susuhunan Cinde Walang.

At this time Palembang also broke away from Mataram and claimed to stand alone. Ki Mas Endi used the complete sultan's title to become Sultan Abdurrahman (*Khalifatul Mukminin*

Sayidul Imam). As Palembang's first sultan he had established a new palace at Beringinjanggut and the Cinde Walang funeral complex. This appointment was accompanied by the signing of the treaty agreement between Palembang and the Dutch in 1662. One of the contents of the agreement was that the Dutch were allowed to re-establish a lodge and warehouse in a strategic place and near the river. The fortress is known as the Aur River fortress which is located in the opposite of the Beringinjanggut Palace (Ibid.).

After Sultan Abdurrahman, the Sultanate of Palembang Darussalam was ruled by Sultan Muhammad Mansyur Jayo Ing Lago in 1706 -1714. In 1709, the Sultan crowned the eldest son, Raden Abubakar as the crown prince with the title Prince Ratu Purboyo. However, this crown prince did not become a king because of his death. Therefore, his younger brother, Raden Uju, as his successor and was crowned the crown prince with the title Prince Ratu. Raden Uju was later crowned as the third sultan in Palembang with the title Sultan Agung Komaruddin Sri Teruno who ruled between 1714 and 1724 (10 years).

This replacement process seems could not be accepted by other palace elites, which was marked by a dispute between Prince Mangkubumi Muhammad Ali and his younger brother Raden Lambu Pangeran Mangkubumi Jayowikramo about who had the right to become a sultan. At the request of Sultan Komaruddin, the Dutch sent an expedition to Palembang under the leadership of Willem Daams. This expedition succeeded in driving out prince Mangkubumi and strengthening Raden Lambu's position as a candidate for a successor to the sultan.

Two years after the signing of the contract, Raden Lambu Pangeran Mangkubumi Jayowikramo was appointed sultan with the title Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin Jayowikramo or Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin I. His reign lasted from 1724 to 1758. On September 10, 1755, the contract renewal for the previous contract (June 2, 1722) signed by Paravicini and Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin Jayowikramo. With the occurrence of this agreement, it has an impact on political stability during his reign so that it can reach 34 years. This was marked by the construction of the Kuto Batu palace (Kuto Luto Palace).

In 1758, the reign was transferred to his eldest son, Prince Adi Kesumo, after becoming sultan with the title Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin Adi Kesumo who was in reign from 1758-1776. Like his predecessor, even at this time, a contract renewal with the Dutch was signed on June 15, 1763. Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin Adi Kesumo was later replaced by his eldest son with the title Sultan Muhammad Bahauddin (1776-1803). During his reign, his eldest son, Raden Hasan was crowned as the crown prince, heir to the throne of the Sultanate, was titled Raden Hasan Pangeran Ratu. Sultan Muhammad Bahauddin built the Great Kuto which was equipped with parks and houses and then occupied it on Monday the 23rd of Sya'ban in 1211 Hijri (February 21, 1797 AD). Prince Ratu then occupied Kuto Lamo, which was built by Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin Jayo Wikramo.

According to a book compiled by Badan Pengembangan Pariwisata Daerah Kotamadya Palembang (the Regional Tourism Development Agency of Palembang Municipality) in 1984, entitled "Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II" stated that according to applicable regulations the eldest son of a king is the crown prince and is the rightful heir. Even so, his appointment as a sultan still had to get approval from the results of deliberations consisting of court officials and religious scholars. Based on this deliberation in April 1804, Raden Hasan Pangeran Ratu had crowned the sultan with the title Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II; while Sultan Muhammad Bahauddin has the title Susuhunan Muhammad Bahauddin. From ancient manuscripts, it is known that the sultan is located in the Old Kraton or Kuto Batu Palace, while Susuhunan is located at Kuta Anyar Fortress or Kuto Besar Fortress.

At the same time Raden Hasan Pangeran Ratu's sister, Raden Husin Pangeran Adi Penggalo was appointed as a Prince, Duke of the State as the daily execution of the government. During the reign of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II, there was a burning of Dutch fortress on the River Aur on September 14, 1811, known as the Aur River Event. This event marked Palembang's independence which had long been under Dutch rule. But not long after that, namely, on March 20, 1812, Governor-General Raffles sent a military expedition to Palembang, then attacked Palembang and succeeded in occupying it, so Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II resigned to Muara Rawas after handing over the leadership of the government to his younger brother Prince Adipati Penggalo Husin Diauddin and ordered to remain in Palembang (Anonymous, 1984: 29-30). Raden Muhammad Husin Diauddin was appointed sultan by the British with the title Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin II (1912-1813) (Rahim, 1998: 80). The appointment was intended to divide them.

The Dutch reappointed Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II as a sultan from July 13 to August 14, 1813 (about one month). On August 14, 1813, to June 23, 1818, the British deposed Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II and appointed Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin II as ruler of Palembang. On the other hand, the two brothers had also ruled together, namely between June 23 and October 30, 1818. Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin II ruled in Kuto Luto Palace as the Sultan Mudo; while Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II came to rule in Benteng Kuto Besar as Sultan Tuo.

There was a period of his reign this time, in 1819, Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II named his son Pangeran Ratu as a sultan with the title Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin Pangeran Ratu (Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin III). At the same time, Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II was entitled Susuhunan Mahmud Badaruddin. On 1 July 1821, the palace was occupied by the Dutch and on 3 July 1821 Susuhunan Mahmud Badaruddin and Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin Pangeran Ratu were arrested and exiled to Ternate. On 26 November 1852 Susuhunan Mahmud Badaruddin died, while Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin Pangeran Ratu died in 1860.

To fill the power vacuum in Palembang, the Dutch called back Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin II and his son from his exile in Cianjur. From July 16, 1821, to September 19, 1825, Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin Prabu Anom, son of Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin II was appointed Sultan of Palembang by the Dutch, while Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin II had the title Susuhunan Husin Diauddin. On November 22, 1824, Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin Prabu Anom with the knowledge of his father rebelled against the Dutch, which led to the arrest of Susuhunan Husin Diauddin and exiled to Batavia and died on February 22, 1825. While Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin Prabu Anom was captured by the Dutch from October 15 and October 19 in 1825 was exiled to Banda and then to Manado and died there in 1844 (Ibid., p. 287-289). The Sultanate of Palembang has ended marked by the abolition of the Sultanate and the transfer of reign over Palembang and the people of Palembang to the Dutch.

According to Rahim (1998: 81-82), the abolition of the Sultanate took place around August 18, 1823, the date of the signing of the agreement on the transfer of reign and the abolition of the Sultanate of Palembang (Ibid.) In the Nusantara, generally, political entities were called kingdom. Milner (1982) called it "the condition of having a king". This Islamic political entity is a continuation of political entities in pre-Islamic times, where the king has a very important position and is often seen as an enlightened *bodhisattva*.

The arrival of Islam does not seem to change the essence of the political entity, especially regarding kings and kingdoms, because the conception of the concept around this issue is not considered to be contrary to Islamic teachings, it has even gained legitimacy from the Ulama. At the end of the Palembang Sultanate was the abolition of the Sultanate and the transfer of government over the Land and the people of Palembang to the Dutch. The transfer of reign can

be read in the notice of the transfer of reign of the Sultanate of Palembang to the Dutch as follows:

That this is the legal newsletter. That Sri Paduka Ratu Ahmad Najamuddin the sultan of Palembang gave safety to anyone who saw, heard or read this letter. That like an agreement made from all the good pleasure of both parties, namely between the Governor of the Dutch and Sri Paduka Tuan Sultan to improve the fate of us, the people, thus from now on all the orders and governance of the land of Palembang and the people of all people were handed over to the Dutch Governor. As for the Sri Paduka Sultan will be in a position to give an opinion to weigh the penalty for error and ... (unreadable) his world. And from that religious matter will be decided by the prince of *penghulu* according to the law in the Quran; and if you do not accept the decision of the *penghulu*, may ... (unreadable) talk to us. That all governments as well as ... (unreadable) or results are held by the Governor. That we, Sri Paduka Tuan Sultan will use our glory and respect ... (unreadable) always do that with perseverance, privileges to facilitate the people in carrying out all the regulations of the Dutch government. That we pledge solemnly to carry out such provisions is to command all *priayi* and mantras and the people of the country, uphold the orders that will be given by him, the Governor; That the Governor of the Dutch has been established in our and *priayi* lives and mantras so we can no longer collect results and... (unreadable) as before; That everyone who holds the charter of surrender to the Governor of the Dutch, that is all the charter that were handed over by us or by the previous Sultan of Palembang. Then the charter should be handed over as soon as possible and to each of the head of the village and the heads of sub-villages and to immediately give the presence of the Governor. To hear his precepts from the matters of the charter and of becoming ... (unreadable) later on. To be conveyed to all people in all corners of the country, this letter must be read, pasted and copied so that it can be known by everyone. Sri Paduka Tuan from the Sultan of Palembang on Monday the eleventh day of the month of Dhul-Hijjah, in the year of one thousand two hundred thirty-eight. (Rahim, 1998: 81-82).

From this explanation and historical data regarding the kings and sultans who had ruled Palembang Darussalam, it can be seen that there are no standard rules or laws regarding the process of replacing or inheriting the throne during the Kingdom of Palembang. These conditions prone to conflict, because each character feels entitled to the royal throne. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that there is the inheritance of lineage that younger brothers or even younger brothers from the empress can occupy the throne of the kingdom or sultanate. This can be seen from the succession process from the reign of Ki Gede Ing Suro Tua to Pangeran Sedo Ing Kenayan, from 1552-1652. Over a period of 100 years, the change of reign in Palembang has occurred 10 times. Only four of the ten kings had ruled for more than ten years, including Ki Gede Ing Sura (26 years); Ki Gede Ing Sura Muda (17 years); Prince Madi Ing Angsoka (34 years) and Prince Sedo Ing Kenayan (11 years). The other kings is in reign for less than ten years.

Two kings were in reign for only about one year, namely Pangeran Madi Alit and Pangeran Sedo Ing Kenayan. Besides, Kiai Mas Adipati only ruled for 5 years; Pangeran Sido Ing Puro ruled for 9 years; and Prince Sedo Ing Rajek ruled for 7 years. The internal conflict of the elite of Palembang Sultanate was also triggered by competition between other paternal relatives to fight for reign. The wife of the kings, who are more than one, is one of the triggers for internal conflicts among the Palembang royal family (Purwanti, 2004: 34).

This situation has been resolved since Kiai Mas Hindi or Pangeran Ario Kesumo Abdurrohman plotted to establish the Sultanate of Palembang and to be separated from Mataram. This is evident from the appointment of the crown prince, who was the sultan's first child with the empress. The crown prince was given the title Pangeran Ratu. Although written rules regarding the right of inheritance of the throne before Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II had no known textual source, from the old Palembang texts, it was known that before the ruling sultan died or abdicated, he had appointed a crown prince with the title Pangeran Ratu. The coronation as the crown prince, often even continued with the coronation concerned as a new sultan complete with his title.

Meanwhile, the previous sultan still ruled and later took the title "*Susuhunan*". Even though a new sultan has been appointed, it does not mean that the previous sultan, who had the title "*susuhunan*" was immediately "*lengser keprabon*" or abdicated, and no longer holds the reins of government. Based on textual sources, it turns out that the opposite happened, *Susuhunan* remained in full reign alongside the sultan who had just been crowned.

This was also strengthened by the stamp of the Palembang Sultanate, the legacy of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II, which had 1819 AD (1234 H). At the time of issuing the stamp, Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II had laid down his throne and crowned his son, Pangeran Ratu as a sultan with the title of Sultan Najamuddin Pangeran Ratu. After crowning his son, Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II then took the title *Susuhunan*, as stated on the stamp (Purwanti, 2002: 119).

Here it appears that there was a process of "learning" for the new sultan in the matter of leadership or the government, before the *Susuhunan* released himself fully as the ruler of the sultanate (regeneration). Then, from textual sources also obtained information that since the use of Benteng Kuto Besak, the Crown Prince lived in the Benteng Kuto Lama, while *susuhunan* lived in Benteng Kuto. The difference in location and the continued reign of the *susuhunan* were actually utilized by the Dutch and British to complicate the process of succession of reign in the Sultanate's palace, by divide and conquer between the two sultans. This effort was so successful, that in the eleven years, the British and the Dutch succeeded in raising and lowering the siblings six times until the abolition of the Sultanate of Palembang.

The process of succession the Sultan of Palembang Darussalam has only been found to be referenced in one of the ancient manuscripts "The Tale of Palembang" (UBL Text 7) which is now in the Leiden Museum, the Netherlands, stated that the process of appointing a king as follows:

As for the story of all the kings who ruled over the throne of the Palembang kingdom, there were too many rules about the succession of the king who reign in Palembang. Sometimes the rules are indeed replaced by his son who becomes king and sometimes because of war and sometimes because of a will. When the king was still alive, the king would testify to all his ministers and dignitaries with an oath: "If I die, that person (a certain person) will replace me; I don't like my son to become a King". This is what all the ministers and all the people in Palembang do as the will does. Then sometimes with the cause of war with the white people (Dutch). And if the king loses to that war, the King of Palembang retires upstream, no longer wants to go to downstream of Palembang, and the king will order his brother as a substitute to become a king on the throne of Palembang to hold off white speech. (Woelders, 1975: 74)

Based on the manuscript written between 1863-1880 (Ibid., p. 49), the process of succession the kings in the kingdom of Palembang Darussalam can vary, but one thing that must be noted

is the sentence "Sometimes the rules are indeed replaced by his son who becomes king...". This sentence confirms the existence of a kind of standard rules about the process of succession of the king who is considered legitimate and has strong legitimacy, namely that his successor is the king's son who ruled before. Although the sentence does not mention which king's son has the right to replace the previous King. But from the text it can also be seen that, before the reigning king abdicated or died, the king appointed the crown prince and gave the title Pangeran Ratu. The title of the crown prince during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Husin Diauddin was titled Prabu Anom because the title Pangeran Ratu had been used by the crown prince who was appointed by Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II. On the other hand, from the fragments of the sentence in the manuscript, it can be ascertained that the previous reigning king had the highest authority to determine his successor, even though through a message or letter in the form of a will.

The results of the traditional deliberations held on February 24, 2003, at the Auditorium of Raden Fatah State Islamic Institute Palembang of Palembang (now State Islamic University), which wanted no confusion in determining the requirements of Palembang Darussalam's prosperity for historical purposes. The traditional deliberations then compiled a draft containing guidelines or conditions to become sultan. The requirements as a sultan of Palembang are as follows (Siregar, 2004: 73-74):

- 1) Muslim, including the family.
- 2) From the Sultanate of Palembang Darussalam descendant (preferably from *zuriat* of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II).
- 3) Having evidence of the Trust (in the form of relics from the Palembang Darussalam sultans).
- 4) Known by the people of Palembang and other sultanates.
- 5) It can encourage the spirit of unity and the unity of people in Palembang Darussalam.
- 6) Caring about the legacy of the Palembang Darussalam Sultanate.
- 7) Not directly or indirectly involved in the destruction or sale of assets of the Palembang Darussalam Sultanate.
- 8) Dare to sacrifice for the progress and pride of *zuriat*.
- 9) Residing in Palembang, getting to know Palembang.
- 10) High educated at least high school.
- 11) Experienced in an organization.

Djohan Hanafiah, one of the Palembang's historical and cultural observers, gave different requirements. He argued that the criteria for becoming a sultan were genealogical, geographical, royal symbols and community recognition (Siregar, 2004: 69). Referring to the opinion expressed by Mustofa Al-Azhari, a Palembang cleric, Rahmawati Siregar said that to determine someone's right to become a sultan, not only in terms of genealogical factors, territory, power and community recognition but also must be seen in terms of message ownership special messages from the ancestors. This means that the sultan is a chosen person from the ancestors, and also supported by informal legitimacy obtained by someone because of their capacity in a field considered qualified by the community, for example, "clerics" for the ulamas. This informal legitimacy can be seen from the wide acceptance of the people concerned in a wide and unconditional way.

Based on the explanation of the concept of the State and the position of the king above concerning the process of succession, it can be explained that in outline three important elements must be possessed by a sultan so that his reign has legitimacy and credibility, namely

genealogical, geographical and symbols or signs the greatness of the kingdom (Regalia) which is usually inherited from its predecessors. Without these three elements, the legitimacy of a king's position becomes weak and vulnerable to rebellion. Indeed, in one of the requirements for the appointment is heirlooms' ownership, for example:

- The cane of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II which it was used for war;
- The stamp of The Sultanate of Palembang Darussalam;
- *Istambul* (a necklace containing a small Koran) made of copper;
- Clothes in the form of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin's II robe;
- Manuscripts were written by Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II;
- Manuscript of Sultanate *zuriat*.

According to tradition, so-called the sultanate heirlooms (regalia) are things that are owned by a kingdom from its inception (the first king/sultan), and these objects are passed down from generation to generation. More than that, the heirlooms became a symbol of the legitimacy of the crowned king and the symbol of his kingdom's sovereignty. Even these regalia objects become the most important part of the rapture ritual of a king. This heirlooms (regalia) is commonly found in kingdoms in Southeast Asia (Heine-Geldern, 1982).

B. Sociological Analysis on Succession of The Sultan

After the fall of the Srivijaya kingdom, the Palembang region experienced a vacuum of power for approximately one hundred years. The new government emerged in the sixteenth century. Ki Gede Ing Suro is considered to be the founder of the reigning kingdom of Palembang in the sixteenth century. According to Woelders (1975), Ki Gede Ing Suro held the position of King in Palembang which was then followed by Gending Ilir. Ki Gede Ing Suro ruled in the Kingdom of Palembang for 2 years. Ki Gede Ing Suro was then succeeded by his brother Gending Ilir who ruled for 1 year and so on as described above.

The title of the sultan used by the authorities indicates that the king is Muslim. At the beginning of the 16th century when the Europeans were present in the Palembang region, they tried hard to obtain trade commodities directly to obtain large economic benefits. Here is the influence of Europeans on the existence of a King, Ki Gede, or Sultan who is not only acknowledged from his culture but also his belief culture. The Europeans have succeeded in making the Muslim King add the title of Sultan, this is done to strengthen power and law against native rulers. They were awarded various signs of greatness as a symbol of power. As a result, in the Sultanate of Palembang itself, competition arose between members of the royal family and the sultan who wished to rule as well.

The succession of reign in the time of the Kingdom of Palembang generally occurs in several Hindu-Buddhist Kingdoms in Java, namely genealogy and dignity. This also applies in reading the leadership succession process in the past, when political unity was still in the form of a kingdom or sultanate, which in some regions of the Nusantara continues to this day. Especially if it is seen that the appointment of a king (sultan) is inseparable from the concept of the State (power), which of course is different from the concept of the modern state introduced by the Western Country.

Because the King or Sultan is a type of leadership that occupies a socio-historical location with different value orientations so that their reactions to their existence are also different in the form of rejection, adaptation, and assimilation. Not infrequently present political conflicts caused by sociocultural factors with certain ideological or value interests. No less important is

the structural analysis that discusses the status and role of various elites, the relationship, and comparison of power between them, all within the hierarchical framework of a feudal system.

The power structure is a very determining social structure with a bureaucratic position that is a very central function. In this connection, it is very relevant to examine social life between social groups, especially in the context of interests, social status, ideology, and value systems. It cannot be ignored by the fact that political actions and interactions cannot run outside the framework of political culture.

Here actions, actions, and attitudes need to be institutionalized. For example, the role of a character is determined by the structure of society, or at least its role is carried out within the structural boundaries of society. Perpetrators cannot completely disengage from such ties or subjectivity.

In the theoretical framework of leadership type sociology which according to Weberian theory there are three, namely: (1) traditional authority owned by inheritance or hereditary; (2) charismatic authority, which is based on personal influence and authority; and (3) rational-legal authority possessed based on position and ability. The formal type of leader obtains power from the position or formal leader, while the informal type is the informal leader, and he has charismatic power. In the Indonesian context, the formal type in general also has traditional authority, is the aristocracy group who still have the right to inherit positions, especially those who hold civil service positions (Weber, 2009).

Borrowing the theory of Bendix (1960), power and authority, and feudal societies in Europe. Then Weber in the 19th century and early 20th century also explained the patron-client relationship through his theory, namely: (1) traditional theories, (2) charismatic, and (3) rational. In traditional relationships, a patron gets its position through a hereditary. This power gained from generation to generation was discussed by Bendix but it did not discuss the client-patronage of rational leadership. He mentioned a charismatic ruler a little. In charismatic relationships, a patron has many clients, followed by many people because of their charisma, such as religious figures, priests, and *Kiai* (Islamic elders).

The succession of reign system in the Sultanate of Palembang Darussalam is a manifestation of various values, interests, and cultures, where the concept of leadership is based on traditional authority based on cultural recognition. This type makes it easy to influence the community, so traditional leadership cannot be separated from genealogic-heretically (hereditary) and charismatic-based leadership.

However, between these two basic typologies of leadership, charismatic-based leadership is the basis of any traditional leadership in various social entities. Weber's concept of charismatics is an argumentative-comparative discussion that is the experience of religious communities in the world. In the Middle-Century in Western Europe, which began in the 13th century, until the Industrial Revolution, it turned out that the priests had authority in religion, social, politics, economics, thus forming charismatic values (Weber, 2009).

In the 19th century, the charisma of Islamic leaders in Indonesia, namely the *Kiai* occupied charismatic leadership. Regardless of any background that underlies the determination of conditions as a sultan is a descendant (in Islamic term known as *zuriat*) of the Sultanate, this tradition can be justified. However hereditary or genealogical factors become one of the determinants of the legality and sovereignty of political unity in the past. The king is seen as the center of the Cosmos and from the king emanates a power that affects both nature and society. Placement of the king as a descendant of the prophets and gods is intended to strengthen the legitimacy (legitimacy) as a king. This assumption is related to the magical beliefs of the king's revelations (it is known as *pulung ratu*) and the concept of the royal bloodline (*trahing kusuma*

rembesing madu). Among Javanese, there is the assumption that only men who have the blood of kings can be a king.

This concept is not something new, because in the concept of royal power in Java, for example (and Southeast Asia in general), the position of king is most often validated (also) by proving continuity. A blood relationship or experience similar to that of a great predecessor allows a person to be illuminated by an aura of light. Not only that but the most important thing from searching for genealogy is that it can make it a chain of continuity. In the Javanese concept of *trahing kusuma rembesing madu*, ascetic life, *tedaking andana warih* (flower derivatives, honey extracts, ascetic seeds, noble derivatives) are the characteristics of the grand and immaculate ancestors.

Therefore, tracing one's genealogy, if possible the origin of someone in power or a great subordinate king, is something that is cultivated with a lot of time-consuming and earnest sincerity. The arrival of Islam did not eliminate the habit of proving continuity through kinship (Berg, 1989: 96, vide Leirissa, 1996: 62) and this was reinforced by Arabic custom, which was usually followed by people of rank in Java, to combine the name of an ancestor with his own name. The demand for continuity is also stated in the Islamic provisions regarding Islam *isnad*¹.

Based on the explanation above, it can be seen that the process of appointing kings or sultans who had ruled in Palembang was no different from those in other sultanates that had ever existed on this Nusantara. Although this political unity breathes Islam continues what has existed in the past, namely the Hindu-Buddhist Concept, while Islam sometimes appears in the socio and political aspects. The same thing applies to aspects of its legality. In addition to the two aspects above, namely legality and symbolization, the most important is the organizational structure "led" by a Sultan. This is because the title "sultan" can refer to someone who unites the exercise of supreme power and various magical and mystical symbols, which reveal the quality of the instruments of power (Kartodirdjo, 1969: 13).

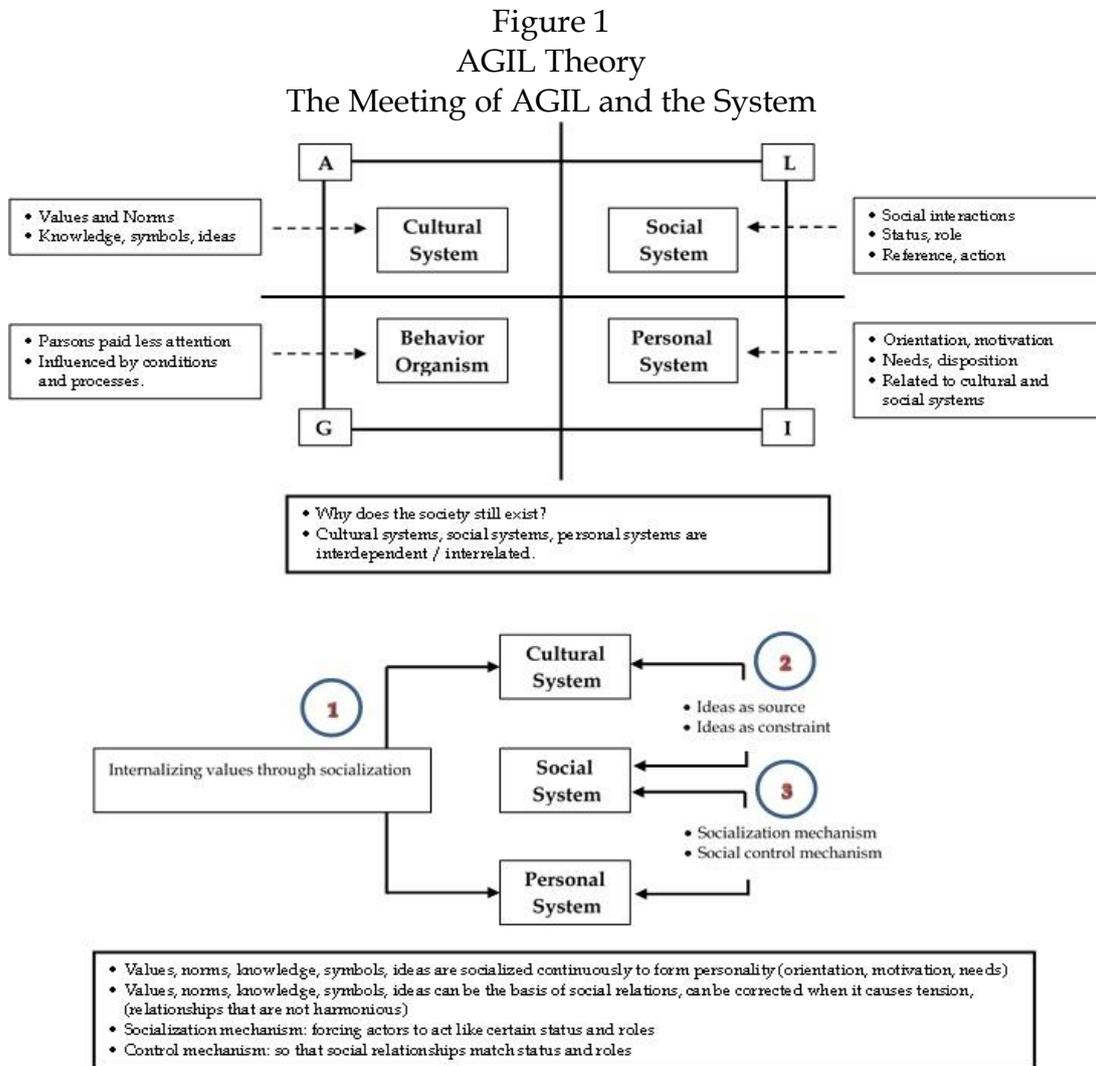
So the emergence of two sultans in the sultanate of Palembang was an unusual phenomenon released from what was called status, powershift and legitimacy. Although both the sultan Prabu was his master, and the sultan Iskandar Badaruddin was made a sultan only as a symbol of the culture and nobility of the Sultanate. However, the sultan's position at the cultural symbol level has a strong influence especially on the native people of Palembang. Because as a symbol of culture, a sultan can play several strategic roles, namely as actors of the cultural system, social system, and personal system. A sultan has leadership abilities because he also acts as a center for socialization and at the same time evaluating the cultural values that live in his society.

Society according to Parsons is the fabric of the system in which various functions work such as norms, values, consensus and other forms of social cohesion. The operation of different

¹ During the sultanate of Palembang Darussalam, the last ruler was Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin Prabu Anom, son of Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin II or Susuhunan Husin Diauddin. So, according to tradition, and the norms prevailing in the Sultanate of Palembang since long ago, actually the right to be the next sultan in Palembang is the son of Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin Prabu Anom, who is the nephew of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II. Moreover, since losing the war with the British Empire and being captured by the Dutch, Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II has never succeeded in regaining his power until he died in his exile in Ternate. Of course, someone who loses a war cannot determine his destiny, including in agreeing. Although while in exile he was treated like a sultan, but it was not something special, because Sunan Banguntapa (Sunan Pakubuwono VI) from Surakarta Sunanate also received the same treatment. Even in his exile in Ambon, Pakubuwono VI was built a palace with all its equipment by the Dutch (Day, 1989: 32-88).

functions is called specialization, where each function is mutually sustaining or synergistic. One organ can be commanded by another organ, but the party giving the order does not have a higher position. This means that there is a reciprocal relationship between the giver of the command and the governed. All of which build a form of coordination between social systems. This is what is called by the supporters of the Sultan both Sultan Iskandar and Sultan Prabu Diraja regardless of both have genealogical relations with Sultan Badaruddin II.

This study is Talcott Parsons's theory by using AGIL.



Source: (Parsons, 1951 in Soekanto 1986)

Therefore the existence of a society that consists of social systems, cultural systems, and material systems, always requires conditions that create existence (condition of existence). According to Parsons the conditions that state the existence of the social system to stay alive and run well, there are four important functions, namely AGIL (A) Adaptation, (G) Goal Attainment, (I) Integration, and (L) Latency. Adaptation: a system must cope with critical external situations, the current system adapts to its environment. Goal attainment: the system must define and achieve its main objectives. Integration (integration): a system must regulate the relationships between the parts that are components. The system must also regulate the relationships between other functions (A, G, L). Latency (system maintenance): the system must

complement, maintain & improve, both individual motivation and cultural patterns that create and sustain motivation².

The meeting of AGIL (functional prerequisites) with the Social System according to Parsons as Organism behavior: a system of actions that carries out the adaptation function by adjusting and changing the external environment. Personal systems carry out the function of achieving goals by setting system goals and mobilizing available resources to achieve them. The social system overcomes the function of integration by controlling the parts that become its components. Cultural systems carry out the function of maintaining the pattern by providing actors with a set of norms and values that motivate them to act.

Functions and systems, according to Parsons, are action systems that work like behavioral organisms: action systems that carry out adaptation functions by adjusting and changing the external environment. The social system consists of some individual actors who interact with each other in a certain environment. They have the motivation to achieve the satisfaction that is defined and mediated in terms of culturally structured shared symbols. This means that in the social system there are: actors, interactions, the environment, optimization of satisfaction, culture, adequate participation from supporters. Parsons states that the key requirement for maintaining the integration of value patterns in a social system is the process of internalization and socialization. It becomes the struggle for the throne of Palembang Darussalam Sultanate, namely the authority to internalize and to socialize the logical consequences of the cultural symbol of the Sultan's position.

5. Conclusions

Palembang which in the Sultanate of Palembang Darussalam functioned as the center of the kingdom, in the life of the people religious ceremonies that were general and related to the kingdom, had become customary. In the chronicles, saints, and foreign news mentioned that the ceremonies and parties associated with the kingdom, such as the coronation of the king or crown prince, circumcision, the marriage of the sons and daughters of the king, the birth of the sons and daughters of the king, etc. , about the life of the king with family; ceremonies and parties with the reception of foreign emissaries, the Maulud of the Prophet, feasts, and other holidays. The ceremonies and parties are usually enlivened by a variety of crowds that involve all components of society.

One of the tasks of the sultan was to become an *umaro*, meaning he became a religious advisor to the government. The existence of the Palembang Sultanate is not only a cultural field but also a political element. In this study, it was found that the process of appointing kings or sultans who had ruled in Palembang was no different from those in other sultanates that had

² Based on the Parsons concept (1951), every social system needs functional requirements. Among the requirements explained that the social system must be able to adapt to the environment and with the demands of transformation in every condition of citizens' actions (adaptation). Then, the people's actions are directed towards achieving a common goal (goal attainment). Then another requirement is that in interactions between citizens there must be at least a level of solidarity, for social structures and systems to function (integration). Talking about functions, it turns out it's not just about the role. Function relations are not always integrated (integrative) because there can be conflicting relations, especially if there are enough factions in them. In the function there is a structure, in social facts, there are structures and functions that are closely related (if no connection means no structure). Function theory is not designed with the change, so between the two is rather difficult to link. Often this theory is limited to only harmonious or equilibrium relations. See Poloma (2005). *Contemporary sociological theory*. Translation by the Yasogama Team. See also Hamilton (1990). *Reading From Talcott Parsons*. Translation by Hartono Hadikusumo. See also Ritzer & Goodman (2005). *Teori Sosiologi Modern*. Translation by Alimandan.

ever existed on this Nusantara. Although this political unity breathes Islam it continues what has existed in the past, namely the Hindu-Buddhist concept, while Islam is only as an outer garment. The same thing applies to aspects of its legality.

As a maritime and absolute sultanate, it seems that a reference that can be directed to the only absolute monarchy that still exists in Southeast Asia is the Sultanate of Brunei Darussalam. However, the origin of this empire was not from an agrarian empire which gave birth to the civilization of the palace, but from an empire at the mouth of the river and sea such as, the kingdoms in Peninsular Malaysia, Sumatra, Kalimantan, and others (Ongkhokham, 2003: 59).

Unlike in the sultanate of the archipelago, in the agrarian kingdom, political unity (sacral) still existed while the heirlooms still existed, and the throne was still in the holy place. In short, as long as there is a palace, the kingdom still exists and the king is still recognized by the people. Even kingdoms whose political functions had been abolished hundreds of years ago, such as the palaces in Cirebon, had their cultural and sacred functions persisted. This is different from maritime kingdoms because even though the Sultan and his palace still exist, his existence is no longer recognized by his people. Some examples can be given here is the Sultanate of Deli in North Sumatra, whose sultan was also an officer; the Bugis-Makassar sultanate in South Sulawesi.

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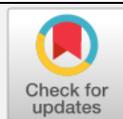
Determinant Factors of Entrepreneurial Spirits among the Minangkabau Migrant Merchants

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to reveal the dominant factors of Minangkabau (the ethnic group native to the highlands of West Sumatra, Indonesia) migrants mainly engaged in merchandise. The Minangkabau hold firmly their customs and traditions which founded upon Islamic law as described in the saying “adat basandi syara’; syara’ basandi kitabullah” (tradition founded upon Islamic law, Islamic law founded upon the Holy Quran). This research was conducted in Ipuh sub-sub-district, Bengkulu province, Indonesia, those 150 respondents of Minangkabau merchants as the samples. The location was selected due to Ipuh sub-district is located near West Sumatra borders, so that the tradition strongly influence the Minang migrant merchants. To answer the research questions, the variables used were independent and dependent. The independent variable is the entrepreneurial spirit, while, the dependent variable is economic factors, adat (in this case, the term used is tradition), descendant, education, and independence. The research used a quantitative method by using multiple linear regressions. The result found that cultural variables influence the entrepreneurial spirits of Minangkabau merchant migrants because they uphold their traditions wherever they are. The insignificant influence of education, economic factor, heredity, and independence are insignificant. To conclude, matrilineal tradition has influenced the entrepreneurial spirits of Minang merchants and the matrilineal tradition can increase entrepreneurs among women.

Keywords: Entrepreneurial; Matrilineal; Merchant; Migrant; Minang; Tradition

1. Introduction

Entrepreneurial Spirit is the mindset of someone who has a spirit of innovation in himself (Qosja & Druga, 2015). The entrepreneurial spirit grows as the influence of cultural factors that develop in a society. Not all traditions affect one's entrepreneurial orientation, but in a certain area, some traditions affect the orientation of their community's members to entrepreneurship (Watson et al., 2019).

The traditions that have a strong influence on the growth of entrepreneurial incomes are usually in areas with high cultural relations, which male entrepreneurs get to benefit more in terms of revenue growth in terms of the breadth of the network, while female entrepreneurs are disadvantaged in this condition (Batjargal et al., 2019).

Culture is a collection of beliefs, values, behavior, customs, and attitudes that distinguish between one to another individual (Sagy et al., 2018). The values affect the tradition that develops in a society, so if you want to see the identity of a tradition can be seen based on cultural values. Certain traditions will show their character if they get attention from those who are not part of that tradition (Fitriyani et al., 2019).

President Joko Widodo when giving a speech at the Indonesian Young Entrepreneurs Association (Indonesian: Himpunan Pengusaha Muda Indonesia or HIPMI) Jamboree at ASEAN Universities on May 23, 2016, Telkom University Bandung, said that the number of entrepreneurs in Indonesia was still low. As of 2016, the number of entrepreneurs in Indonesia is still at 1.56% whereas in World Bank standards each country has at least 4% of the number of entrepreneurs. According to President Joko Widodo, if following a minimum of 4%, then Indonesia must have 5.8 million entrepreneurs (Tempo.co, 2016).

Entrepreneurship and innovation have important roles in increasing national growth and prosperity in a country (Baluku et al., 2018). Entrepreneurs who can innovate and have a wide network are needed for economic growth (Sajilan & Tehseen, 2019). So, the more entrepreneurs, there will be more opportunities for opening new jobs.

Jusuf Kalla in the Minang Entrepreneur Award forum said that no less than 1 million graduates in 4,500 universities throughout Indonesia, of which only 2 percent (around 50 thousand people) could be appointed as State Civil Apparatus (Indonesian: Aparatur Sipil Negara or ASN) (jurnalsumbar.com, 2019). From the statement, there is a 98 percent potential for jobless for bachelor graduates. Therefore, it is necessary to understand early on for young people to create a desire for entrepreneurship.

One of the ethnicities in Indonesia known for their entrepreneurial spirit and skills is the Minangkabau ethnic. The Minangkabau people are almost in every region in Indonesia, also their livelihoods are commonly merchants. Even in some foreign countries, there are also Minang people as merchants.

The word "*Minangkabau*" comes from the tale of the Enggang army arrival who will attack a country from the sea. But, Datuak Katumanggungan and Datuak Parapatiah Nan Sabatang found the idea to thwart the Enggang army attack by buffalo fighting match. The Enggang army used a very big buffalo, while based on Cati Bilang Pandai's advice, the Minang people only used buffalo baby which had only been a few days after giving birth. The buffalo baby was given an iron on its nose. When the fight day, the baby buffalo approached the big buffalo because the baby thought it was his mother and the iron attached to the nose stuck in the big buffalo stomach of the Enggang and wounded while splitting the stomach. Finally, the buffalo baby won the match. Based on the story, the word Minangkabau comes from two words; *Minang* which means victory and *Kabau* which means buffalo (Fahma, 2016).

Minangkabau is one of the 140 ethnics spread over 3,000 islands in Indonesia. The ethnic is located in the province of West Sumatra surrounded by Marapi volcano, Singgalang volcano and Sago volcano; many of these mountains indicate geographically this region is a fertile area. However, the tendency of Minang people prefers to migrate. Migration is an activity out of the area of origin to go to other regions in search of better lives, higher quality education, and deeper experience. Migration has become a living tradition in Minang tradition (Franzia et al., 2015). This tradition of migration has long been carried out by the Minang, Petru (2018) stated that one of the Malaysian ancestors is Minangkabau.

The Minangkabau uses Malay in communication. The ethnic is also known to have a high ethnic awareness compared to other tribes in Indonesia. The Minangkabau tribe is also known for its religiosity, which upholds Islamic values. The social life of the Minang tribe also upholds customary laws as the basis of social life (Murao, 2013).

Minangkabau people believe that nature is a good teacher (*alam takambang jadi guru*). The belief has affected the way of thinking in life. According to the philosophy, Minang people cannot be separated from nature and its elements because men cannot live alone, men but need a partner, such as daytime pairing with the night, heaven and earth, water and fire, and so on. As part of nature, men can learn and read the signs conveyed by nature (Hadijah, 2019). Minangkabau people (also known as Minang or *urang awak* means our own kind) are known for their migration traditions. Minang people are found in almost all regions in Indonesia, even overseas there are also many Minang migrants. Moving to other places are also mentioned in the Minang traditional saying; "*Karatau madang di hulu, babuah babungo balun, ka rantau bujang daulu, di rumah baguno balun*" ("*Karatau grows in upriver, not yet bearing fruit nor flowered yet, go moving to other places first, you have not been useful at home yet*"). This traditional saying advises young single Minang men to go to other places because they do not yet have a function in the Minang traditional structure, migration is expected to increase their knowledge and experience as a preparation to play a role in Minangkabau *adat* (tradition) structure (Munir, 2013).

Of all traditions in Indonesia, Minangkabau is categorized as a particular difference from others because it uses a matrilineal kinship system which is based on women (if pulled up from the maternal line and if pulled down from the daughter lineage). The system of the female lineage is still held firmly by the Minangkabau up to now even though there has been a current of globalization and modernization. This matrilineal kinship system is complex because it regulates all matters contained in the lives of indigenous peoples both in terms of inheritance and marriage (Tono et al., 2019).

The Minang migrants in some provinces in Indonesia mostly work as merchants. The phenomena arise two questions, what makes many Minang migrants work as merchants? And what are the factors trigger Minang migrants becoming merchants?

One of the areas where the migrants still hold fast to their *adat* is the Minang migrants in Ipuh sub-district, Bengkulu Province, Indonesia. In the sub-district, most of the Minang migrants work as clothing merchants, food, gold shops, and restaurants. The Minang migrants still hold fast to the Minang tradition because the sub-district was part of West Sumatra province before the founding of Bengkulu Province. In this area, Minang merchants do not have high educational backgrounds because they had migrated since school ages.

2. Literature Review

Heryanto (2011) found that the factors made Minang migrate and leave the *parak* (rice fields and other farming fields) were pressures of ecology, geography, demography, and

economy. Not only the pressures but low income in the agriculture sector, getting better education and living in big cities are also factors in their migration. Among these factors, the most dominant is the economic factor as the main reason of the Minang people to migrate and leave the agricultural lands.

Effendi (1999) in the research found that tradition was the biggest factor influencing the behavior of Minang merchants because the market economy principle was inseparable in understanding Minang tradition in general. Enthusiastic involvement in the market is supported by the tradition of the Minang people, Minang people maintain their local social lifestyle through involvement in the market and trade, and this is seen in the market organization in Minangkabau.

Another research about the process of learning factors towards students (including information about learning guides, student efforts, and educational processes) can mediate the relationship between psychological aspects (the need for achievement, internal control, and independence) with entrepreneurial intentions (Córcoles-Muñoz et al., 2019).

While, the relational support from family, friends and other parties played a role in fostering entrepreneurial intentions. Family and friends are two parties who have a big influence on one's career journey (Ambad & Damit, 2016).

Ramadhan et al., (2016) found that many Minang migrants as merchants are: (1) merchants has become the soul of the Minang people because it has been hereditary, (2) the independence factor that has been embedded since childhood for the Minang people, (3) the influence of cultural existence, and (4) economic factors.

Based on the previous researches, this research continues some existing research by adding several new variables that had not been conducted by the previous researches above.

3. Research Methodology

This is quantitative research. Quantitative research methodology has the stages of formulating research problems, conducting research model preparation, finding research data, obtaining solutions, testing solutions, analyzing research results and applying research results (Kuncoro, 2011).

Approximately 241 of respondents are Minang migrants merchants who live in Ipuh sub-district Bengkulu Province, Indonesia. Ipuh sub-district was selected because this sub-district was part of West Sumatra Province before joining Bengkulu Province. The Minang tradition is still inherent in some communities of Ipuh sub-district until today.

The research sample was selected using a purposive random sampling method to determine samples based on competencies traits related to the theme of research (Martono, 2012). In other words, purposive random sampling considers the competencies of samples related to the theme of research or specific purposes on certain research (Arikunto, 1998). The sample size of 150 respondents was calculated using Slovin as a result of 241 respondents with a 5% percentage.

The Instrument for collecting data used a questionnaire of Likert Scale. All responses were measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5 with the highest point 5 = strongly agree, 4 = agree, 3 = neutral, 2 = disagree, and the lowest point 1 = strongly disagree. The questionnaires were given to the Minang migrant merchants in Ipuh sub-district, Bengkulu Province, Indonesia.

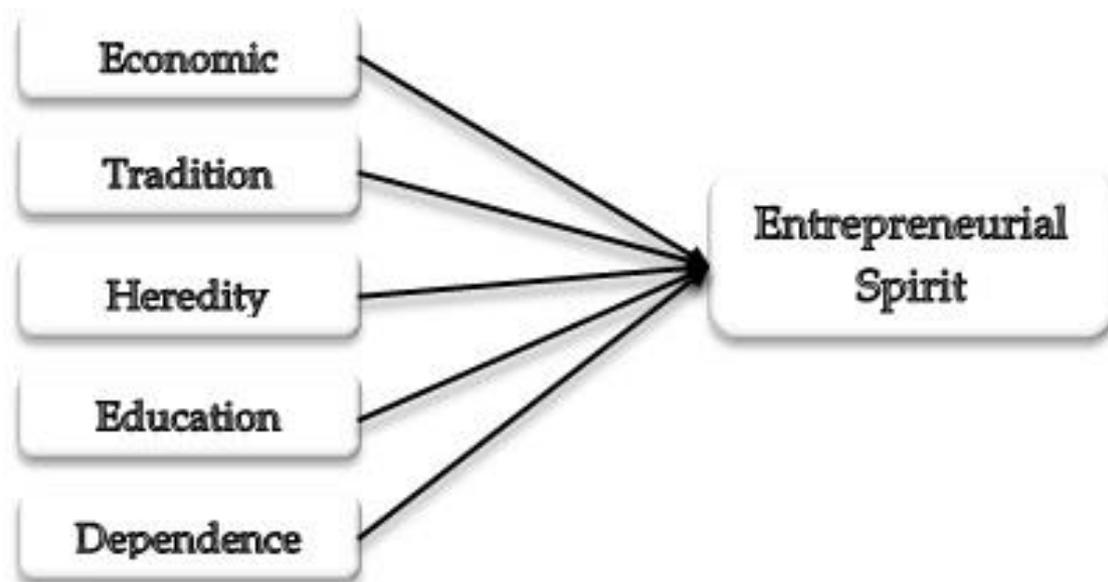
The analysis of data used was multiple regressions or Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) included regression model as follows:

$$Y = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_5 + \varepsilon$$

- Y = entrepreneurial spirit
- α = constant
- b_1 - b_5 = coefficient of determination
- X_1 = economic factor
- X_2 = tradition (*adat*)
- X_3 = heredity
- X_4 = education
- X_5 = independence
- ε = residual

The data were collected using a questionnaire instrument that was tested for validity and reliability test; classical assumption test consisting of normality test, multicollinearity test, autocorrelation test, and heteroscedasticity test, then hypothesis testing consists of F test, T-test and R2 test (coefficient of determination). The data processing tool used was the EViews 9 version. The research framework is as follow:

Figure 1
Research Framework

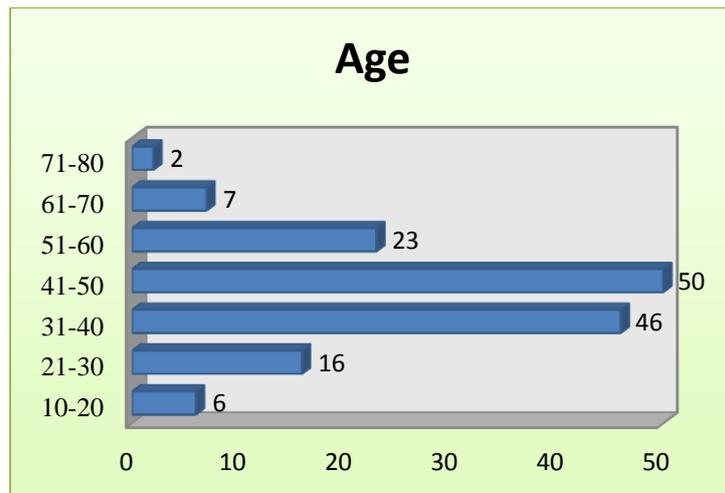


4. Results and Discussion

A. Results

Before the data were tested, the descriptive data of respondents who filled out the questionnaire are as follows:

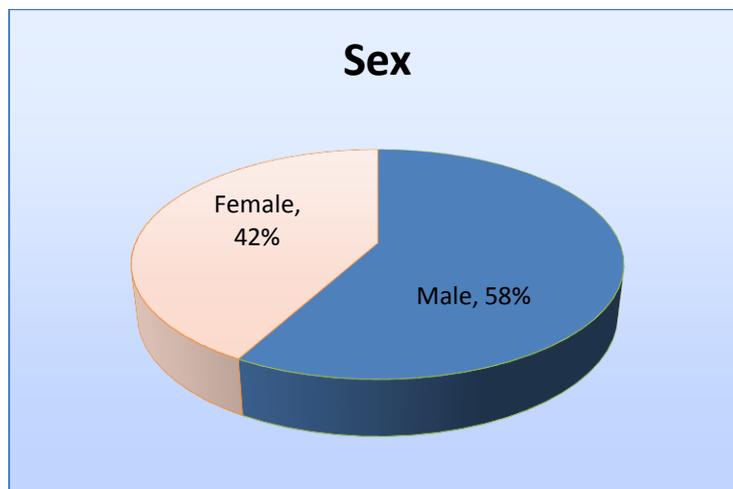
Figure 2
Respondents by Age Group



Source: (Research Data, 2019)

The majority of the age group that filled out the questionnaire data was the age range of 41-50 years of totaling 50 respondents. While the age range of 71-80 years were two respondents. The respondents by sex group are presented as follows:

Figure 3:
Respondents by Sex Group



Source: (Research Data, 2019)

Based on the sex group, male respondents were 58% and female respondents were 42% which male and female respondents are almost equal proportion.

Based on the level of education, respondents are categorized as follows:

Figure 4
Distribution of Respondents by Education



Source: (Research data, 2019)

The majority of respondents had the high school level of education (SMA) filled this questionnaire (ie 60 respondents), other respondents had the elementary level of education (SD) who filled out this questionnaire (55 respondents).

After the descriptive data were submitted, then the validity and reliability tests were carried out on all statements contained in the questionnaire. The validity test results are shown as follows:

Table 1
Validity Test of Y Variable

	Pearson Correlation Score_Total	r table	Decision
S1	0,076	0,1603	Invalid
S2	0,46	0,1603	Valid
S3	0,354	0,1603	Valid
S4	0,469	0,1603	Valid
S5	0,157	0,1603	Invalid
S6	0,327	0,1603	Valid
S7	0,194	0,1603	Valid

Source: (Research data, 2019)

The variable of entrepreneurial spirit (Y) has seven statements. Of the seven statements, there are two invalid statements due to the value of r count < r table, which is the first and fifth statements. The calculated r-value of the first statement is 0.076 < 0.1603 (r table) and the calculated r-value of the fifth statement is 0.157 < 0.1603 (r table). Invalid first and fifth

statements on this Y variable cannot be used again in the reliability test, so only valid statements can be used in the reliability test.

Table 2
Validity Test of X₁ variable

	Pearson Correlation Score_Total	r table	Decision
S1	0,238	0,1603	Valid
S2	0,522	0,1603	Valid
S3	0,352	0,1603	Valid
S4	0,516	0,1603	Valid
S5	0,666	0,1603	Valid
S6	0,393	0,1603	Valid
S7	0,572	0,1603	Valid

Source: (Research Data, 2019)

In the variable of economic factor (X₁), the seven statements tested for validity are declared valid due to the value of r count > 0.1603 (r table). So then it can be decided that the seven statements contained in variable X₁ could be used in the reliability test.

Table 3
Validity Test of X₂ Variable

	Pearson Correlation Score_Total	r table	Decision
S1	0,577	0,1603	Valid
S2	0,599	0,1603	Valid
S3	0,702	0,1603	Valid
S4	0,704	0,1603	Valid
S5	0,591	0,1603	Valid
S6	0,562	0,1603	Valid
S7	0,447	0,1603	Valid

Source: (Research Data, 2019)

The seven statements contained in the variable of tradition (X₂) are also valid and can be used in the reliability test.

Tabel 4
Validity Test of X₃ Variable

	Pearson Correlation Score_Total	r table	Decision
S1	0,424	0,1603	Valid
S2	0,352	0,1603	Valid
S3	0,428	0,1603	Valid
S4	0,476	0,1603	Valid
S5	0,564	0,1603	Valid
S6	0,515	0,1603	Valid
S7	0,558	0,1603	Valid

Source: (Research Data, 2019)

The variable of X₃ is variable of hereditary that all of the seven statements tested for validity are declared valid and can be used in the reliability test.

Table 5
Validity Test of X₄ Variable

	Pearson Correlation Score_Total	r table	Decision
S1	0,325	0,1603	Valid
S2	0,343	0,1603	Valid
S3	0,258	0,1603	Valid
S4	-0,082	0,1603	Invalid
S5	0,444	0,1603	Valid
S6	0,442	0,1603	Valid
S7	0,512	0,1603	Valid

Source: (Research data, 2019)

The variable of X₄ is an educational factor. Of the seven statements tested for validity, the fourth statement is invalid because the value of r count is $-0.082 < 0.1603$ (r table). While the other six statements on the X₄ variable are valid and can be used in the reliability test.

Table 6
Validity Test of X₅ Variable

	Pearson Correlation Score_Total	r table	Decision
S1	0,304	0,1603	Valid
S2	0,266	0,1603	Valid
S3	0,459	0,1603	Valid
S4	0,562	0,1603	Valid
S5	0,462	0,1603	Valid
S6	0,519	0,1603	Valid
S7	0,534	0,1603	Valid

Source: (Research Data, 2019)

The variable of X₅ is the independence factor. After having tested the validity of the seven statements, everything is declared valid.

A total of six variables were tested one dependent variable (entrepreneurial spirit) and five independent variables (economics, tradition, heredity, education, and independence). From the six variables, each variable contained seven statements which in the questionnaire, so that a total of forty-two statements were tested in the validity test.

After validity testing, there are three invalid statements, namely statements one and five (from the entrepreneurial spirit variable), and one from the independent variable (education); which is the thirty-two statement. The invalid statements one, five and thirty-two are not used in the reliability test. After validity testing, the next test is the reliability test, the test results are:

Table 7
Reliability Test

Cronbach's Alpha	r table	N of Items
0,898	0,1603	39

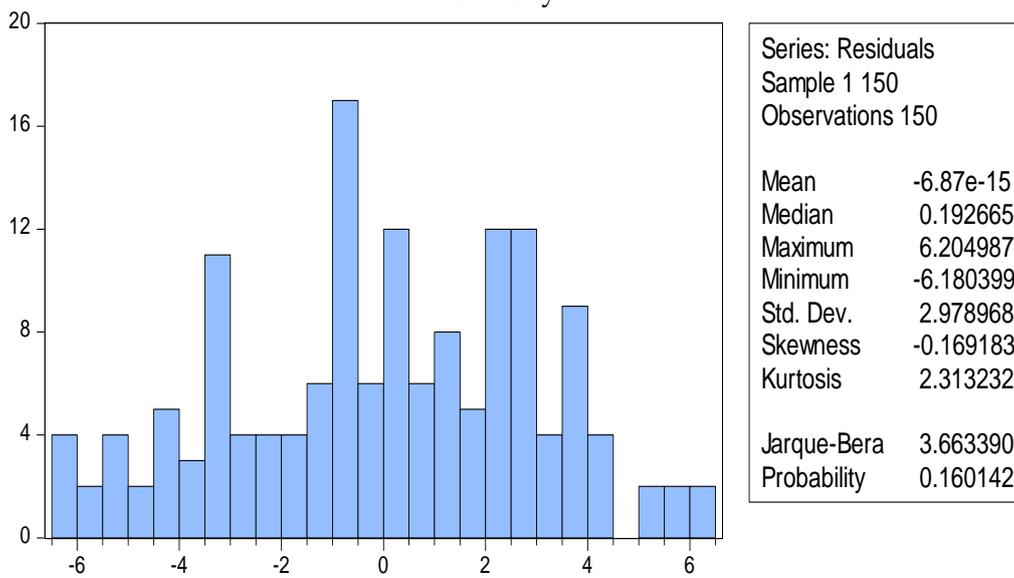
Source: (Research Data, 2019)

The Cronbach's Alpha value of this research (0.898) > r table (0.1603), then the research data was decided to be reliable and could be used to test classical assumptions and hypothesis testing.

The classic assumption test of this research is done through the normality test, multicollinearity test, autocorrelation test, and heteroscedasticity test. These four classical assumption tests use EViews version 9 as the data processing application.

The normality test of this research data can be seen in the following figure:

Figure 5
Normality Test



Source: (Research Data, 2019)

The data were concluded normal, due to the probability of the Jarque-Bera value was $0.160142 > 0.05$ (significance value). When the research data is normal, then in the next stage this research data can be used to test classical assumptions (parametric statistics).

The next test included in the classic assumption test series is the multicollinearity test. The test results are as follows:

Table 8
Multicollinearity Test

Variance Inflation Factors

Date: 10/29/19 Time: 22:39

Sample: 1 150

Included observations: 150

Variable	Coefficient Variance	Uncentered VIF	Centered VIF
Economy	0.006670	90.89451	1.686392
Tradition	0.006095	91.46105	2.125951
Heredity	0.005547	51.26423	1.538321
Education	0.002766	17.92628	1.189164
Independence	0.006321	99.63890	1.433278
C	6.125285	100.0604	NA

(Source: Research Data, 2019)

Multicollinearity test results showed the value of Centered Variance Inflation Factors (VIF) none of the five independent variables whose value is above 10, then it was concluded that the research data did not have multicollinearity problems.

The third test in the classic assumption test series is the autocorrelation test. The autocorrelation test results are in the following table:

Table 9
Autocorrelation Test

Breusch-Godfrey Serial Correlation LM Test:

F-Statistic	2.309487	Prob. F(2,142)	0.1030
Obs*R-Squared	4.725488	Prob. Chi-Square(2)	0.0942

Source: (Research Data, 2019)

The autocorrelation test used the Breusch-Godfrey theory or the Lagrange Multiplier Test. Decisions do not occur autocorrelation if the probability value $\text{Obs}^*\text{R-Squared} > 0.05$.

$\text{Obs}^*\text{R-Squared}$ probability value of this research amounted to $0.0942 > 0.05$, then it was concluded that the research data contained no autocorrelation problems. The fourth test in the classical assumption stage is the heteroscedasticity test. The test results are as follows:

Table 10
Heteroscedasticity Test

Heteroscedasticity Test: ARCH

F-statistic	0.294839	Prob. F(1,147)	0.5880
Obs*R-squared	0.298253	Prob. Chi-Square(1)	0.5850

Source: (Research Data, 2019)

The ARCH theory was used in the heteroscedasticity test. The research data were concluded with no heteroscedasticity problem if the probability of Obs*R-Squared > 0.05.

Obs*R-Squared probability value of this research was 0.5850 > 0.05, so it was concluded that the research data had no heteroscedasticity problem. The hypothesis test of this research is as the following table:

Table 11
The Result of F test, T-test and Coefficient of Determination

Dependent Variable: Entrepreneurial Spirit
Method: Least Squares
Date: 10/30/19 Time: 05:11
Sample: 1 150
Included observations: 150

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
Economy	-0.029170	0.081671	-0.357168	0.7215
Tradition	0.341610	0.078072	4.375544	0.0000
Heredity	0.097712	0.074475	1.312000	0.1916
Education	0.034473	0.052592	0.655476	0.5132
Independence	-0.113559	0.079503	-1.428351	0.1554
C	20.29859	2.474931	8.201677	0.0000
R-squared	0.217027	Mean dependent var		29.14667
Adjusted R-squared	0.189841	S.D. dependent var		3.366608
S.E. of regression	3.030245	Akaike info criterion		5.094342
Sum squared resid	1322.263	Schwarz criterion		5.214767
Log-likelihood	-376.0756	Hannan-Quinn criter.		5.143267
F-statistic	7.982898	Durbin-Watson stat		1.656844
Prob(F-statistic)	0.000001			

Source: (Research Data, 2019)

The table 11 above, F-test results show the probability value F is 0.000001 < 0.05, then it is decided simultaneously all the independent variables of this research (economic factor, tradition, heredity, education, and independence) affect the dependent variable (entrepreneurial spirit). When it is compared to the calculated F value of 7.982898 > 2.28 (F

table value), then all the independent variables also influence simultaneously on the dependent variable.

T-test results in table 11 above show that:

1. The variable of economic does not have a significant negative effect on the entrepreneurial spirit variable because the probability of T is $0.7215 > 0.05$ and the value of T is $-0.3357168 < 1.97658$ (T table). Then it was decided the results rejected H_{a1} .
2. The variable of tradition has a significant positive effect on the entrepreneurial spirit variable because the probability of T is $0.0000 < 0.05$ and the calculated T value is $4.375544 > 1.97658$ (T table). Then it was decided the results of this study received H_{a2} .
3. The variable of heredity does not have a significant positive effect on the entrepreneurial spirit variable because the probability of T is $0.1916 > 0.05$ and the value of T is $1.312000 < 1.97658$ (T table). Then it was decided the results of this study rejected H_{a3} .
4. The variable of education does not have a significant positive effect on the entrepreneurial spirit variable because the probability of T is $0.5132 > 0.05$ and the value of T is $0.655476 < 1.97658$ (T table). Then it was decided the results of this research rejected H_{a4} .
5. The variable of independence does not have a negative effect on the entrepreneurial spirit variable because the probability of T is $0.1554 > 0.05$ and the calculated T value is $-1.442351 < 1.97658$ (T table). Then it was also decided the results of this research rejected H_{a5} .

The five independent variables tested for their significance relationship with the variable of entrepreneurial spirit. It is only the variable of tradition that had a significant positive effect on the variable of entrepreneurial spirit. It means that the more Minang merchants implement their tradition or their life; their entrepreneurial spirit also will increase.

B. Discussion

The regression results of this research differ from the previous researches of Ramadhan et al., (2016) which stated that heredity, independence, tradition, and economic variables affect many Minang who work as merchants.

Also, this research is different from the finding of Heryanto (2011) who found that the Minang people migrate and trade are caused by factors of ecological pressure, economic pressure, geographical pressure, a small income from the agricultural sector and because of educational factors. However, the results of this research are relevant to the results research of Effendi (1999) which stated that cultural factors as the most influential factor for the marketing behavior of Minang merchants. The results of this research are also relevant to the results research of Qosja & Druga (2015) which found social and cultural factors are the most important factors in the formation of entrepreneurial attitudes.

Tradition is the most influential factor in the Minang lifestyle, including the spirit of working as merchants cannot be refuted, due to the people uphold their customs and tradition wherever they are. Customs and religion are always held in high esteem by the people.

Ethnic Minang is also well known for the ability in business and commerce fields. The ability to sell merchandise is influenced by the tradition of migration which is ingrained for the Minang people. Mostly Minang people run their ethnic culinary (Padang restaurants).

Since Minang lineage is based on matrilineal, women have important roles in Minangkabau tradition. The consequence of this condition is to get men migrating to other areas to find experiences that will forge men to maturity and migrate to success. Even the tradition of migration into prestige for the Minang people and increase one's self-esteem. Usually, the

tradition of migration is done to big cities in Indonesia, usually to Java Island (Hastuti et al., 2015).

Several factors causing different ratios of men and women entrepreneurs in some provinces in Indonesia. One of the dominant factors that play a role is the cultural and traditional factors of a tribe. Minangkabau is one of the ethnic groups whose dominant cultural role is implemented in daily life. In Minang tradition, the owner of the wealth is women, while the men play only the role of protector of property, wife, and children. In Minang tradition, women do not just stay at home, but also work to generate income even though men or their husbands also work. Entrepreneurs who are employed by Minang women are usually weaving, trading clothes and opening Padang restaurants (Tambunan, 2019).

The findings of this research are the influence of matrilineal tradition on the entrepreneurial desire for Minang people. The young single men (youth) have not been considered to have a role in the tribe, therefore, migrating by working as merchants is a good solution to gain knowledge and experience that will be useful in traditional structures for the future. Another finding is that matrilineal tradition can also increase the number of women entrepreneurs, this can be seen in Figure 3, where the number of respondents who are also female merchants is 42%.

The tradition also has forged the entrepreneurial women of Minang to have the ability and entrepreneurial skills. As the results of the T-test in table 11 shows that the level of education does not affect the entrepreneurial spirit of Minang merchants, also the women entrepreneurs of Minang. This is different from the findings of Brixiová et al., (2019) which states that higher education, entrepreneurship training, and non-cognitive skills play an important role in the performance of women entrepreneurs.

The urge to migrate and trade that is motivated by matrilineal tradition arises because of the assumption that men can live anywhere and they do not need a place to live like women. So with this condition, many Minang youths who have not finished their education in school go to trade overseas, and some even do not return to their hometowns and some migrate indefinitely (Fahmi, 2014).

Minang men have no place in the Gadang house, therefore Minang men are required to migrate and increase their rank. Through migrating, Minang men will gain experience through learning religion, science, and economics. After being successful overseas, Minang men are welcome to go home and contribute to increasing their ethnicity (Meiyanti & Afrida, 2018).

The tradition for the Minang people is highly respected even though they are distorted by foreign traditions (Li, 2014) because adat or tradition is related to religiosity through the adage "*adat basandi syara', syara' basandi kitabullah*". It means that the Minang tradition is based on sharia and sharia is based on the Book of God (the Quran) (Wanto, 2017). Minangkabau people are known as people who uphold the Minangkabau religion and tradition wherever they are. Another saying that also states the strong influence of religion in Minang tradition is "*syara' mangato adat mamakai*", is what is conveyed in Islamic sharia is used by adat (Revita et al., 2018). This strong relationship between religion and Minangkabau customs makes awareness of the religious values of the Minang community very close (Azwar, 2018).

Adat (tradition) of Minang has three different levels, they are:

1. *Adat nan Sabana Adat* (*Adat* as a core)

Adat has been the root of the Minang in daily life. At this level, *adat* is associated with the Islamic religion. What is prohibited and allowed by *adat* is what is prohibited and allowed by Islam. It is also related to matrilineal bloodlines in daily life.

2. *Adat nan diadatkan* (Adat as a customary law)

At this level, the reference of *adat* is the ancestors, Datuak Perpatih Nan Sabatang and Datuak Katumanggungan. This custom has continued to be passed down through generations and has not changed.

3. *Adat nan teradat* (Adat as life activities)

Daily life activities that accidentally also become customary. For example wearing jeans, wedding ceremonies, and other ceremonies such as welcoming the birth of a baby (Stark, 2013).

The insignificant influence of education, economy, heredity, and independence implies that to become an entrepreneur does not have to have a tertiary educational background, do not have to have entrepreneurial parents as well, not necessarily because of economic pressures making entrepreneurial desires arise.

The development of technology in the 4.0 industrial revolution era now makes everyone can be entrepreneurial without having to go through higher education. Through financial technologies (fintech) all business transactions can be done (Manta, 2018). The existence of this fintech makes financial transactions more efficient (Leng et al., 2018). As shown in Figure 4, the education level of respondents who mostly filled out this questionnaire was high school and elementary school levels. Although the majority of the education level of Minang merchants in Ipuh sub-district does not reach the tertiary level, in terms of merchandise marketing they also follow technological sophistication by utilizing fintech and social media.

The digitalization of business is now becoming a public concern even though it is not new (Ritter & Pedersen, 2019). The existence of digitalization in this case information technology can increase flexibility in service and facilitate synergy for business cooperation, it cannot be denied that this presence is currently able to influence economic development (Khuntia et al., 2019).

The hereditary factor also has no significant effect on the entrepreneurial spirit of the Minang trader as listed in table 11. But what Minang people have done by migrating to gain life experience is the key to success. Because experience is the key to success, experienced people can develop the skills and expertise they have (Koster & Andersson, 2018). In addition to experience, psychological capital is also the most important factor for entrepreneurship sustainability (Wang et al., 2018).

Economic factors are also not a factor that makes Minang people trade overseas. Because traditional advice states *syara' mangato adat mamakai*, so that in trading Minang people are not only oriented to worldly benefits but also oriented to worship *ukhrawi (falah)* (Nofianti & Okfalisa, 2019) as conveyed in Islamic law. This principle is in line with the spiritual values contained in Islamic economics (Abdul-Rahim, 2018). This spirituality value in a moral-based Islamic economy is implemented through the form of paying zakat after reaching haul and nishab (Saleem et al., 2018).

5. Conclusions

Cultural factors play an important role in the emergence of entrepreneurial spirit among the Minang migrants (in this case for Minang migrants in Ipuh sub-district, Bengkulu Province, Indonesia) because their parents and uncles (*mamak*) educate tradition to them since childhood; moreover the Minang tradition is closely related to Sharia (Islamic Law). The saying "*basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah*" is a guideline for the Minang people to behave in everyday life.

The factors such as economic factors, heredity, education, and independence do not influence on the emergence of their entrepreneurial spirit. When the Minang decides to migrate

to other places, they are commonly going without assets; both financial and education. The condition is not a factor that causes Minang migrants becoming merchants.

This research implies that the entrepreneurial spirit must be instilled in young people through the tradition of the local community since it is a basic education that builds the behavior of people.

Another finding implies that Minang tradition as matrilineal characterization and the third-largest matrilineal tradition in the world must be preserved because it can have an impact on increasing the entrepreneurial spirits for both men and women.

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The Roles of Ulama in the process of Post-Conflict Reconciliation in Aceh

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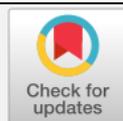
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ABSTRACT

In the context of Aceh, the word "Ulama" refers to an Islamic scholar who own boarding school (In Aceh language known as Dayah) or a leader of an Islamic boarding school (known as Teungku Dayah). Ulama become "the backbone" of any social problem and play strategic and influential roles in Acehnese society. However, The Ulama roles have changed in the post-conflict era in Aceh. The assumption that Ulama are unable running their authorities in Acehnese society especially in the post-conflict era. Ideally, their roles are needed in the reconciliation regarding the agents of reconciliation who have authority like the Ulama and are trustworthy by Acehnese society. Therefore, this article aims to discuss the position of Ulama in the process of post-conflict reconciliation in Aceh. To investigate the problem, a descriptive qualitative method was used, where the method is to describe the nature of a temporary situation that occurs when the research is carried out in detail, and then the causes of the symptoms were examined. The data were literature studies, participatory observation, and in-depth interviews. The results of this research showed that during an important period of Aceh's history, the Ulama constantly become guardians that provide a religious ethical foundation for each socio-political change in Aceh, and subsequently they also act as the successor to the religious style that developed in the society. Even the formation and development of the socio-political and cultural system occurred partly on the

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contribution of the Ulama. The position of Ulama in the process of post-conflict reconciliation in Aceh can be found in four ways. Firstly, knowledge transmission. Secondly, as a legal decision-maker which refers to Sharia law, especially related to the reconciliation process. Thirdly, as a mediator. Fourthly, cultural roles in the form of ritual or ceremonial guides that are carried out when the parties of the conflict have met an agreement to reconcile.

Keywords: Aceh; Conflict; Reconciliation; Sharia; Ulama

1. Introduction

“... The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) has said: ‘Ulama are the heirs of the prophets’. ... Also, the Prophet Muhammad said: ‘The best Kings and the nobles are those who visit the doors of the Ulama, and the worst Ulama are those who visit the doors of the kings and the nobles...’. The Ulama are much superior in dignity and status to others. After them (the Ulama), rank the kings...” (Saletore in Kartodirdjo, 1981: 129)

Saletore has described that the Ulama played important roles in Islamic society during the medieval age. Some studies had discussed the roles and contributions of Ulama in Aceh. Yeoh (1994) examined the relation of Ulama, government, and Acehnese Society which then concluded that Ulama are a quite important group in Aceh. The main point of the role of the Ulama in politics is as the Mufti during the Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam. Then Saby (1995) examined the role of Ulama for the people of Aceh. Saby found that aside from being a Mufti Sultan, Ulama had also served as preachers, educators, and freedom fighters. Some of the famous Ulama names at that time were Syamsuddin al-Sumatrani, Nuruddin al-Raniry, and Abdurrauf al-Singkili, who also served as the justification of the Malikul Qadhi or Supreme Court Judge (Azra, 1998: 202). Some other studies about strengthening post-conflict that relate directly to the Ulama mostly speak to the realm of Islamic Sharia enforcement (see, Ichwan, 2011; Sabil, 2012; Sufyan, 2016; Firdaus, 2019).

In Aceh, Ulama are still the “backbone” of decisions in a variety of issues and they are as strategic and influential groups. Not only related to religious issues, but also as a spiritual-based “medical personnel” who is considered to cure various diseases. Some cases showed that when a family member is sick, the first aid is to bring a bottle of mineral water to the Ulama to be spelled out (in local terms known as *ie teurajah*) (Ilham & Abdullah, 2015: 101).

However, the roles of Ulama in Aceh have changed. Some people make assumptions that they are unable to play their roles in society since the power and governance systems have changed especially when Aceh annexed to the Republic of Indonesia. Moreover, the Ulama in Aceh created an institutional system and claimed each other as “the real Ulama” raising a role competition among them (Bustamam-Ahmad & Amiruddin, 2013: 64). At some level, some parties question the existence of Ulama as actors who actually “create” the conflict itself, or even become part of the conflict that is happening. On the other hand, the Ulama group seemed more focused on ideological issues, and some were involved in the realm of practical politics.

Bustamam-Ahmad & Amiruddin (2013: 55-56) explained that the Ulama Aceh was a legitimate group through traditional and charismatic authority. With charismatic authority, Ulama in Aceh have great potential in managing and manipulating the social life of the Acehnese society, including in the case of post-conflict reconciliation in Aceh (1976-2005).

After the signing of the MoU in Helsinki, Aceh entered a new phase after a long conflict. Efforts to reconcile post-conflict continue to be pursued by various parties, including by the government. The Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Aceh TRC, Indonesian: Komisi Kebenaran dan Rekonsiliasi Aceh or KKR Aceh) which was ratified through Qanun Number 17 of 2013 provides hope for strengthening peace in Aceh. The Aceh TRC is expected to be able to open truth spaces and contribute to the enforcement of human rights in Aceh specifically. However, since the institution officially operated on October 24, 2016, the efforts to reconcile victims of conflict are unclear.

Through the Aceh TRC, efforts at reconciliation continue to have endeavored so that the conflict that had occurred did not recur. The concept of reconciliation in this case according to the Aceh Qanun Number 17 of 2013 concerning the Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission, is interpreted as the result of a process of disclosing the truth, recognition, forgiveness, and re-acceptance of victims and perpetrators by the Acehnese society. This means that reconciliation is expected to be a unifying bridge, to achieve justice and peace on the Mecca's verandah.

The position of Ulama as a strategic group should ideally take the maximum role in the reconciliation process, considering that there is currently no reconciliation agent that has authority like the Ulama and is truly trustworthy by the people of Aceh. The presence of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) or institutions formed by the State in the reconciliation process is often seen by the Acehnese society as not independent, especially by victims and conflict parties. For this reason, this research aims to discuss the position of Acehnese Ulama during the conflict and post-conflict period, especially in terms of reconciliation.

2. Literature Review

Historical records about the social dynamics of various dimensions in Aceh have involved Ulama. However, post-peace, the roles of Ulama have shifted and changed. Several studies noted that Ulama in Aceh are an important element among Acehnese society until today, they still have a source of legitimacy to influence the people (see, Saby, 1995, 2001; Bustamam-Ahmad & Amiruddin, 2013; Ilham & Abdullah, 2015; Firdaus, 2019). But, nowadays, the charismatic Ulama in Aceh have rarely involved as mediators or reconcilers. Even in other social domains, Ulama still exists and be the source, but in the case of post-conflict reconciliation, the involvement of Ulama "seems" almost difficult to detect. There are no works of literature on post-conflict reconciliation in Aceh that specifically study charismatic Ulama as agents of reconciliation. Whereas sociologically, Ulama in Aceh have a strategic position to play their roles.

The literature on Ulama in Aceh is now very abundant. Several works of academics and scholars discussed the existence of Ulama in Aceh. The literature commonly discussed the roles of Ulama related to religious, developmental, social, economic, political and triumphant aspects of the past. It is still difficult to find studies related to the role of the Ulama in reconciliation.

Saby (2001) specifically discussed the position of Ulama in Aceh in the span of history. This included studies relating to the political role of several Ulama leaders in Aceh. Since the coming of Islam into the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, Ulama have played a major role. The mastery of Islamic knowledge places Ulama as members of the social elite in society. Society

views the Ulama as a place to ask for guidance, and on the other hand, the authorities use it as a source of legitimacy.

Firdaus (2019) also noted the same thing. Organizationally the Ulama in Aceh had played a role since the Ulama established the All-Aceh Religious Scholars' Association (Indonesian: Persatuan Ulama Seluruh Aceh or PUSA) in 1939. Then after the PUSA broke up, in the New Order era, the Ulama in Aceh established the Ulama Consultative Council (Indonesian: Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama or MPU) in 1965 which later became a forum for the Ulama for deliberation, issuing fatwa and giving advice to the government.

In the broader context of conflict, according to Ibrahim (2003: 31), religion is a variable that must be taken into account when looking at conflicts in Aceh. With a very high sensitivity to religion, religion can be used as a support and even gain support on a broader scale. Religion has even been a factor in the ongoing conflict in Aceh for a very long time. This can be seen in the war that raged in Aceh when the Ulama beat the drums of war against the colonial Dutch East Indies. The spirit of resistance had once made the Dutch confused with the courage and desperation of the people. The Acehnese at that time fought not to win but to get shaheed and heaven (Ibrahim, 2003: 31).

During the Darul Islam/Indonesian Islamic Armed Forces (Indonesian: Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia or DI/TII) local elites who waged resistance to the Indonesian government also came from the Ulama and Ulama representatives. At that time, Ulama and religion are still the variables of the strengthening of popular resistance and great support for the establishment of DI/TII. Different things happened in the 1970s conflict period which Ibrahim (2003: 32) referred to as a period of contemporary conflict where religion tends to be used more as a symbolic move as a justification or value base for the activities of struggle carried out. During this period the escalation of violence tended to increase significantly. Further, religious symbols, according to Ibrahim (2003: 33) became the best language to translate the reality that occurred during the escalation of violence that took place quite high. As on several occasions, the security forces often read the Badr prayer at the time of the troops before carrying out security operations.

Also, many other symbols as summarized by Ibrahim (2003: 33), namely the writing of *Allahu Akbar* (Allah is the Greatest) and *Bismillahirrahmanirrahim* (In the Name of Allah, the All-Merciful and Most Merciful) on the walls of trucks and other military vehicles. This phenomenon was translated by him as a form of legitimacy and provided a clear boundary that the security operations carried out by the government of the Republic of Indonesia were on the religiously correct track and the other hand wanted to obscure the propaganda of Aceh's ideals in the effort to be independent.

The same pattern is also shown by the Free Aceh Movement (Indonesian: Gerakan Aceh Merdeka or GAM) which seeks to provide stimulation to the people of Aceh that the movement which is fought for is not immune from religious teachings. Or in other words, it gives legitimacy that the Free Aceh Movement is a successor movement that represents the predecessor movement which has also fought 'enemies'; 'enemies' defined as infidels or 'enemies' who have broken political promises.

Although Ibrahim (2003: 34) mentioned various labeling as symbolization and even manipulation of symbols, it cannot be translated as a common (generalization) that each warring group utilizes religion as a symbol of struggle. When viewed from the process of habituating the recitation of Surah Yasin on the day leading up to the 4th December, *Azan* (call to prayer) took part in the conduct of the flag ceremony and prayed at the mosque for the success and achievement of the ideals of the Free Aceh Movement, because the habituation was

not done occasionally, but had become routine for the Acehese society. Aceh and Indonesia, in general, are incidentally the largest Muslim society in Southeast Asia. Moreover, Aceh is upholding Islamic values through daily routines such as recitation and mosques as the epicenter of activities.

Although it cannot be denied that the embodiment of language and religious activities can be interpreted from a symbolic perspective. If interpreted arbitrarily, this understanding can be seen from how the groups that conflict interpret the religious spirit that they made themselves. So that when denial is present the religious symbolization which is used as one of the strategies to gain support can be accepted as concluded by Ibrahim (2003: 34).

3. Research Methodology

This research was qualitative descriptive. According to Neuman, descriptive research is:

“Research presents a picture of the specific details of the situation, social setting, or relationship. The outcome of a descriptive study is a detailed picture of the subject”.
(Neuman, 2000: 64)

This research was to describe the nature of a temporary situation that occurred during the research was conducted and was to examine the causes of the symptoms. By using this approach, the position of Ulama in post-conflict reconciliation was explored. This is possible because the researcher automatically places the object of research as an active subject in a natural environment and is attempted to be described reciprocally (Koentjoroningrat, 1991: 87; Faisal, 1989: 18; Ferdiansyah, 2015: 6).

This research was carried out in Aceh Besar Regency and Pidie Regency, Aceh Province, Indonesia, due to the places that were considered as representative to explain and understand the potential, position, and role of the Ulama in terms of reconciliation. Besides, the choice of location also considered for the following reasons; firstly, the Pidie area was the largest conflict base area in the period 1976-2005 that the intensity of the conflict and the number of victims also was quite large. Secondly, reconciliation is one of the goals of the peacebuilding itself.

The stages of Data Collection and Data Analysis in this research consisted of several stages, namely;

- 1) **Literature Study.** Data and information were obtained from reputable journals, books, legislation, newspapers, articles, and documents that supported the research process and analysis of the research problems.
- 2) **Participatory Observation.** This stage became the initial instrument that was useful to obtain key events to add more detailed and real narrative research reports based on facts in the field.
- 3) **In-depth Interview.** The main purpose of this stage was to prioritize personal interaction with the participants. This process was conducted by inviting the key participants that have specialized knowledge on the map of the Ulama and the social network that was built as well as the specific roles that are carried out in peacebuilding efforts through reconciliation.

After data has been collected, the next step was to inductively analyze to build patterns, categorized and their themes from the bottom up, and then process the data into more abstract information units to produce a complex picture of a problem or the issue under study (Creswell, 2010: 261-263). To maintain the validity and reliability of the data, the overall data was combined which was obtained from the data collection techniques described above.

4. Results and Discussion

In the context of Indonesia, there may be absolute confidence that in the several historical studies of Aceh have constantly verified the significant roles of Ulama. Several works of literature stated that the formation & development of the socio-political and cultural among the society took place partly at the contributions of the Ulama. Even in every essential duration of the history of Aceh, the Ulama continually seemed like a pressure that gives a religious ethical foundation for each socio-political change, and eventually acts as a successor to the religious style that develops in Acehnese society (Saby, 2001: 1).

A. Ulama Aceh Throughout The History

Aceh and Islam are like an inseparable side of the coin. Almost all Acehnese agree that being an Acehnese is inseparable from being a Muslim since the identity of Aceh and Islam has deep historical roots. Aceh's location on the northwestern tip of Sumatra that makes it the first point of contact for Arab and Indian traders visiting the archipelago. It is widely known that the oldest Islamic kingdom in Southeast Asia was in Aceh, precisely in the Pasai area (near Lhokseumawe). For centuries, Aceh was not only an important military force but also the center of Islamic learning and trade (Aspinall, 2007: 248).

Based on the historical sources, both from the records of European explorers or Acehnese traditions such as the *Hikayat Raja-Pasai* (the story of Pasai King) and Malay History, the Ulama have made an important contribution in the development of the Samudra Pasai Kingdom to become the leading Islamic empire in the 13th Century in Archipelago. The contribution has been credited with making Samudra Pasai kingdom as the basis for the process of Islamization in the Malay world, and Aceh in particular (Saby, 2001: 2).

Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636) was the well-known sultan for his continuous attacks on the Portuguese in the Malacca Strait with Islam as the basis for his ideological struggle (Hadi, 2004: 30). During the next two centuries, the economic power of the Dutch experienced a setback, while the Islamic awareness of the people of Aceh increased significantly, mainly through the teachings of the Ulama such as al-Raniry and al-Singkili. In 1824, along with the Anglo-Dutch agreement, Aceh was in a precarious position because of its sovereignty which had been recognized by Europe, but at the same time, the island of Sumatra was claimed by the Dutch. Then the Dutch attacked Aceh in 1873 and at the same time became the biggest military attack in Dutch history. During 40 years of fighting against Aceh, the leadership of the Aceh guerrilla forces against the Dutch shifted to the hands of the Ulama within the framework of the Holy War, which was coordinated from mosque to mosque and every Friday sermon. The Ulama of that era wrote the tale of the Sabil war (the Holy War), which stated that resistance to drive out the Dutch was an obligation for all Muslims and declared it a jihad (Siegel in Aspinall, 2007: 249). The leadership of the Ulama in the Dutch war lasted for 60 years. Within this time the Ulama had confirmed their presence in Acehnese politics and society.

It is undoubtedly that Ulama had a vital role in the period. The position and role of Acehnese Ulama became greater when the kingdom reached its golden age in the 17th century. During this century, the kingdom of Aceh became the center of the birth of prominent Ulama around the archipelago, such as Hamzah Fansuri, Syamsuddin al-Sumatrani, Nuruddin al-Raniry, and Abdurrauf al-Singkili. Through their intellectual works, encourage the development of intellectual traditions and religious thoughts. Even, the Ulama in the Aceh kingdom also sat in important positions in the royal structure such as the position of Shaykh al-Islam, which was a level below the Sultan. Through these institutions, the Ulama became the

king's companion who helped determine every important and strategic decision in the kingdom.

Not only the political role of the Ulama was even more prominent in the later period, but also when the people fought against the Dutch colonialism. The Ulama became the foundation of the ideology of struggle, which was formulated in the concept of jihad (war in the way of Allah with the reward of heaven). This holy war was carried out not to defend Aceh, but against those who commit crimes. In this context, the Ulama not only supports but also provide an ideological-religious foundation. The Ulama took on the role of formulating and giving meaning to the struggle of the people against Dutch colonialism. This position continued until it entered the beginning of the 20th century. When modernization began to enter the lives of the people of Aceh, the Ulama acted as agents of Islamic renewal. Through the All-Aceh Religious Scholars' Association (PUSA), an institution founded in 1938, the Ulama fought for the empowerment and development of Aceh's Muslims. The PUSA officially aims to develop a modern Islamic education system in Aceh with a vision not to return to Aceh's "golden age", but to welcome a "glorious future", where all Muslims will unite through religious law (Morris in Aspinall, 2007: 250). In its first public statement, the PUSA organization said:

"...to proclaim, uphold and defend the greatness of the holy Islamic religion, especially in the land of Aceh, which had bestowed upon it the name of 'Mecca's verandah' in its past golden age, but which for some time now has become a country left far behind by its near neighbors, let alone those more distant, and which has for so long remained in the valley of unbelief and darkness". (Aspinall, 2007: 250)

Daud Beureueh, a charismatic *Ulama* and a leader of PUSA has combined Islamic teachings with anti-nationalism, colonialists and Western organizations. PUSA opposed Dutch colonialism, received Japanese assistance, and was able to defeat the Dutch before the arrival of aid from Japan. After World War II, Beureueh and the Ulama carried out a social revolution and established political hegemony. After the proclamation of independence in 1945, under the leadership of the Ulama, Aceh was the only area in Indonesia that did not fall back to the Dutch. Even the Acehnese forces struggled to support the Republic of Indonesia within the framework of jihad (Barter, 2008: 14).

After the war for independence, Aceh entered a new phase, a period of conflict that began when Aceh was fused with northern Sumatra, which then ignited Ulama resistance against the Republic of Indonesia. This conflict was gradually resolved through a series of negotiations in the 1960s, with Aceh regaining the status of its province and autonomy to implement Sharia law.

However, over time the influence of the Ulama has gradually declined, especially, when the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) demanded independence from the Indonesian government, starting in 1976. During this time the role of the Ulama declined when the new order government under the command of President Soeharto (1967-1998) tried to co-opt the support of the Ulama on one side and GAM demanded their loyalty on the other side. However, after the Aceh tsunami in 2004, the government and GAM negotiated a peace agreement through the Helsinki MoU in 2005, Ulama in Aceh re-emerged and played a more significant role.

During the GAM era conflict (1976-2005), it was generally agreed, though rarely explained, that the current conflict lacked a religious dimension. If anything, religious organizations in Aceh support the state, Ulama in the MPU were even asked by the Indonesian state to pressure GAM during peace negotiations. As a result, GAM saw the Ulama as a tool for the state's

agenda (Kingsbury, 2006: 188). Meanwhile, GAM leaders only spoke to Western countries and developed an ethnic nationalism (ethnonationalism) discourse that was partly cleansed from Islamic elements. Based in Sweden, GAM leaders initially spoke about socialism and anti-colonialism then shifted the human rights framework to legitimize independence.

In the early of the New Order, President Soeharto with economic development had weakened Ulama in Aceh. Even during the GAM conflict, most of the Ulama's role was somewhere between neutral and pro-state, except those in GAM's base area. At this time Barter (2008: 16) states that Pro-Indonesian Ulama can be separated into two categories, namely career Ulama (who earn a living through state organizations) and *Dayah* Ulama (active teachers). The first category is the Ulama who support the state. According to Barter (2008: 16-17), the career of *Ulama* included state-sponsored legislative officials, universities, political bodies, and Ulama Organizations. The Indonesian authorities often called on the Ulama to support government policy and speak out against GAM. In line with this, Mukhlisuddin Ilyas (respondent) said:

"Before the conflict, Ulama's position in Aceh was only as a follower, as a supporter, and provider of wise advice or social justification. During the New Order era, many Ulama were used as 'spokesmen', and the reform period of the Dayah Ulama was only a counterweight". (Interview, July 2019)

During this period the power of the Ulama began to weaken due to its involvement in the practical politics of the period. Most of the Ulama were incorporated into political parties (PPP: United Development Party, or Development Unity) and several institutions were formed during the New Order (MPU: Ulama Consultative Assembly) (Barter, 2008: 14). In other words, Ulama are only positioned as parties outside the framework of the ongoing conflict in Aceh.

Besides, the position of Ulama is also weak due to internal reasons such as the decreased interest of the Acehnese society in schools run by traditional Islamic educational institutions (*Dayah*) due to losing competition with state-run Madrasas. Another problem is the result of decades of conflict, teaching new generations to be ignored, new "Ulama" failing to be reproduced. Meanwhile, new secular elites produced by the University of Aceh continue to emerge, as well as Soeharto's Golkar Party control in the provincial bureaucracy that dominates Aceh's economy. The weakening of the authority of the Ulama continued until the signing of the Helsinki MoU in 2005 (Barter, 2008: 16).

The position of the Ulama which is considered ambiguous and paradoxical when compared to its role in the war against the Dutch and the DI/TII Movement not only caused disappointment, doubt, and insults in the Acehnese society. This causes the emergence of *hadih maja*, who identified the Ulama, who could be used as central figures and not, in solving problems that were being faced by the Acehnese society such as their hopes for the story of heroism, courage, and intelligence of previous Ulama. It is this misunderstanding of the adaptation strategy of the Ulama's co-optation efforts that later led to the emergence of a negative *maja* in Acehnese society when evaluating the Ulama. The *maja* was read: "*Ulama jameun pijuet-pijuet karena le geu kaluet ngen geumeudo'a, Ulama Jinoe Tumbon-tumbon karena sereng jak ek treun rinyeun istana*"¹ (Amiruddin, 2003:58).

¹ Literally, the sayings can be translated as in the past time, Ulama were thin (thin is associated with poor condition) due to they prayed continuously day and night, it different from the today's Ulama, they are fat (fat is associated with wealthy condition) due to they are friends of power.

Although it is recognized that during the conflict the position of the Ulama weakened, it did not mean that the Ulama group was absent from the social dynamics that took place in Aceh. Abidin Nurdin (Acehnese Sociologist) said that Ulama as an institution are always present in the people of Aceh. The role of the Ulama has not changed, only not as significant as in the past. *Dayah* remained, *santri* (students) activities with the Ulama also continued. He further said:

“Ulama have not changed, only transformed the roles. In the past, when we referred them to past time, automatically we saw them as persons. Today we see institutions that represent them as Ulama”. (Interview, July 2019)

B. The Legitimacy Basis of Ulama in Aceh

“Abu Tanoh Mirah, everyone respected him, almost 90 percent of people charitable. His charisma arises because of his honesty”. (Interview with Teungku Yusri Ahmad, August 2019).

The above interview excerpts stated that the Ulama were legitimized because of personal quality. However, if traced far backward, the legitimacy of the Ulama has taken root.

Dayah is one of the social institutions that are often seen as the epicenter of Aceh's culture. Amiruddin (2017: 4) revealed that *Dayah* was the guardian of Religion in Acehnese society. According to him, *Dayah* with its Ulama in Acehnese society remained more glorified than the Ulama who studied in addition to *Dayah* such as in madrasa (a college for Islamic instruction) and other religious institutions. According to Burhanuddin (2012: 91), *Dayah* in Aceh has a very large role in providing the enlightenment needed by the people where the *Dayah* is located. The contribution made is not only in the form of teaching Islam by *Dayah* Ulama, but it also guides the community in practicing Islamic symbols in daily life.

Aceh had three big *Dayah* when Hurgronje visited Aceh in the 19th century. The *Dayah* was located inland, namely Dayah Tanoh Abe, Dayah Tiro, and Dayah Baru Karang. The three became the epicenter of Aceh civilization, through their highly respected and respected Ulama. Not only through the teaching of Islam, but also on organizational power which quickly gave overall dominance and legitimacy throughout Aceh. So that *Dayah* with the Ulama as the sole representation has influenced the Acehnese society in practice and knowledge, and forms social and economic norms based on Islamic theology (Burhanuddin, 2012: 91). As written by Hurgronje (in Burhanuddin, 2012: 93) that the Islamic symbols have been embedded quite deeply in economic practice, for the Acehnese “agriculture is the king of all livelihoods, so that there is often the appearance of *maja*: “*Pang ulee ibadat, pang ulee hareukat meugo*”, meaning “The main worship is prayer, look for the main fortune is farming (rice fields)”. The religious and economic juxtaposition that is considered the most important in the lives of the people is seen during the marking process of the emergence of three stars which are considered as markers towards Mecca which is interpreted as the time of the start of rice planting. The *Dayah* Ulama are believed to have the spiritual power to bring blessings or curses, provide healing and sickness and have formulas for a variety of life goals, and the habits of daily life make Ulama have power over every word that is spoken” (Burhanuddin, 2012: 92).

More precisely, the *Dayah* community is mechanical because the values adopted are singular, prioritizing feelings and have high solidarity. In that community, people who are

bound by the religious spirit and *teungku dayah* who are leaders occupy a special position and are highly respected. In this *Dayah* context, religious structure and social structure together become a unity that ultimately forms the social relations of society (Nirzalin, 2018: 188).

Ulama or commonly called *Teungku Dayah* as a figure in society has a very important role in creating social order through the formation of norms of shared life which are derived from the Quran, Hadith and also the books of Sufism taught by the Ulama in the *Dayah* (Nirzalin, 2018: 189). In the realm of intertwined social relations, the transformation of norms of social relations of *Teungku Dayah* and students that are intensive encourages the emergence of the ideology of "Abstinence against *Guree*" (abstinence against teachers/*teungku*) in *Dayah*. Empirically, this ideology gave emergence to the spirit of fear (obedience) of students without question and in its development became one of the basis of the legitimacy of Ulama and this not only had an impact on students but also the wider community. This happened because basically the gait of *Teungku Dayah* which had been rooted in cross history made a network of norms that were built into the habitus of the people of Aceh.

The strong gait of Aceh in the lives of the people of Aceh makes the legitimacy of the Ulama in the community stronger. The scientific network that is spread throughout Acehnese society through learning in the *dayah* and its alumni makes the existence of the Ulama even stronger, especially when the Aceh conflict is over. The momentum of peace provides a large space for Ulama in Aceh to play a bigger role; enforcement of Sharia law for example. Even according to the respondent, Mukhlisuddin Ilyas: "Large groups that today have the potential to become adhesives are *Dayah* people (Ulama)". Furthermore, related to the basis of Ulama's legitimacy, a Pidie community leader said in an interview that "the Ulama were close to the community so the community respected him very much". In line with that, Otto Nur Abdullah (respondent) said:

"In Aceh, the most respected Ulama were Teungku Imum or Teungku Menasah (mosque imam) because they were the closest to the Acehnese society, and at that time of conflict, they were also the most victimized". (Interview, July 2019)

C. The Position of Ulama in the Reconciliation of Aceh

"Adat bak Poteumeuruhom, hukom bak Syiah Kuala"

(Adat (Customary Law) is implemented by the King, the Sharia Law is implemented by the Ulama)

"Adat ngeun hukom lagee zet ngeun sifeut"

(Adat and law is like flesh and soul)

The first phrase above aims to emphasize that the issue of *adat* (customary law) is in the power of the king, while Sharia law is the realm of the Ulama. The second *hadih maja* intends to explain that the position of customary law in Aceh cannot be separated from Sharia Law. Thus, the customary law that applies in Aceh are derived or adopted from Sharia law. All of this is recognized by the constitutional law as stipulated in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 44 of 1999 concerning Administration of Special Privileges of the Province of Aceh and the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 18 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for the Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam concerning the implementation of Sharia in the areas of *Akidah* (Faith), Worship, and Sharia. This condition makes Aceh as one of the provinces that have special autonomy rights to implement the law based on the Sharia concept following its existence (Muhammad, 2003: xiii).

Therefore, there is always a story about the Ulama in each sheet of Aceh's history, of course with the various roles played. During the kingdom, Ulama were brought to the palace as advisors to the king and muftis for religious and social matters. Since the establishment of the Islamic kingdom in Pasai, this pattern has been practiced. Even Malik Al Shaleh, as the founder of the Pasai kingdom, once asked to bring the Ulama from Mecca and several other places to teach Islam to the people in Pasai. Then, when Iskandar Muda ruled the Islamic Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam (1607-1636), an Ulama titled Islamic Shaykh, Shaykh Syamsuddin As-Sumatrani, also became an advisor as well as a royal mufti. As an advisor to the king, the existence of the Ulama was not far from the palace circle. However, the Ulama were not bound by political contracts and therefore could also be a bridge between the people and leaders in expressing their aspirations (Amiruddin, 2008). In this case, there may be a shift, at which time the Ulama are included in the practical level of politics.

According to Bustamam-Ahmad & Amiruddin (2013: 56), the role of the Ulama experienced a shift in terms of the holiness of the Acehnese society after the MoU in Helsinki. This could be because the Ulama were not able to play the authority like Aceh in the kingdom. This condition is an implication of changes in the system of power and governance since Aceh joined the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Secondly, there is institutionalization that occurs among the Ulama themselves, such as HUDA (Association of Acehnese Dayah Ulama), MPU (Ulama Consultative Council), and MUNA (Nanggroe Aceh Ulama Council), so that each of these institutions claims to be a group that should be called "Ulama". Third, there is a contestation on the role of Ulama in Aceh. However, this shift does not necessarily eliminate the Ulama as the center of public figures in the social fabric of the people of Aceh.

However, the Ulama as one of the social agents still have the potential to reconcile. As in Weatherbee's terms, the Ulama as personal can be categorized as non-state actors. But institutionally, the Ulama are included in state-actors. Concerning the reconciliation process that took place in Aceh, Abidin Nurdin, a Sociologist in one interview argued as follows:

"The MPU on behalf of the institution that houses the Ulama have the power that can influence government policies in Aceh. The dynamics of our constitution requires Ulama to take part in the development of the State, for example when a problem occurs, then the MPU issues a fatwa, it will be able to influence the government. In the Law on the Government of Aceh (LoGA) it is also regulated. In the policy process and the Aceh government, the cleric has the right to give consideration, whether in the form of tausiyah (da'wah), fatwa or whatever it is". (Interview, July 2019)

Not only being an advisor but also several other roles played by Ulama which in this case are also related to the role of reconciliation over conflicts that occur in the Acehnese society. Based on interviews conducted by this research to several respondents (academics, practitioners, and Ulama) it can be concluded that some of the roles of Ulama in reconciliation, both pre-Helsinki, until the time of peace is present on *bumi serambi Mekkah* (Mecca's verandah) as follows:

1) The Knowledge Transmission

The word "Ulama" means "one who knows". From this understanding, we can guess, that the Ulama is a repository of knowledge. The science that is loaded with Islamic values about conflict prevention and conflict resolution based on Islamic values. Ulama can explain all differences from religious perspectives, which are sometimes the roots of conflict.

Regarding the function of transmitting knowledge, Mukhlisuddin Ilyas in an interview confirmed that the Acehese Ulama or “Dayah people” with the concept of “*beut seumeubeut*” (*amaliah* and *taklim*) as a form of knowledge transmission that has been practiced so far has made *Dayah* able to survive and succeed in building social networks that grew up in Aceh today. Mukhlisuddin Ilyas said:

“The largest social structure of the people today is the Dayah people, and those who have the largest mass in Aceh are the Dayahs. Now, the Dayah people are at the level of influence rather than be the level of influenced”. (Interview, July 2019)

The interview excerpt emphasized that the current reconciliation process would be influenced by Ulama. If not in a practical form, then in other forms such as providing a roadmap related to reconciliation based on Sharia and values that live in Acehese society. The same thing was also emphasized by Abidin Nurdin:

“The contribution of the Ulama was in the form of thought. The Ulama contribute in the context of how victims of the conflict have their rights. For example, diyat (fine or compensation), which is now used by the Aceh government”. (Interview, July 2019)

As another example, when Aceh was still in a period of conflict, we could explore how the Ulama played a role in unhealthy political and social dynamics. The Ulama must still have the courage to convey the *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar* (do good deeds and abandon bad ones) even though sometimes it clashes with the interests of the authorities or the interests of the warring parties (Ilham & Abdullah, 2015). Likewise during the referendum issue in Aceh in 1999. There were around 500 *Dayah* Ulama gathered at the tomb of Syiah Kuala, Banda Aceh to discuss their attitude towards Aceh's political situation at that time. This meeting, resulting in some fatwa, for example, may not kill, may not intimidate, may not plunder the property of others, and may not commit acts that violate human rights. A decision that is no less important as a result of the deliberation is to support the referendum in Aceh. The meeting took place on September 13-14, 1999. The meeting presidium at the meeting was Tengku H. Nuruzzahri Yahya (Chairman), Tengku H. Syamaun Risyad (Secretary), Tengku H. M. Daud, Tengku H. Saifuddin Ilyas, and Tengku H. Abdul Manan (Bardan, 2008).

After the 1999 referendum issue, the Indonesian government issued the Special Autonomy Law number 18 of 2001 in response to the Aceh conflict. There are some requests from the people of Aceh that are not accommodated by the central government so that the law must be issued. In discussing the draft law, the Ulama were involved. Not only that, Ulama were also involved in the Public Hearing Meeting (Indonesian: Rapat Dengar Pendapat Umum or RDPU) to formulate what should be accommodated in the special autonomy law. The Ulama who were actively involved at that time were Abu Daud Zamzami, Muslim Ibrahim, Tengku Ismaik Yakob, and Tengku Sofyan Shaleh. The special autonomy law then also became the constitutional basis for the implementation of Sharia in Aceh (Bardan, 2008).

Ulama also can choose and sort out what must be done at critical times, for example, the attitude taken by Abu Daud Zamzami during the turbulent referendum issue. Abu Daud, at that time, served as chairman of Inshafuddin (an association for *Dayahs* and their Ulama), disagreed with the referendum for fear of bringing division among the Ulama. But he still called for conflict cases in Aceh to be resolved peacefully, not by force (Bardan, 2008).

During the period of Daerah Operasi Militer/DOM (Military Operation Area), the Indonesian military also approached Acehnese Ulama to garner ideological support. The TNI approached Tengku Ali Usman Kuta Krueng and Tengku H. Ibrahim Bardan, leader of the Dayah of Malikussaleh Pantan Labu. Then Inshafuddin held a *mubahasah* working meeting on the 23rd to 26th April 1997. The important decision of the *mubahasah*: acts that are against, oppose, and committing treason to the legitimate government is haram (illegal). The same law also applies to those who provide assistance and support to those acts (Sulaiman, 2000: 87-88).

2) Legal Decision-Making Related to Islamic Law

In Islamic teachings, the study of *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) is divided into four; 1) *fiqh* of worship; which is related to Allah; 2) *muamalah fiqh*; related to social transactions; 3) *fiqh munakahat*; about marriage and the concept of marriage; and 4) *jinayat fiqh*; relating to qishas, murder laws, conflict resolution, and others. In this case, the Ulama play a role in providing religious views related to reconciliation for the disputing parties. Mastur Yahya (respondent), in an interview, explained that in the formulation of the reconciliation model to be carried out by the KKR-Aceh (the Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission) involving the Ulama, the reparations model which was then taken by the current government identical to Sharia such as *di'iet* (*diyat* or fine/compensation), *suloh* (*islah* or reconciliation). Likewise, local government regulations in the form of Qanun in their formulation must involve Ulama. Abidin Nurdin (Acehnese Sociologist) stated that through the MPU (Ulama Consultative Council), the Ulama of Aceh played a role through its fatwa. He further said:

“Ulama contribute more to the realm of religion, but if we speak in the context of Aceh or Sharia then it will affect all aspects because Sharia has been understood to be holistic. When we say religion, politics cannot be eliminated there. In the House of Representatives (DPR), there is a general meeting and the meeting cannot be continued when the Ulama are absent and can be canceled because most of the Qanun in Aceh require the presence of the Ulama there ...” (Interview, July 2019).

3) Ulama as a Mediator

“When President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono went to Aceh, he immediately visited Abu Kuta Krueng because he was involved in formulating peace which was initiated by the President. Before the Mou dialogue process in Helsinki, there was a process that took place and at that time the Ulama were involved, so it was clear they were involved in the reconciliation process” (Interview with Abidin Nurdin, July 2019).

Mediators are people who understand how to communicate and understand the substance delivered. In the Aceh context, Ulama as mediators of conflicting parties have often been practiced. For example, conflict resolution that ends in murder, then one of them acts as a facilitator, negotiator, and mediator, one of whom is a popular local Ulama called *Teungku Meunasah*. (Kasim & Nurdin, 2015: 129). In another context, Abidin Nurdin said:

*“The role of post-conflict Ulama is very strong, especially in the context of giving *diyat* funds for victims of conflict. At that time the government asked for clarity of status, *diyat* was there in the context of Sharia and it was given an explanation by the Ulama that giving funds for victims of conflict, if, in legal language, there is a legal standing in Sharia. So until now, *diyat* funds provided by the state for victims of*

conflict, there is no rejection from the Acehese society, and according to Sharia and customary law, there is the practice in Acehese society" (Interview, July 2019).

Ulama with wisdom and high religious knowledge possessed can play a role in this realm. The persuasive approach is the way the Ulama resolve conflicts in Aceh. These humanist methods are more effective than using violence or militaristic methods in resolving the Aceh case. Reconciliation will occur if the communication can be built effectively by the agent/actor who is the mediator to find a bright spot.

This is what Acehese Ulama with its authority has been able to become a mediator in various events using cultural approaches such as *suloh*, *peumat jaroe*, *damee*, and *peusijuek*. Arief (respondent) said:

"In the prevailing damee method, the popular term "saboh pisang taplah dua" means that if there are a dispute and the dispute results in the loss of one party, then the loss will be borne together" (Interview, September 2019).

4) The Cultural Roles

The cultural role referred to here is ceremonial, celebrations or rituals carried out if the warring parties have found an agreement to make peace. If the conflicting parties have given up on the case, *peusijuek* will be held (the process or ritual of sprinkling the flour of the disputing parties, especially the victims), *peumat jaroe* (a peace process with a symbol of shaking hands and forgiving one another until the loss of revenge), *khanduri* (thanksgiving for peace and at the same time an expression of pleasure for establishing peace). All of these activities involve Ulama and at the same time place the Ulama as the main actor of the ritual performed, although at certain levels it is also sufficient to be carried out by traditional leaders.

5. Conclusions

In each important period of Aceh's history, the Ulama always appear as a unity that gives an ethical foundation for any socio-political change and subsequently acts as a successor to the religious style that develops in Acehese society. During the conflict, the role of the Ulama was not very significant due to the political constellation that occurred. The Ulama have been polarized and their influences are weakening. But institutionally, the role of the Ulama has not changed and is always present in the people of Aceh to participate in initiating peace.

After the conflict, the position of the Ulama was strengthened again, and in the process of reconciliation, the role of the Ulama in Aceh was related to four things. 1), Knowledge transmission. 2) As a decision-maker, regarding Islamic law. 3) As a mediator. 4) The role of culture, as an agent who is actively involved in resolving disputes that occur in the people of Aceh.

The involvement of Ulama in the post-peace reconciliation process is a necessity. The knowledge of the Ulama which has been recognized by the people of Aceh and the strength of the *Dayah* network is a great potential for the success of the current reconciliation project.

The combination of religious teachings and local wisdom that has been practiced by Ulama in solving various cases in the Acehese society is an alternative that must be taken by the government in reconciliation work. If the Ulama are engaged and are directly involved in the reconciliation process initiated by the government through the TRC-Aceh, it is highly likely that the post-conflict reconciliation project will be successful. The Ulama together with its *Dayah*

network and alumni scattered throughout Aceh became a large capital to heal the wounds caused by the conflict that have occurred in the people of Aceh.

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The Empowerment of Households towards Independence through Social Capital in Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH)

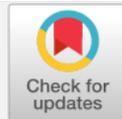
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ABSTRACT

This research aims to reveal 1) The Role of Program Keluarga Harapan or known as PKH (Family of Hope Program) in empowering beneficiary households or known as KPM (Keluarga Penerima Manfaat), 2) The Role of Social Capital in realizing the independence of KPM-PKH in Sukoharjo district, Central Java Province, Indonesia. This research was qualitative by using a case study approach. The determination of informants used a purposive sampling technique. The informants were eight beneficiary households and four key informants they were the Head of Sukoharjo district office of the Ministry of Social Services, coordinator of Sukoharjo district, PKH supervisor, PKH facilitator, and two key informants to support any information. Data were collected through observation, interviews, and documentation. The data were analyzed into three stages; data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. The data were verified by observation and source triangulation and time. The result showed that 1) The Role of PKH in empowering the beneficiary households by providing social assistance, strengthening by the regular meeting of Family Development Session, known as P2K2 (Pertemuan Peningkatan Kemampuan Keluarga), strengthening by PKH cooperative, and joint business group, known as KUBE (Kelompok Usaha Bersama), 2) The Role of social capital to build independence of KPM-PKH by adopting cultural values, trust, reciprocity, participation, communication system, and venture networks of beneficiary households. This is caused by the relevance of social bonding, social bridging, and social linking carried out by KPM-PKH. To conclude, livelihoods choice of KPM-PKH by employing

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social capital becomes strategic and productive opportunities to empower independence among poor households as the beneficiary of PKH.

Keywords: *Empowerment; Household; Independence; PKH; Social Capital*

1. Introduction

Program Keluarga Harapan or known as PKH (Family of Hope Program) is Indonesia's Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) program which first piloted in 2007. The main target of PKH is to reduce poverty in Indonesia. As a result, the number of poor people in Indonesia in 2018 has decreased from 10, 12% in September 2017 to 9.82% in March 2018 of the total population of Indonesia (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2018).

As conditional assistance, PKH social assistance is only given to poor households, who have school children, toddlers, pregnant women, the elderly and people with disabilities. The program is to improve the lives of beneficiary households, known as KPM (*Keluarga Penerima Manfaat*), in accessing basic social services in health, education, food and nutrition, care and assistance, including access to various other social protection programs that are complementary sustainably. PKH aims to be the main poverty alleviation program that synergizes various national social protection and empowerment programs (Dulkiah et al., 2018; Habibullah, 2017).

Various improvements of the PKH program have been carried out including enhancing the PKH business, expanding the target beneficiaries, and strengthening complementary programs (Cahyadi et al., 2018). PKH beneficiary households must be certain to have received Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT), Healthy Indonesia Card (KIS), Smart Indonesia Card (KIP), Uninhabitable Home Assistance (Rutilahu), Empowerment through Joint Business Groups (KUBE) including various programs other social protection and empowerment. It aims to make poor households get out of poverty immediately and become prosperous (Permana et al., 2018).

The running of PKH for 11 years is considered a success is seen from the number of independent prosperous graduation (*Graduasi Mandiri Sejahtera*). This means that the beneficiaries of PKH are able, both economically and independently, to provide for the necessities of life that include food, health, and education. In 2017 there were 230,351 KPM-PKH graduated or 2.3 percent of the total 6 million participants. In 2018 there were 621,789 KPM-PKH graduated or 6.21 percent of the total 10 million participants. Whereas in 2019, the target is 800,000 KPM-PKH graduated or 8 percent of the total 10 million participants (Kholis, 2019).

This achievement makes the PKH program very important in empowering households towards independence as an effort to reduce poverty. Thus, the meaning of social assistance is not just a contribution but rather towards the empowerment of the poor to create independence. According to research conducted by Habibullah (2017), PKH assistance was used to meet education costs, health costs/nutrition improvement, and other needs. This is following the objectives of PKH, namely improving human quality (HR), creating quality generations, being able to compete in accessing jobs and being the subject of development (Simanjuntak et al., 2010; Alatas et al., 2011).

The success of PKH is a social phenomenon in the effort to eradicate poverty by the Indonesian government. This is supported by previous research, as Lobo (2019) showed that PKH is an empowerment of the poor households that have been succeeded in the Papua region.

Luthfi (2019) showed that PKH assistance helped the socio-economic conditions, health, and education of children of poor households, and made PKH participants aware of the importance of education and health services to improve community welfare. Septiani et al., (2019) showed that there was a significant role between PKH facilitators in helping independence and family welfare. The more the performance of PKH facilitators is improved, the better it is in helping the independence and welfare of the family.

The running of PKH received a positive response from several previous studies. Starting from a program that only provides free social assistance, over time, PKH can turn into assistance that empowers and encourages independence. This change was based on program innovation and the persistence of PKH beneficiary households in managing aid. Therefore this research interested in studying more deeply the role of PKH in empowering beneficiary households and the role of social capital in realizing the independence of the beneficiary households.

2. Literature Review

Social capital refers to the capacity of individuals to obtain material or symbolic goods of value based on social relations virtue and membership in a social group or the capacity of people plurality to enjoy the collective benefits action based on the virtues of social participation, trust in institutions or commitment to establish ways of doing things (Ritzer, 2004).

According to Portes (1998), social capital is the ability of actors to guarantee benefits by relying on membership in social networks and other social structures. On the other hand, Woolcock (2001) stated that social capital is the degree of social cohesion in a community. It refers to processes among people who build networks, norms, social trust and facilitate coordination and mutually beneficial cooperation. Lang & Hornburg (1998) argued that social capital generally refers to the availability of mutual trust in society (stocks of social trust), norms, and networks that can be utilized by the community to solve common problems.

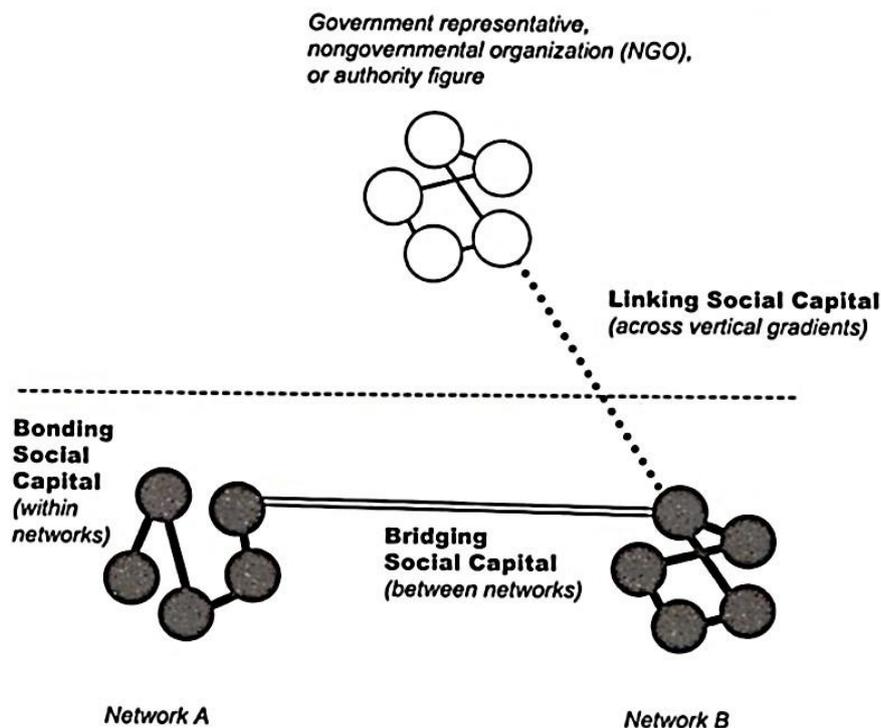
Coleman (1988) saw social capital as a whole thing directed or created to facilitate individual actions in their social structure. However, Putnam argued that physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to individual property, social capital refers to the relationship between individuals, social networks and the norms of reciprocity and the trust that arises from them. Both Coleman and Putnam both recognize that social capital can increase or decrease over time (Feigenberg et al., 2010). As Coleman and Putnam; Fukuyama (2001) explains that each group has the potential for social capital - the extent to which it is utilized for the radius of trust. Meanwhile, the form of social capital is based. Types of social networks can be distinguished as follows (Woolcock, 2001 in Usman, 2018):

- a. Bonding social capital means the bond among people in the same situation, such as close family, close friends, and neighborhood.
- b. Bridging social capital includes bonds that are laxer than some people, such as distant friends and coworkers.
- c. Linking social capital, reaches people in different situations that are completely outside the community, thus encouraging its members to use more resources available in the community.

Binding social capital tends to encourage exclusive identity and maintain homogeneity while bridging social capital tends to unite from various social domains (Putnam, 2001). Each of these forms can bring together the different needs of each member. Binding social capital is

adhesive and reinforces a specific identity (Putnam, 2001). Bridging social capital is a relationship that bridges better in connecting external assets and for the distribution of information and can build a wider identity and reciprocity (Putnam, 2001).

Figure 1
Bonding, Bridging, and Linking Social Capital



Source: (Babaei et al., 2012)

Based on the type of social capital proposed by Woolcock (2001), there is a connection with the problem to be investigated, especially on PKH beneficiary households (KPM) in Sukoharjo district. Where the three types are relevant above, namely social bounding, social bridging and social linking with the role of social capital in managing the potential they have to build a business so that they can get out of poverty and no longer depend on social assistance. This is supported by the existence of solidarity, trust, cooperation, the awareness that supports the importance of improving economic conditions and the existence of PKH in supporting the social capital mechanisms that they applied.

3. Research Methodology

This research was conducted at PKH Sukoharjo district for 10 months, from January 2019 to October 2019. This type of research is qualitative with a case study approach. The technique in determining informants used a purposive sampling of beneficiary households who were still receiving PKH assistance. There were eight beneficiary households from the 2013-2018 membership year. Also supported by four key informants; the Head of Sukoharjo district office of the Ministry of Social Services, coordinator of Sukoharjo district, PKH supervisor, PKH facilitator, and two key informants to support any information. Data collection techniques used were observation, interviews, and documentation. Observation and in-depth interviews were conducted with KPM-PKH. Also, the documentation study techniques were used.

Source triangulation techniques were used to measure the validity of the data by testing the credibility of the data through observation techniques with interview techniques during the data collection process. This research used an interactive analysis technique that was collecting data both through observation and interviews. Data reduction was by simplifying the data in the field into important finding points that were filtered according to the needs of under the social capital used concepts. The collected data regarding the dimensions of cultural values, dimensions of Trust, reciprocity, participation, dimensions of communication systems and business networks of PKH beneficiary households in Sukoharjo district. The verification or conclusion is a review of the activities of records and data related to the role of social capital in building the independence of PKH beneficiary households in Sukoharjo obtained during the research process in the field. After the data was reinterpreted, then to draw conclusions based on the perspective of Woolcock's social capital theory. The results of this verification have obtained the validity of data.

4. Results and Discussion

A. The Role of PKH in Empowering the Beneficiary Households of PKH

PKH does not only transfer cash to poor households but also assists all PKH beneficiary households. Based on the results of this research, the roles of PKH in empowering beneficiary households are as follows:

1) The Empowerment through Cash Assistance in Improving the Needs of Education and Health

PKH assistance is given with special prerequisites to poor households and has components including school children/toddlers/pregnant women/elderly/people with disabilities. PKH beneficiary households will receive assistance in nominal terms according to component criteria. For the assistance of elementary school children Rp 900,000/year; the middle school is Rp 1,500,000/year; the high school in the amount of Rp 2,000,000/year; toddlers/pregnant women/elderly/people with disabilities receive assistance Rp 2,400,000/year.

Assistance provided has special prerequisites including for school children must attend 80% of attendance, for toddlers, pregnant women, disability obliged to go to the health center every month for health checks and immunizations. For elderly people are required to poswindu (integrated service post for people above 18 years old) and do health checks every month. In addition to these conditions, the beneficiary households must attend the Family Development Session (P2K2) once a month. If the above conditions are not fulfilled, the sanctions will be in the form of suspension. The assistance will be pending for a while until they are committed again.

The use of aid money must also be appropriate to fulfill the needs of education, health, and nutrition. Some of the beneficiary households, who are good at managing finances, have set aside the fund to run a business. They started to run small businesses and planned that when the business was growing rapidly they would be ready out of PKH or graduated declared.

The results showed that the assistance helps beneficiary households. They do not need to be indebted to allocate funds for school fees and nutrition. They could use the PKH aid money for to fulfill it. Besides, some beneficiaries allocate the fund for small business. Many have succeeded with their efforts and finally out of the PKH program with a business that is run or commonly known as *Graduasi Mandiri Sejahtera*.

2) Empowerment through the Family Development Session (FDS)

FDS, or better-known P2K2 (*Pertemuan Peningkatan Kemampuan Keluarga*), is a structured learning process to strengthen behavior change in PKH beneficiary households. In general, FDS aims to increase knowledge, understanding of the importance of education, health and financial management for households. Material presented during FDS is related to health and nutrition issues, care and education, child protection, household financial management, and social welfare.

FDS is expected to change the behavior and mindset of the participants. The changes are expected to lift participants from poverty. With FDS, participants are not only given knowledge by the mentor but also motivation. Each session is held once a month with a duration of 2 to 2.5 hours. Activities are carried out interactively-participatory (not one-way), starting with the opening, reviewing the previous material, as well as the delivery of material and questions and answers.

The benefits of implementing FDS are not only felt in Indonesia. The study from Mexico showed that carrying FDS (*“platicas”*) in Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) program *Oportunidades* has contributed to improving health outcomes by encouraging better food consumption (Hoddinott & Skoufias in Habibullah, 2017) and increasing knowledge in various health issues (Duarte-Gómez et al., in Habibullah, 2017).

Studies from Bangladesh showed that combining cash transfers with behavioral changes encourages a significantly greater impact including greater expenditure on healthy food (milk, meat, eggs, and fish) than if only cash assistance. In Jamaica, the Home Visits Program, this program teaches mothers about childcare for better cognitive development and continually changing behavior (Walker et al., in Habibullah, 2017). In Indonesia, the benefits of FDS are following the results of research conducted in the District of Sukoharjo showed that 1) The implementation of FDS can increase nutritional fulfillment. 2) Able to provide good learning assistance for the child during the learning process. 3) Able to foster an attitude of sympathy and empathy for the elderly and people with disabilities. 4) Able to control the economy by managing the ability to save and careful in borrowing.

The results showed that FDS was considered to improve the ability of beneficiary households in terms of knowledge, attitudes and economic improvements they experienced. Beneficiary households feel that there is a special school for PKH beneficiaries. They feel the benefits of being able to share opinions about the science of daily life which they sometimes take for granted. Besides they feel happy learning in a forum that they are considered to have a close bond that is the same sense of fate. So they are not afraid to express their opinions in discussion forums that are guided by PKH facilitators.

Besides having a function in terms of knowledge, attitude and economic improvement, FDS is also used as a forum for PKH facilitators to educate the importance of building awareness when it is economically capable to conduct graduations (out of PKH). In addition to assisting, they also conduct evaluations and monitor households who have experienced economic improvement. Special assistance will be applied to households that have experienced economic improvement. It is intended that beneficiary households realize that PKH assistance is only given to the poor households. For those who are already prosperous, they will graduate soon. It is proven in the Sukoharjo district since 2016-2019 429 households who have successfully graduated or finally out of PKH (Graduasi Mandiri Sejahtera). That means PKH in the Sukoharjo district has successfully contributed to reducing poverty in Indonesia by 429 households/3 years.

3) Empowerment through *Kelompok Usaha Bersama* (KUBE) PKH

A special program from the government that establishes networks with PKH is *Kelompok Usaha Bersama* or KUBE (Joint Business Group). This program is a government assistance program in the form of business funds for households of PKH beneficiaries of ten households with funds of Rp 20,000,000. Allocation of the funds is realized in the form of basic food to run a grocery shop or commonly known as *E-Waroeng*. With prices under the market, the goal of the KUBE PKH is to provide food, especially for the poor households, at prices under the market.

The results showed that the existence of this business process was able to improve the economy of KUBE management, namely PKH beneficiary households. It also provided opportunities for the poor households of PKH or Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT) to establish profitable cooperation. PKH beneficiary households, as caretakers, receive profits and other beneficiary households will benefit from low-cost shopping.

KUBE is one embodiment of economic capital provided by the government to beneficiary households, to empower them with the given capital. It is hoped that in the long run, they can get out of PKH so that they do not depend on the assistance provided by the government.

Three support programs organized by PKH Sukoharjo district are the embodiment of empowerment. The target of PKH Sukoharjo Regency is to empower the community with a maximum target for 6 years through the KUBE, Cooperative and assistance programs obtained from PKH. This support is provided in the short term to train beneficiary households to be able to empower themselves independently. With initial assistance and assistance activities, they are expected to be able to run a business with the innovation and creativity of each person. There have been several businesses that developed both in terms of animal husbandry, trade, culinary and agriculture. Those who successfully run the business can finally end of PKH under the predicate *Graduasi Mandiri Sejahtera* that has contributed to realizing an active community and reducing poverty that occurs in Indonesia.

4) Empowerment through PKH Cooperative

PKH Cooperative is the only program in PKH Sukoharjo district. It was established since 2014 by the Regent of Sukoharjo. With the presence of this cooperative, which engaged in the field of savings and lending, it was able to empower PKH beneficiary households. The initial funds had reached Rp 140,000,000 sourced from Sukoharjo district government funds plus additional basic and mandatory savings funds of PKH beneficiaries.

The existing funds used to provide business capital loans for beneficiary households who already have a business or who want to start running a business under the terms and conditions. So far, in Sukoharjo district, it has been identified that several beneficiary households who have businesses are using PKH cooperative capital loans.

The results showed that cooperative is a solution for the beneficiaries who unwilling access to bank loans since they do not have collateral and feel the bank has high interest. With cooperative, they feel calm when they want to start a business or when they suddenly need money. With low interest and can be repaid in a long time, they can use cooperative funds for various purposes.

With the support of capital funds, which are provided by the Government of Sukoharjo District, specifically for PKH beneficiary households, it can support the occurrence of independent prosperous graduation, which is a household that is capable of having a business.

B. The Roles of Social Capital in Creating Independence among PKH Beneficiary Households

The emergence of the PKH is seen as a rescue aid for the poor community. This is inseparable from the concerns of the community in various aspects especially education, health, and social welfare. From the economic aspect, there are still many people in Sukoharjo district who are categorized as poor. Poverty alleviation, which is carried out from the central government to local government, must have a clear command. This important matter needs to be considered so that there will be no turmoil between the beneficiary households. The households are not just dependent but empowered, following the vision of Sukoharjo districts, in carrying out programs from the Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. Protection is needed in the distribution of aid and innovation programs carried out by the local government to support PKH. The goal is to have a well-managed PKH that is expected to bring prosperity, improve the economy of beneficiary households so that it can reduce poverty. With improved welfare, institutions and strong social relations, it is hoped that the village will be more independent and stable in developing businesses carried out by the values of culture, trust, reciprocity, participation and communication systems, and business networks. From this aspect, factual findings in the field show the following points:

1) The Dimension of Cultural Value

A society consisting of individuals is a social creature with the characteristics of a mutual need for one another in his life. Therefore there is a tendency to cooperate and interact with each other including in times of poor conditions where all people need to survive/carry on their lives.

Government assistance activities through PKH empowerment are based on community values and norms as part of the social capital component. The findings of this research indicate that the PKH program adopted the group model to contain several shared consensus or called the 'PKH Member Principles', namely:

- a) Determined to improve the quality of life/welfare of PKH beneficiaries;
- b) Conducting business through KUBE capital and cooperatives to survive;
- c) Discipline and be trusted in order to be trusted in building networks, including in the case of debts and receivables in the PKH;
- d) Serious and smart in working to meet the needs of life;
- e) Mutual assistance to PKH members when they are in trouble because they feel a sense of fate.

This explanation gives an understanding that the value base and culture developed by PKH beneficiary households in the economic improvement activities is the implication of the willingness to consolidate themselves with parties outside. Also, this dimension of values and culture then becomes the "adhesive" for social interaction among PKH beneficiary households.

2) The Dimension of Trust, Reciprocity, and Participation

The strength of PKH beneficiary households lies in the aspect of mutual trust and need for the capacities of each household. This is where PKH beneficiary households can exchange information to strengthen their respective roles in carrying out economic improvement activities. Households have an active role as economic actors, namely sellers (business people) and some play an active role as consumers. There is a relationship of trust between PKH members in conducting high-value cooperative loans without collateral. Also, there is a

relationship of trust between PKH facilitators and beneficiaries in providing KUBE capital selected based on entrepreneurial skills and expertise. This shows that there is a steady bond that causes a high sense of trust in establishing economic relations.

There is also a reciprocal relationship between the government in providing programs and poor households as program recipients. The mutual relationship that is established is to provide education for the beneficiary households to be independent prosperous and able to create resilience in living. In the end, PKH beneficiary households can actively participate in their communities which are expected to be well-maintained in the long run. The reciprocal relationship between the government and the beneficiaries is that the beneficiaries get capital gains and experience a more prosperous life with the business they run. The government also receives a profit that can reduce unemployment and poverty by providing capital to PKH beneficiary households. So indirectly this relationship is considered to be an abstract symbiotic mutualism.

With the benefits gained; it causes an extraordinary growth of participation from beneficiaries. They became enthusiastic about the PKH assistance process. They assume that the assistance they get will bring long-term benefits to their lives. The participation of Sukoharjo district government in order to empower the PKH beneficiary households is also not inferior. They seek and mobilize regional funds to conduct a superior program namely PKH Cooperative. With the aim that people feel benefited and not caught with bank interest expense. Government funds for the people are ultimately able to encourage the poor community to start a business.

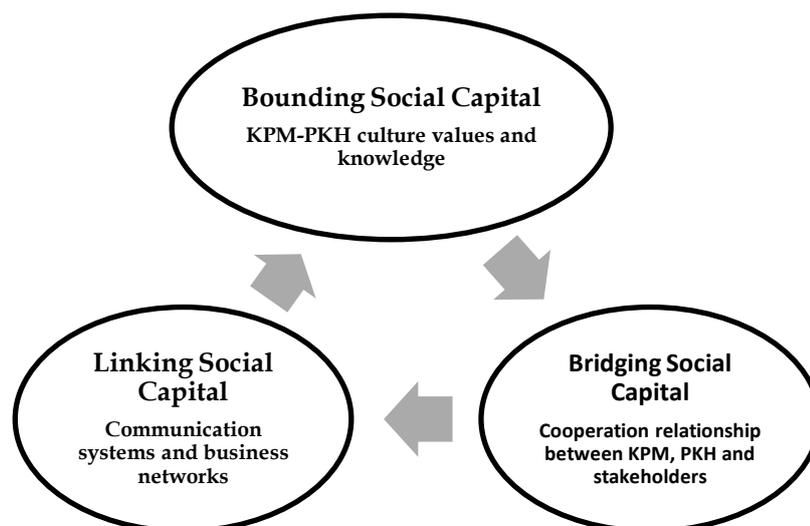
3) The Dimension of the Communication System and Business Network

Good relations between actors (PKH, Sukoharjo district office of the Ministry of Social Services, and Sukoharjo district government) can provide benefits to households of PKH beneficiaries. The communication system here is an open relationship when experiencing difficulties in terms of the economy, life and when running a business. This can be facilitated through PKH facilitators or other stakeholders such as Sukoharjo district office of the Ministry of Social Services. The assistance provided is intended to enable beneficiary households to be able to take advantage of the opportunities available to establish a business. The effort was carried out with the support of PKH and local stakeholders. Their business capabilities not only include internal PKH communities but also external parties outside the PKH community.

So with a good communication system between stakeholders and PKH beneficiaries can minimize the problems that arise in handling poverty and running a business. Routine coordination that continues to be carried out by PKH facilitators and business actors in PKH can increase the confidence of PKH business actors.

Furthermore, the form of social capital provided by PKH in creating a network of independence, which is supported by the relevance of bonding social capital, bridging social capital, and linking social capital following social capital theory proposed by Woolcock (2001). Below is a figure of the relevance:

Figure 2
Social Capital Model of Beneficiary Households to Build Dependence



Source: (Primary Data, 2019)

The figure above shows that the three levels of social capital provide an understanding that social capital can contribute to social integration while addressing the economic problems of the poor in creating self-reliance. In this case when looking at the mechanism of relations between actors involving PKH facilitators related to the assistance program. First, bonding social capital is grown through the meaning of the Family Development Session (FDS). This is caused by the ability of FDS in building cultural values and honing the ability of households to increase knowledge and empower themselves.

Second, the bridging social capital in this section is established a cooperative relationship between KPM, PKH, and stakeholders in improving their economy. A reciprocal relationship that is mutually beneficial and mutually supportive of one another. This was established in the contribution of regional stakeholders in providing the PKH Cooperative program. Here not only from PKH that is given benefits but the local government is also benefited in the form of increased income of the community through the business undertaken. So that local government achievements to reduce poverty through business independence is considered successful.

Third, linking social capital is established because of the communication system and business network owned by PKH beneficiary households. With good communication between actors, they can grow their KUBE business network. The network is in the form of mutual benefit or commonly called symbiotic mutuality. Because they are inter-family roles as producers and some are consumers. The relationship is established continuously between beneficiary households. The same feeling, the same fate makes a marketing system that can control the market of the beneficiaries between the districts. Thus, they can empower themselves with the business they run, which begins with the circumference of the business of fellow beneficiary households. More than that, they are also able to market their products to the wider community. But all this cannot be separated from the basis of values and trust, which then continues to work together as an element of reciprocity.

Strengthening the role of social capital in a business or improving the household economy, is inseparable from the effort of cooperative relations among actors who have common interests. Actors who play a role are PKH beneficiary households who have a common interest

in obtaining PKH social assistance. Cooperation starts from kinship relations; the main route used by individual interests towards social cooperation is kin selection, kinship relations, and reciprocity among PKH beneficiaries.

The dimensions of values, culture, and perception are built as the initial foundation to collect common interests in the form of institutions, which consist of fellow PKH beneficiaries communities; cooperative; and KUBE PKH through the facilitation of assistance from PKH. Thus, the role of social capital in improving the economics of beneficiary households is strategic in overcoming the complexity of the existing problems. Established solidarity can come up with useful solutions collectively. Also, social capital, in the understanding of community development studies, is important as an analytical reference for the application of development programs.

Thus, independence arises from the support of programs and the social capital they have. This makes the beneficiaries households within less than 6 years expected to be empowered without PKH social assistance anymore. It was proven in the Sukoharjo district since 2016-2019 429 households succeeded in becoming independent prosperous graduation, meaning that there were 429 beneficiaries, who were economical, capable by running a business. So PKH in Sukoharjo district succeeded in contributing to reduce poverty in Indonesia by 429 households/3 years.

5. Conclusions

The PKH or Family of Hope Program can improve the condition and situation of the beneficiary households. The empowerment of poor households in the Sukoharjo district is strongly influenced by the existence of PKH and its implementation. Beneficiary households can use PKH to increase their access to public services, improve the quality of education and health of household members, increase social support, increase household economic activities, and improve patterns of problem-solving in the household.

Concerning the effort to increase the independence of PKH beneficiary household, it turns out that it becomes a necessity to be handled holistically, especially for policymakers by utilizing all existing potentials, including the potential for social capital. This becomes important, considering that the aspect of household economic empowerment becomes an entry point for advancing community welfare. The implementation of various policies and programs that are oriented towards household economic empowerment should be appreciated in its role of providing opportunities for access especially for the poor community so that they can improve the quality of livelihood. Thus, household empowerment which involves a cultural dimension and utilizing the role of social capital in the community can optimize the results of the empowerment process.

Social capital of PKH has a component that contains trust, values and social norms, reciprocity which is the foundation of the mechanism and forms a cooperative institution that can be utilized to strengthen the economy of PKH beneficiary households. Financial limitations can be overcome by them by utilizing social networking opportunities in the form of social gathering, KUBE PKH forums, and cooperatives based on mutual trust. This condition makes access to economic resources for poor households more open which fully relies on good relations so that the households' economy can survive and there is an increase. Thus, the position of poor households as weak figures has now succeeded in exploiting the potential of social capital. Hopes for the future with the harmony of the social capital of beneficiary

households able to create independent prosperous graduation and able to live without PKH social assistance (*Graduasi Mandiri Sejahtera*).

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From Nature Tourism to Ecotourism: Assessing the Ecotourism Principles Fulfillment of Tourism Natural Areas in Bangka Belitung

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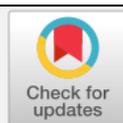
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ABSTRACT

Bangka Belitung is being transformed into a tourism destination area, relying on nature tourism. But unfortunately, the development of nature tourism does not include the development of ecotourism, even though these two things are interrelated. Nature tourism which is a mainstay of the tourism sector provides a very wide opportunity to strengthen ecotourism as part of the environmental movement in Bangka Belitung. This research aims to find out how the fulfillment of the ecotourism principles of tourism natural areas in Bangka Belitung Islands Province, Indonesia, and identifying unique things related to the application of these principles. Through quantitative research methods with a survey approach that is strengthened by field observations, this research found that assessed from 5 interval categories of the ecotourism principles fulfillment, 58% of the tourism areas in Bangka Belitung were included in the category of fulfilled of the ecotourism principles and 42% were in the strongly fulfilled category of the ecotourism principles. The research also found that although the application of each principle was met, there were unique and interesting notes on each principle.

Keywords: Bangka Belitung; Ecotourism; Environmental; Nature; Tourism

1. Introduction

Bangka Belitung is being transformed into a tourism destination area in the Sumatra region. The tourism sector is being managed as an alternative economic sector for this region (see Wardhani & Valeriani, 2016; Valeriani, 2010). The growth of domestic tourist arrivals in the past decade, hotel occupancy, and the number of foreign tourists (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Kepulauan Bangka Belitung, 2018) and an increasing number of new hotel units (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Kepulauan Bangka Belitung, 2017) as the most basic indicator to measure the growth of tourism sector in Bangka Belitung. The popularity of the Novel Laskar Pelangi (Rainbow Troops), which is a best-selling novel, and 2008's award-winning movie 'Laskar Pelangi' are the trigger factors of the growth of tourism sector in Bangka Belitung. The Government of the Bangka Belitung Islands Province, at the time of Governor Eko Maulana Ali (2007 - 2013), had planned the "Visit Babel Archi 2010" which then became the integrated process to drive the tourism development program in Bangka Belitung. The tourism development policy was then continued by his successor, until now, even though the concept of "Visit Babel Archi 2010" has passed.

The main tourism in Bangka Belitung is nature tourism. As an island province, Bangka Belitung has many white sandy beaches. It attracts tourists to visit Bangka Belitung. Beaches, islands, coastal areas and coral reefs are the mainstays of tourism spots in Bangka Belitung. Ibrahim et al., (2019) showed that most of the tourism destinations in Bangka Belitung that were most popularly chosen by outside tourists were natural tourism areas. It affirms that natural areas are the main destination for tourism in Bangka Belitung. Indeed, several non-nature tourism areas are other tourist attractions such as replicas of the Laskar Pelangi School, the Museum of Kata, and Puri Tri Agung Pagoda, but generally, beaches and islands are the main tourism that tourists want to visit.

The growing tourists visit is an important momentum for promoting environmental values. It is very important for the development of tourism that relies on uniqueness and natural beauty. The tourists not only come to enjoy the tourism areas in Bangka Belitung but also have the opportunity to engage in the process of environmental preservation as well as a medium to increase the movement of environmentally-oriented. The ecotourism concept is an important essence as an integral part of tourism potential development. It recently became a trend along with the implementation of tourism and the environment as a unified interconnected activity and touristic.

This condition raises interesting questions about how the ecotourism principles are implemented in tourism areas in Bangka Belitung. Nature tourism and ecotourism have different concepts. Nature tourism relies solely on nature, while ecotourism is more in the context of the environmental movement's promotion. Wood (2002: 7) said that ecotourism grows and develops as a new large industry, which has great potential as a tool to promote the principles of sustainable development (Bratasida, 2002; Hundloe, 2002). According to Wall (1997: 483), ecotourism refers to three main aspects, namely economics, ecology, and culture (Dalem, 2002). Several other experts define ecotourism as tourism that responsible for natural areas preservation, provide economic benefits, maintain cultural integrity for the community, and very related with conservation principles (Nugroho et al., 2018; Damanik, 2006; Fandeli, 2002; Hill & Gale, 2009: 3-16).

Development of ecotourism may not have been managed and planned properly, however, Bangka Belitung has existing conditions that enable the ecotourism principles to be run and implemented. While the growth of the tourism sector in Bangka Belitung, which is based on nature tourism, is on the rise, the ecotourism development as part of the combination of natural

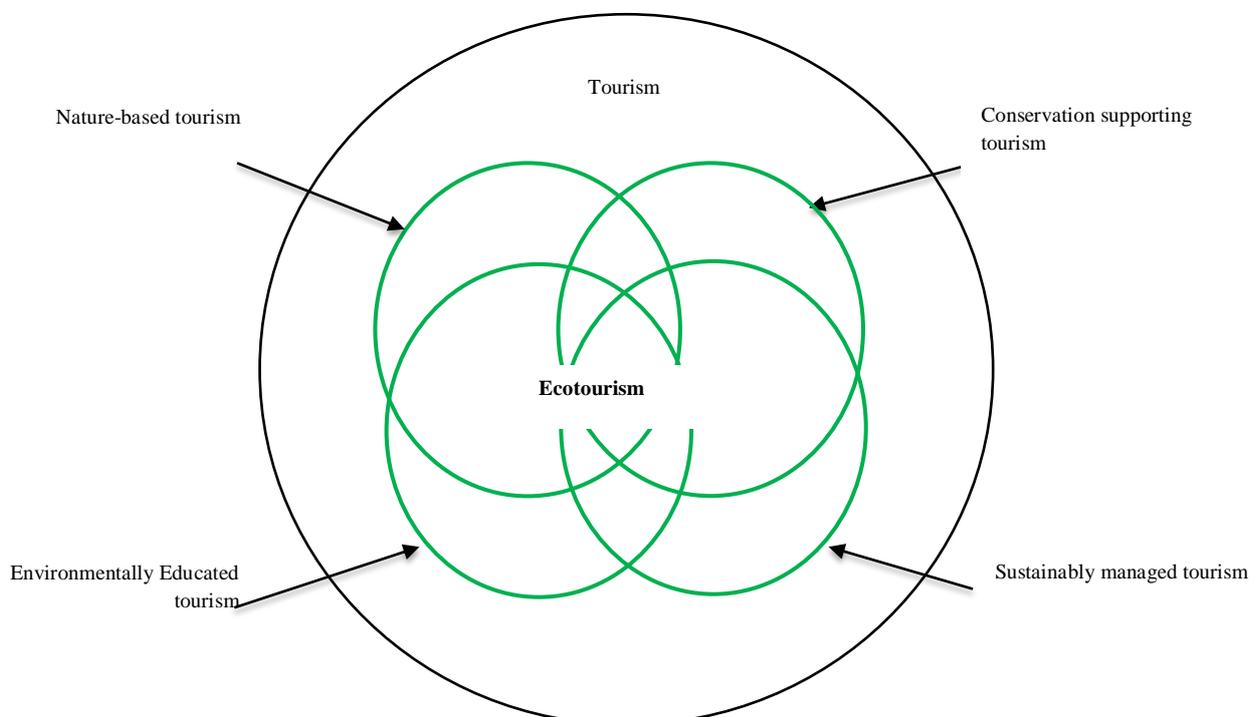
tourism and promotion of environmental issues is an interesting subject. This research explored how the Ecotourism Principles Fulfillment of Tourism Natural Areas in Bangka Belitung and identify interesting aspects of the application of these principles.

2. Literature Review

The ecotourism concept is different from the tourism concept which is commonly known as a trip to relax the mind and explore new things. Although it began based on nature tourism, the idea of ecotourism developed more visionary that refers to environmental issues. Ecotourism commences with ideas and views about the needs and efforts to preserve the environment, without having to be carried out systematically and organized, in an activity known as conservation, as an integrated whole of activities. Butarbutar & Sumarno (2013: 98) and Nofiarli (2018) indeed said that ecotourism is very close to environmental principles. Chairiyah (2013) said that ecotourism is based on sustainability.

At least there are 4 things connectedness between tourism and the environment according to Buckley (1994: 661): 1) natural environment component as a performance base or as a product, 2) tourism management to reduce the impact of environmental damage, 3) the tourism contribution to environmental conservation, both directly and indirectly, and 4) the tourist attitude in preserving environment. Therefore Buckley said that there are environmental aspects in every tourism business, namely products and markets, management, money, and tourists. Here are the ecotourism frameworks according to Buckley:

Figure 1
Ecotourism Framework according to Buckley



Source: (Buckley, 1994)

Buckley (2009) also explained that ecotourism is related to the following terms and products:

Table 1
Related Terms and Ecotourism Products

Terms	Products
<i>Green tourism</i>	<i>Nature-based</i>
<i>Alternative tourism</i>	<i>Wildlife</i>
<i>Endemic tourism</i>	<i>Adventure</i>
<i>Geological tourism</i>	<i>Cultural</i>
<i>Geographical tourism</i>	<i>Adventure-culture-ecotourism</i>
<i>Responsible tourism</i>	<i>Nature, eco-and advance tourism</i>
<i>Sustainable tourism</i>	<i>Outdoor</i>

Source: (Buckley, 2009)

Meanwhile, Wood (2002) said that the root of ecotourism was the conservation movement through income strategies in areas that require preservation. Ecotourism commences with ideas from people who want to participate in environmental conservation extensively. Wood noted that in the early 1980s, many communities began to utilize various conservation areas to be introduced to the public. Camping, hiking, and various other outdoor activities were conceived along with environmental preservation values that accompanied the trips of the tourists in exploring the nature tourism area. According to Wood, ecotourism is a promising business, but still, the social and environmental affairs are the main target and therefore it takes a commitment to ensure the ecotourism principles fulfillment when using the term Ecotourism.

The ecotourism principles according to Wood (2002: 14) at least rest on several things. Reducing the negative impact on nature and culture that could ruin tourism destinations is an important principle, as well as efforts to educate tourists on conservation urgency. Safitri & Putra (2018) said that environmental education in ecotourism aims to encourage environmental awareness. Another thing according to Wood, the principles are the emphasis on business responsibilities involving residents and local governments with mutual benefit, direct income from nature and conservation management for the tourism areas preservation, emphasizing economic benefits to local communities, the environmentally-oriented tourism areas development, and emphasize aspects that do not spoil the tourism destination.

Holden (2008: 234) described ecotourism dimensions as follows:

Table 2
Dimensions of Ecotourism

No.	Dimensions	Interpretations
1	Activity	Experience-based tourism on natural and cultural resources.
2	Business	Tourism management provides ecotourism tours.
3	Philosophy	Care and respect for land, nature, community, and culture
4	Strategy	A tool for conservation, economic development, and cultural revival.
5	Marketing Device	Promote tourism by emphasizing environmental aspects
6	Management	Responsible management, low negative impacts, green tourism, etc.
7	Symbol	A debate between tourism and the environment.
8	Principles and Goals	Sustainable and mutually beneficial relationships between tourism and the environment

Source: (Holden, 2008)

Based on several theoretical descriptions above, ecotourism is a combination of tourism principles and environmental sustainability principles. This means it is important to pay attention to how environmental contexts are implemented in the tourism industry. Tourism is not just a business affair and an exchange between pleasure and facilities provided by the tourism management, but more than that it includes broader dimensions. Based on the above study, this research formulates relevant ecotourism principles. These principles are environmental conservation practices, efforts to encourage tourist's concern for the environment, attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences, green tourism practices by tourism management, impact of tourism areas development on the environment, tourist vulnerability, consumption on non-renewable commodities, control and support development from external parties, and the empowerment of local community. In detail, the principles are described as follows:

Table 3
The Ecotourism Principles Fulfillment

No.	Principles	Fulfillments
1	Environmental conservation Practices	Conservation practices for tourism areas such as green areas, breeding areas, and others.
2	Encourage tourists concern for the environment	Tourists are invited or encouraged to care about the environment, tourism areas management encourage tourist to care and interested in efforts to environmental conservation.
3	Attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences	The unique events/performances/explorations that directly involve tourists to the environment preservation, such as diving, snorkeling, cruising by boat, and others.

No.	Principles	Fulfillments
4	Green tourism practices by tourism management	Tourism management practices green tourism, for example educating tourists to dispose of rubbish in trash bins, properly managed waste, tourism areas neatly arranged and clean, not barren, and using equipment that does not damage the environment, and others.
5	Impact of tourism area development on the environment	Tourism areas development is not potentially damaging the environment; development is expected not to be negative for the environment.
6	Tourist vulnerability	The tourism area has maximum security for the safety of tourists, in terms of crime, preventing incidents/potential incidents that make tourists uncomfortable.
7	Consumption of non-renewable commodities	Both tourists and tourism management do not use non-renewable commodities, such as fossil energy, non-environmentally oriented foodstuffs, and others.
8	Control and support development from external parties	External parties routinely supervise/assist in terms of the development of the tourism area; from government or non-government organizations.
9	Empowerment of local community	Local community involvement in the tourism areas development and provide benefits to the local community.

3. Research Methodology

The results of this study were obtained with a quantitative descriptive approach that uses surveys as data collection techniques. To enrich data analysis, researchers conducted observations and interviews. The selected research location is the popular tourist areas that rely on nature tourism in Bangka Island and Belitung Island. The selected locations in Bangka Islands were Pesona Beach, Parai Beach, Tongachi Beach, Pasir Padi Beach, Tikus Emas Beach, and Kolong Biru, while the selected locations in Belitung Island were Tanjung Tinggi Beach, Tanjung Kelayang Beach, Garuda Island Region, Lengkuas Island, Bukit Perahu Beach, and Burung Mandi Beach. Respondents were determined based on quota sampling principles with certain criteria; 1) tourists from outside Bangka Belitung, 2) tourists have been at least 60 minutes at the tourism area, and 3) one respondent selected in each tourist group. The number of quota respondents was determined by consideration of tourism destination popularity, as follows:

Table 4
Sample Quota

Bangka		Belitung	
Location	Quota	Location	Quota
Parai beach	5	Burung beach	5
Pesona beach	5	Bukit Perahu beach	5
Tikus Emas beach	5	Garuda isle	6
Tongachi beach	5	Tanjung Kelayang	6
Kolong Biru	5	Tanjung Tinggi	7
Pasir Padi beach	5	Lengkuas Island	6
Total	30	Total	35
Total of 65 Respondents			

The assessment of ecotourism principles was conducted by asking questions according to nine basic ecotourism principles, as follows: 1) environmental conservation practices, 2) efforts to encourage tourist’s concern for the environment, 3) attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences, 4) green tourism practices by tourism management, 5) impact of tourism areas development on the environment, 6) tourist vulnerability, 7) consumption on non-renewable commodities, 8) control and support development from external parties, and 9) the empowerment of local community. Respondents, according to predetermined criteria, are asked to provide measurements by their perceptions. Measurement of ecotourism principles using the scoring system; the maximum value for each principle is 1. The questions are arranged in a checklist divided into 5 options, including:

Category	Score
Not at all	0
Very little	0,25
Somewhat	0,5
Extended but not optimal	0,75
Fulfillment	1

Furthermore, the total score was categorized into five intervals as follows:

Total of Score	Fulfillment
00 - 1,8	Unfulfilled
1,9 - 3,6	Less fulfilled
3,7 - 5,4	Moderate
5,5 - 7,2	Fulfilled
7,3 - 9,0	Strongly fulfilled

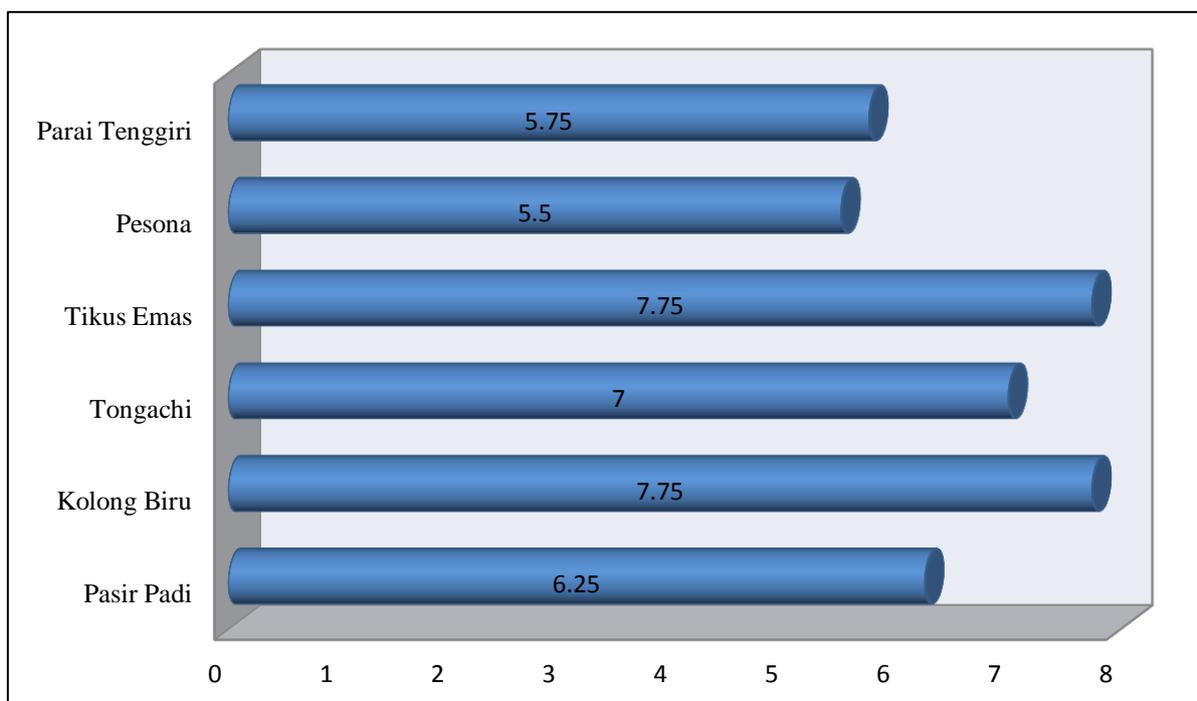
To enrich the data in the analysis, the observations were conducted on each question raised at all locations. Interview with tourism management, the person in charge of tourism business involved in tourism management, and the local community around the tourism areas were also conducted to strengthen the analysis.

4. Results and Discussion

A. Tourism Areas in Bangka Island

The tourism areas scoring in Bangka Island based on the survey data results to assess the ecotourism principles fulfillment as follows:

Figure 2
The Ecotourism Principles Fulfillment Score in Bangka Island



Source: (Primary Data, 2019)

1. Parai Tenggara Beach

Based on the data as shown in figure 2, Parai Tenggara Beach scored 5.75 out of 9 total scores as the maximum value (fulfilled category). Assessed based on the ecotourism principles, the results as follows:

- 1) Environmental conservation Practices. Parai Tenggara Beach has green areas such as mini garden and garden at the entrance and around the hotel rooms.
- 2) Encourage tourist's concern for the environment. It is difficult to find encouraged to care about the environment around the beach to fulfill the principle of environmental awareness, although there are already rules for activities around the beach.
- 3) Attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences. The attractions presented were more to watersport games, not classified as attractions that can increase environmental awareness.
- 4) Green tourism practices by tourism management. The management is quite good at managing the green tourism practice, but it has been found that there is a wastewater pipe that flows from the tourism area to the beach.
- 5) Impact of tourism area development on the environment. The development of the tourism area on Parai Tenggara Beach is already good and it's expected not to have an impact on the environment.
- 6) Tourist vulnerability. The management has put up instructions and rules around the beach. The coast guard is also available, though not reaching all areas.
- 7) Consumption of non-renewable commodities. It has found a lot of non-organic waste scattered around the beach.
- 8) Control and support development from external parties. It is limited considering Parai Tenggara Beach is an area that has been fully managed by the private sector.
- 9) Empowerment of the local community. It also lacks empowering the local community considering Parai Tenggara Beach is an area that has been fully managed by the private sector.

2. Tanjung Pesona Beach

There is no difference between the Tanjung Pesona Beach and the Parai Tenggara Beach, which is also a privately managed tourism area and as an open public tourism destination. Both of them also manage hotels and the beach area. Based on the data as shown in figure 2, Tanjung Pesona Beach scored 5.5 from a total of 9 (fulfilled category). Assessed based on the ecotourism principles, the results as follows:

- 1) Environmental conservation Practices. There is no conservation area, but there are green areas like Ocean Park which are relatively poorly managed. There are several parks designed to beautify the tourism areas.
- 2) Encourage tourist's concern for the environment. It is difficult to find encouraged to care about the environment around the beach to fulfill the principle of environmental awareness, although there are already rules for activities around the beach.
- 3) Attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences. Some exploratory environmental experiences do not run optimally.
- 4) Green tourism practices by tourism management. The management has not been optimal to educate tourists to keep the environment clean.
- 5) Impact of tourism area development on the environment. The development of the tourism area on Tanjung Pesona Beach is already good and it's expected not to have an impact on the environment.

- 6) Tourist vulnerability. The management has put up instructions and rules around the beach. The coast guard is not available.
- 7) Consumption of non-renewable commodities. The management has provided trash bins, but it has found a lot of non-organic waste scattered around the coast.
- 8) Control and support development from external parties. It is limited considering Tanjung Pesona Beach is an area that has been fully managed by the private sector.
- 9) Empowerment of the local community. It also lacks empowering the local community considering Tanjung Pesona Beach is an area that has been fully managed by the private sector.

3. Tikus Emas Beach

Located in the Bangka Regency, Tikus Emas Beach is a newly developed tourism area and not too far away with Parai Tenggiri Beach and Tanjung Pesona Beach. As a new tourism destination, Tikus Emas Beach attracts many tourists because it is considered to present a new tourism atmosphere. Based on the data as shown in figure 2, Tikus Emas Beach scored 7.57 from a total of 9 (strongly fulfilled category). Assessed based on the ecotourism principles, the results as follows:

- 1) Environmental conservation Practices. There are conservation practices in Tikus Emas Beach, which consist of turtle breeding (turtle breeding and also adult turtle breeding) which can be seen directly by tourists. There is a conservation area designed as a photo spot.
- 2) Encourage tourist's concern for the environment. Some many appeals and rules encourage tourists to care about the environment and cleanliness of the beach.
- 3) Attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences. Explorative facilities are also provided by the management, such as flying fox, All-Terrain Vehicle (ATV) motorbike to go around the beach, and water sports games.
- 4) Green tourism practices by tourism management. The beach cleanliness is very good; there is also prohibition for burning activities in this area.
- 5) Impact of tourism area development on the environment. The development of the tourism area on Tikus Emas Beach is already good and it's expected not to have an impact on the environment. Although not far from the shore it can be seen that the Suction Dredger (KIP) is still operating. This coastal area is an offshore tin mining production area as the Bangka Belitung is known as tin-production areas (Erman, 2017; Ibrahim et al., 2017; Susilo & Maemunah, 2009).
- 6) Tourist vulnerability. The management has set up a coast guard to monitor tourist activity.
- 7) Consumption of non-renewable commodities. Food consumption is dominated by fast food and snacks that produce plastic waste, but the management has managed garbage and waste properly.
- 8) Control and support development from external parties. The management has coordinated with related parties.
- 9) Empowerment of the local community. The involvement of the local community is still limited. This can be seen from the lack of workers from the local community.

4. Tongachi Beach

Located in the Bangka Regency, Tongachi Beach is popular as a new tourism destination developed in recent years. It is a must-visit tourism area that presents a unique experience through the exploration of beautiful beaches with more attractions compared to other tourism

areas. Based on the data as shown in figure 2, Tongachi Beach scored 7 from a total of 9 (fulfilled category). Assessed based on the ecotourism principles, the results as follows:

- 1) Environmental conservation Practices. There are conservation practices in Tongachi Beach, which consist of turtle breeding and the presence of water break (large stones piled on the edge of the beach). Turtle breeding is located in captive ponds and in coastal areas that have been protected by water breaks.
- 2) Encourage tourist's concern for the environment. The management invites tourists to preserve the environment through written appeals at various points.
- 3) Attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences. The management presents explorative attraction activities such as diving, boat cruising, and cultural events. It also provides a library area and ethnic buildings.
- 4) Green tourism practices by tourism management. The management provides an environmentally-oriented atmosphere. The Tongachi Beach area is clean and tidy.
- 5) Impact of tourism area development on the environment. The development of the tourism area on Tongachi Beach is already good and it's expected not to have an impact on the environment. Although it is still seen offshore tin mining by tin mining companies.
- 6) Tourist vulnerability. The safety and comfort of tourists are well anticipated by the management.
- 7) Consumption of non-renewable commodities. There are quite several food stalls with various food and beverage menus that still use plastic containers.
- 8) Control and support development from external parties. The management coordinates cultural events with external parties. It is limited considering Tongachi Beach is an area that has been fully managed by the private sector.
- 9) Empowerment of the local community. Tongachi Beach seems to be less empowering the local community. There are restrictions on selling areas.

5. Kolong Biru

Kolong Biru is a pond of water, caused by tin mining activity, which is located in the central Bangka District and on the border with South Bangka Regency. Kolong Biru is called so because Kolong Biru has clear and blue color water. It is known as a tourism area that offers beautiful scenery for photography. Kolong Biru has been explored in recent years and quickly gaining popularity through social media. Based on the data as shown in figure 2, Kolong Biru scored 7.75 from a total of 9 (strongly fulfilled category). Assessed based on the ecotourism principles, the results as follows:

- 1) Environmental conservation Practices. Kolong Biru is an open and barren area because it was an ex-tin mining location but already started planting trees to reduce barrenness.
- 2) Encourage tourist's concern for the environment. The management invites tourists to preserve the environment through written appeals at various points with persuasive language and the millennial style.
- 3) Attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences. Ex-tin mining tourism has not yet been fully developed, only relying on the beauty of the blue water. The management began to provide water bikes to explore the beauty of the blue water.
- 4) Green tourism practices by tourism management. It's already categorized as a clean and tidy area and well-managed by the community.
- 5) Impact of tourism area development on the environment. The development of the tourism area on Kolong Biru is already good and it's expected not to have an impact on the environment. Although it was an ex-tin mining location.

- 6) Tourist vulnerability. There is a potential concern for tourist safety because of the limited safety fence.
- 7) Consumption of non-renewable commodities. Residents provide small stalls with a variety of local snacks. Cleanliness is always maintained by the management.
- 8) Control and support development from external parties. Kolong Biru tourism area is managed by the local government through its village. The local community is fully involved.
- 9) Empowerment of the local community. The development of the Kolong Biru tourism area strengthens support for local communities and gives direct benefits to residents.

6. Pasir Padi Beach

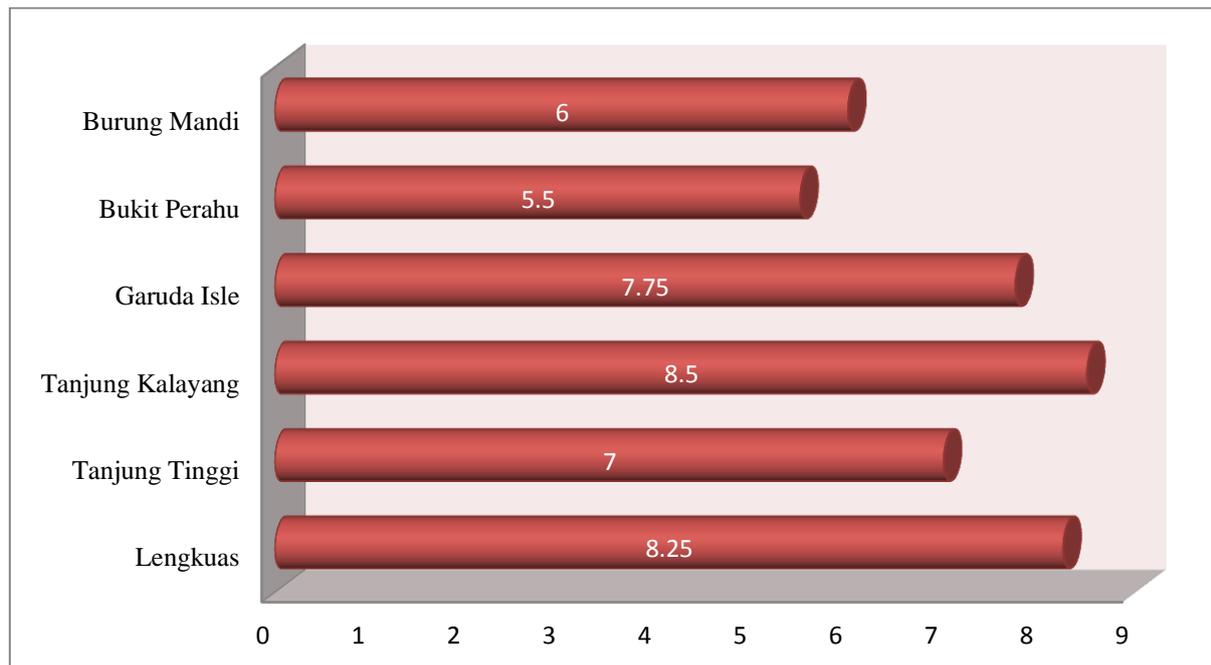
Pasir Padi Beach is located in the City of Pangkal Pinang, the capital city of the Bangka Belitung Islands Province, and only about 15 minutes away by a four-wheeled vehicle from Depati Amir Airport. Pasir Padi Beach is managed by the government and the only coastal area in the City of Pangkal Pinang. Although less popular than other beaches, it is the most-visited beach because of its location not far from the city center. Based on the data as shown in figure 2, Pasir Padi Beach scored 6.25 from a total of 9 (fulfilled category). Assessed based on the ecotourism principles, the results as follows:

- 1) Environmental conservation Practices. There has not been much conservation in the Pasir Padi Beach area, but in some areas, tree planting has been carried out for reforestation and installation of stones as a breakwater in the beach area to resist abrasion.
- 2) Encourage tourist's concern for the environment. There are signposts to encourage tourists to care and preserve the environment.
- 3) Attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences. There are no adequate facilities to provide an explorative tourist experience. There are only ATV motorbikes for rent.
- 4) Green tourism practices by tourism management. The arrangement of the beach is still chaotic with the unarranged vendors. Garbage is scattered everywhere even though the management has provided trash bins.
- 5) Impact of tourism area development on the environment. The development of the tourism area on Pasir Padi Beach is already good and it's expected not to have an impact on the environment besides the problem of threatening abrasion. The constructions of meeting rooms and new hotels, as well as swimming pools on the beach, are other developments that are considered as additional beach facilities.
- 6) Tourist vulnerability. The management cooperates with the police to provide a tourism police post.
- 7) Consumption of non-renewable commodities. Tourists have not fully applied the principle of environmentally-oriented.
- 8) Control and support development from external parties. Pasir Padi Beach tourism area involves many components where the government as its management.
- 9) Empowerment of the local community. Many communities are involved in the activities of the Pasir Padi Beach tourism area, as sellers or for other services. Economically, it is a great benefit for the local community although some businesses are privately owned.

B. Tourism Areas in Belitung Island

The tourism areas scoring in Bangka Island based on the survey data results to assess the ecotourism principles fulfillment as follows:

Figure 3
The Ecotourism Principles Fulfillment Score in Belitung Island



Source: (Primary Data, 2019)

Based on the data as shown in figure 3, the highest score of the ecotourism principles fulfillment is 8.5, while the lowest score is 5.5.

1. Burung Mandi Beach

Burung Mandi Beach is a coastal area located in East Belitung regency and its residents generally are fishermen. Burung Mandi Beach is famous for its sloping beaches and distinctive boats used by fishermen to sea. Based on the data as shown in figure 3, Burung Mandi Beach scored 6 from a total of 9 (fulfilled category). Assessed based on the ecotourism principles, the results as follows:

- 1) Environmental conservation Practices. There is no conservation in the Burung Mandi Beach area, although it is mentioned on one of the announcement boards that there are endemic birds in this area.
- 2) Encourage tourist's concern for the environment. There are no signposts to encourage tourists to care and preserve the environment. There are only appeals for not ride the boat in a coastal area.
- 3) Attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences. The tourists can only see the fishing boats in the coastal area. The boats are only used for fishing by the fishermen and not for coastal exploration activities.
- 4) Green tourism practices by tourism management. There are trash bins in several areas on the beach and an appeal to dispose of garbage in the trash bins.
- 5) Impact of tourism area development on the environment. The development of the tourism area on Burung Mandi Beach is already good and it's expected not to have an impact on the environment.

- 6) Tourist vulnerability. There is a prohibition to swimming on the beach, but there are no guards.
- 7) Consumption of non-renewable commodities. There is still much plastic waste scattered in the beach area.
- 8) Control and support development from external parties. Burung Mandi Beach is managed by the local community and the involvement of local government is fairly intensive. Information boards and infrastructure improvements are assisted by the local government.
- 9) Empowerment of the local community. The empowerment of the local community is running well. Local community involved to sell and exhibit the work of local specialties.

2. Bukit Perahu Beach

Bukit Perahu Beach located in Belitung Regency. It is located in the hilly area with a beautiful view. It takes approximately 45 minutes from the center of Tanjung Pandan City to reach this area. Based on the data as shown in figure 3, Bukit Perahu Beach scored 5.5 from a total of 9 (fulfilled category). Assessed based on the ecotourism principles, the results as follows:

- 1) Environmental conservation Practices. There are no specific conservation practices in this tourist area, but at the entrance to the beach, there is a greening area planted to beautify the beach area.
- 2) Encourage tourist's concern for the environment. There are no signposts to encourage tourists to care and preserve the environment.
- 3) Attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences. There are no attractions but provided special cottages located on the shoreline. This cottage is interesting because it was built with a traditional design and placed on the sidelines of a tree on the beach. Other facilities are the availability of a swimming pool built with a view overlooking the beach. The swimming pool was built right on the side of the hill so it becomes an attractive selfie location with a background of the open sea.
- 4) Green tourism practices by tourism management. There is no specific appeal for managing waste for tourists but the area is neat and clean.
- 5) Impact of tourism area development on the environment. The development of the tourism area on Bukit Perahu Beach is already good and it's expected not to have an impact on the environment. But the construction of the cottage on the beach is very potentially affecting the environmental support in the coastal area.
- 6) Tourist vulnerability. Special supervision from adult family members is required for children as the area is hilly. Although the fence is provided along the hill, tourists must be careful. Pantai Bukit Perahu is not as popular as other beaches in Belitung Island, but the privacy of tourists is maintained because the area is secluded with a hilly location.
- 7) Consumption of non-renewable commodities. With the availability of restaurants, the use of plastic for consumption purposes is well managed.
- 8) Control and support development from external parties. As an area managed privately, government control and external communities are limited.
- 9) Empowerment of the local community. The owner employs residents as employees. The existence of this tourism area provides benefits for residents.

3. Garuda Isle

Garuda Isle is a tourism destination that is widely mentioned by tourists and included in the favorite category. It is a small island that has a large rock resembling the head of Garuda (a

legendary bird as the emblem of Indonesia). Tourist activities at Garuda Isle are usually accompanied by exploring the surrounding area, consisting of small rocky islands. Garuda isle can be reached by sea and located opposite Tanjung Kelayang Beach. The assessment of Garuda isle depends on the assessment of Tanjung Kelayang Beach considering that Garuda isle is usually visited from Tanjung Kelayang Beach. Based on the data as shown in figure 3, Garuda isle scored 7.75 from a total of 9 (strongly fulfilled category). Assessed based on the ecotourism principles, the results as follows:

- 1) Environmental conservation Practices. Garuda Isle is a location for releasing sea turtles captive to the sea. Even though it is a small and rocky island, this island will be surrounded by sandy plains during low tide.
- 2) Encourage tourist's concern for the environment. There are signposts to encourage tourists to care and preserve the environment.
- 3) Attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences. There are exploratory activities through island cruising using boats managed by local fishermen.
- 4) Green tourism practices by tourism management. The management invites tourists to keep the cleanliness of the island and the sea from the trash. Boats usually provide a trash bin.
- 5) Impact of tourism area development on the environment. The development of Garuda Isle maintains the natural aspect; there is no construction of facilities on Garuda Isle.
- 6) Tourist vulnerability. Tourists are equipped with safety buoys. As an area close to the shoreline, Garuda Island is quite safe.
- 7) Consumption of non-renewable commodities. Unfortunately, to reach Garuda Isle, boats with diesel fuel are still the main transportation.
- 8) Control and support development from external parties. This area is managed by the community and managed jointly by residents.
- 9) Empowerment of the local community. The empowerment of the local community is running well. The local community benefits from this tourism area.

4. Tanjung Kelayang Beach

Tanjung Kelayang Beach is located in Belitung Regency. It takes approximately 45 minutes from the center of Tanjung Pandan City to reach this area. Tanjung Kelayang Beach is popular not only because of the beauty of its beach but also as a transit point to go to several other tourism destinations. Based on the data as shown in figure 3, Tanjung Kelayang Beach scored 8.5 from a total of 9 (strongly fulfilled category). Assessed based on the ecotourism principles, the results as follows:

- 1) Environmental conservation Practices. The principle of conservation works well at Tanjung Kelayang Beach, which consists of turtle breeding and coral transplantation. This conservation itself is managed by the local community.
- 2) Encourage tourist's concern for the environment. Tourists are invited to care for the environment through various persuasive signposts.
- 3) Attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences. Management provides explorative experiences for tourists through island cruising activities.
- 4) Green tourism practices by tourism management. The management invites tourists to keep cleanliness and dispose of trash in the trash bins. Even tourists are encouraged to bring their own trash home.
- 5) Impact of tourism area development on the environment. The development of the Tanjung Kelayang Beach area is not destructive to the environment. The tourism area was developed into a meeting center by building a large meeting hall for event activities.

- 6) Tourist vulnerability. For the safety and convenience of tourists, the management has set provisions for the use of safety equipment for tourists who will continue their tour to other challenging places.
- 7) Consumption of non-renewable commodities. Food consumption generally still uses plastic and the management use diesel fuel boats for rent, which at least causes water pollution.
- 8) Control and support development from external parties. The local government helps the local community in managing this tourism area through the assistance of facilities and infrastructure as well as other needs.
- 9) Empowerment of the local community. This tourism area is managed by local people and brings economic benefits.

5. Tanjung Tinggi Beach

Tanjung Tinggi Beach is located in Belitung Regency. It is popular along with the popularity of the Laskar Pelangi film by Andrea Hirata. Tanjung Tinggi Beach is one of the shooting places for Laskar Pelangi. Based on the data as shown in figure 3, Tanjung Tinggi Beach scored 7 from a total of 9 (fulfilled category). Assessed based on the ecotourism principles, the results as follows:

- 1) Environmental conservation Practices. Although it is a very popular tourist destination, Tanjung Tinggi Beach does not have environmental conservation practices.
- 2) Encourage tourist's concern for the environment. There are appeals to care and preserve nature and the environment.
- 3) Attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences. The management provides an exploratory experience for tourists who want to try the challenge, which consists of equipment for snorkeling and boat rentals to explore the coastal area.
- 4) Green tourism practices by tourism management. There are appeals through signposts to care and preserve the environment, including appeals to dispose of trash in the trash bins.
- 5) Impact of tourism area development on the environment. The development of Tanjung Tinggi Beach area is not destructive to the environment. But it has been planned to build public facilities in this tourism area.
- 6) Tourist vulnerability. The management has provided several coast guards and there is also a police post not far from this beach. Managers encourage tourists to look after their children when swimming at the beach.
- 7) Consumption of non-renewable commodities. There is still a lot of plastic waste found around the beach, as well as the use of diesel fuel for boat rentals.
- 8) Control and support development from external parties. This beach is managed by a private company.
- 9) Empowerment of the local community. The local community is still permitted provided that the place of selling is not permanent. A few years before, the beach area was very crowded with various culinary places to eat seafood, but now it is localized to a place further from the beach. The involvement of the local community runs well.

6. Lengkuas Island

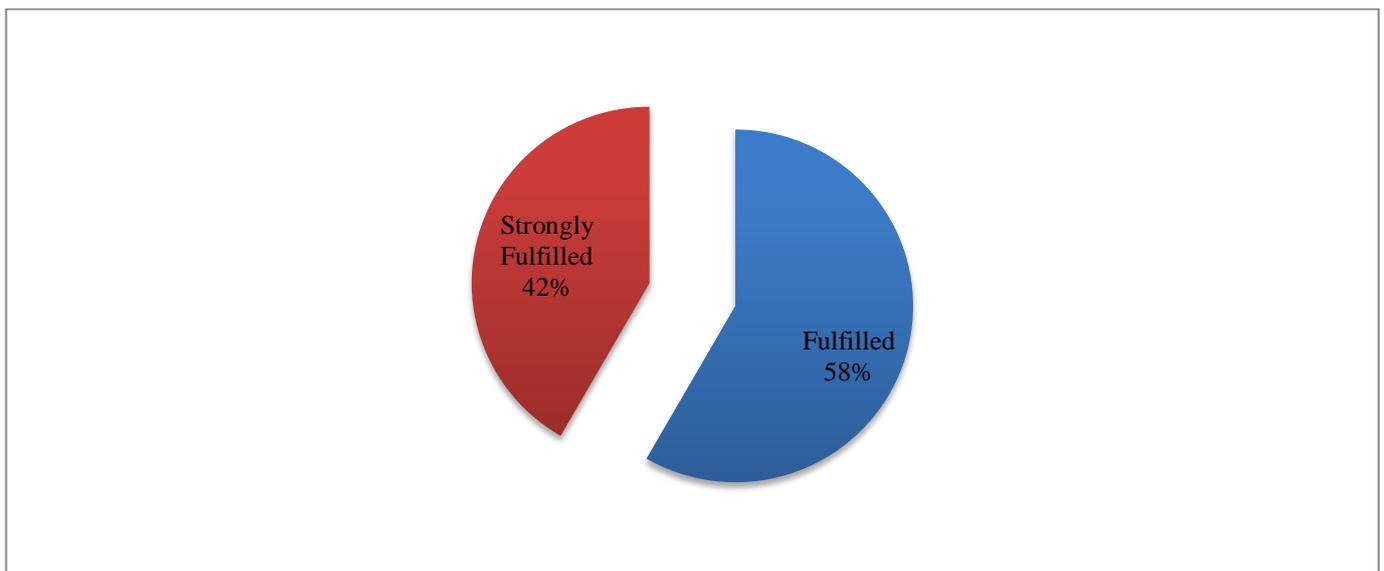
Lengkuas Island is located in Belitung Regency. Travel time to Lengkuas Island from Tanjung Kelayang Beach is approximately 1 hour by boat. Lengkuas Island is famous for its beautiful coral reefs. Based on the data as shown in figure 3, Lengkuas Island scored 8.25 from a total of 9 (fulfilled category). Assessed based on the ecotourism principles, the results as follows:

- 1) Environmental conservation Practices. To maintain conservation, island management makes appeals to tourists and invitations to preserve the island.
- 2) Encourage tourist's concern for the environment. There are appeals to care and preserve nature and the environment.
- 3) Attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences. As an island with beautiful coral reefs, explorative experiences are available for tourists through snorkeling in coral reef areas. Lengkuas Island is also home to a rare and varied fish ecosystem.
- 4) Green tourism practices by tourism management. There is an appeal to keep the island clean. Trash bins are provided in several areas and the island looks clean.
- 5) Impact of tourism area development on the environment. This island was not built many additional facilities. Releasing the boat anchor while snorkeling is still a problem.
- 6) Tourist vulnerability. The boat used to reach the island is generally a wooden boat and small size so the chance of accidents may still occur. As anticipation, the management always requires the use of safety buoys while on a boat and avoid traveling during the big wave season.
- 7) Consumption of non-renewable commodities. The management is still using diesel fuel boats. For cleanliness, tourists are required to collect trash into trash bags that have been provided by the management.
- 8) Control and support development from external parties. The island is managed by the local community and the role of local government is quite dominant.
- 9) Empowerment of the local community. Boats and sales are managed by the local community so that direct profits are obtained by the local community.

C. The Ecotourism Principles Fulfillment in Bangka Belitung

Based on the survey data, the ecotourism principles fulfillment in Bangka Belitung as follows:

Figure 4
The Ecotourism Principles Fulfillment in Bangka Belitung



Source: (Primary Data, 2019)

Based on the data as shown in figure 4, 58% of the tourism areas in Bangka Belitung were included in the category of fulfilled the ecotourism principles and 42% were in the strongly fulfilled category of ecotourism principles. In Bangka Island, 4 out of 6 tourism destinations are in the fulfilled category and 2 tourism destinations are in the strongly fulfilled category. While in Belitung Island, 3 out of 6 tourism destinations are in the fulfilled category and 3 tourism destinations are in the strongly fulfilled category. None of the tourism areas in Bangka Belitung get a maximum score of 9 as shown in figure 2 and figure 3.

In general, tourism destinations in Bangka Belitung fulfill the ecotourism principles, as the following analysis:

1) Environmental conservation practices

Conservation is one of the main characteristics of ecotourism. Through conservation, there is awareness to encourage mutual concern to encourage environmental preservation activities. One of the fundamental ideas in the development of ecotourism is the desire to make conservation a joint activity and at the same time make tourists as partners in conservation activities. Although according to Holden (2009: 19-31 in Hill & Gale, 2009), this is still a matter of debate and also because of its complexity.

Observation results indicate that conservation is still very limited. A total of 12 tourism destinations were observed, only 5 destinations that truly have conservation practices. In conservation activities, tourists should be invited to be part of the conservation process. In several tourism destinations in Bangka Belitung, most are still focused on sea turtle breeding, only a few are focused on replanting trees (greening). The involvement of tourists in conservation activities can be through a variety of ways, for example, the program of one tourist one tree, one tourist one persuasion on social media, or other activities that encourage the active involvement of tourists in conservation practices.

2) Encourage tourists concern for the environment

The education process for tourists has not run optimally. The education process is only through signposts that contain appeals in some areas, although not all tourist destinations implement it. The management of the tourism area in Bangka Belitung still presupposes that tourists will conclude and draw their wisdom during the tour process. The process for educating tourists has not been planned and has no clear educational concept. It is necessary to develop the principle of edutourism (educational tourism development).

3) Attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences

Efforts to build an attractive experience for tourists already exist in several tourism destinations in Bangka Belitung, but not all tourism destinations provide attractive and memorable moments as a new experience for tourists. Generally, existing tourism destinations still rely on natural beauty as a product to impress tourists, without creations to add to exploratory challenges. Lengkuas Island is one of the tourism destinations that present a memorable experience because there are snorkeling and beautiful coral reef views. The trip to the island with a small wooden boat becomes interesting and unforgettable.

4) Green tourism practices by tourism management

In general, tourism destinations that rely on nature will emphasize aspects of cleanliness. Several tourism areas are not optimal in applying the principle of green tourism. Garbage is generally a problem in some tourism areas.

5) Impact of tourism area development on the environment

In general, no development of tourism areas is found by damaging the environment. But there are still external threats to tourism areas that rely on the beauty of the beach. Offshore tin mining around several coastal areas is a real threat to the sustainability of the coastal environment. Although there have been several mining conflicts in the coastal areas (Pratama, 2018; Ibrahim et al., 2018; Ibrahim et al., 2019), the fact is that offshore tin mining has not ended yet. An irony, the tourism sector is expected to run optimally but the beauty of the beach is slowly eroded by the threat of silt, mud, and damage to marine life (see Hengky, 2017; Firdaus & Endah, 2016). Pasir Padi Beach and Tikus Emas Beach are at least two tourist areas that face this sensitive problem.

6) Tourist vulnerability

Limited guards are a common problem. Transportation is also a fundamental problem of tourism destinations in Bangka Belitung. Tourism destinations are reached by rental vehicles, not public transportation. The fact is that mass transportation is a problem in Bangka Belitung.

7) Consumption of non-renewable commodities

The use of plastic is common in tourist areas in Bangka Belitung. Dependence on packaged food cannot be avoided. Plastic waste is still found scattered throughout the tourist area even though the management provides adequate trash facilities. The use of diesel as an energy material is still found in some areas.

8) Control and support development from external parties

The role of local governments in the development of tourism is relatively limited. The local government should be the party that should be involved in providing recreational needs optimally. Local governments will usually hand over the management of tourism areas to the private sector or local community. This means that local government should be able to optimally assist the process of facilitation and tourism development, not just providing road access, transportation and facilitation on the surface, but limited to the substance of ecotourism in managing tourism destinations. However, according to Wardani et al. (2017) coordination between stakeholders is important in developing tourist destinations. Manurung (2002 in Hundloe, 2002) stated that at least the parties that should be involved are the government, the private sector, and the community.

9) Empowerment of the local community

There is a problem with ownership that has implications for the dimensions of local community empowerment. One important entity in the ecotourism principle is the involvement of the local community and direct benefits for the local community in the process of developing tourism areas. That does not mean that only tourism destinations managed by the local community or the government can only actively involve the local community. More than that, local community empowerment can also be involved by the private sector which manages the tourism area.

Community empowerment should be able to be carried out even though the tourism destination has been managed by the private sector. Nature-based tourism destinations are generally tourism destinations that are not purely the creation of managers. This means the public, at least the local community has an interest in participating in managing this nature-based tourism destination. The principle of partnership would be important to consider,

according to Nugroho et al. (2018) that engagement with the local community is part of the sustainability of the ecotourism program.

There are no tourism destinations that achieve a maximum score. The highest score is 8.5. Tanjung Kelayang Beach and Lengkuas Island, which have scores above 8, are both in Belitung Island.

5. Conclusions

This research found several things regarding the ecotourism principles of fulfillment in Bangka Belitung. There are at least 9 basic ecotourism principles which are examined in detail in each selected tourism destination. This research found that assessed from 5 interval categories of the ecotourism principles fulfillment, 58% of the tourism areas in Bangka Belitung were included in the category of fulfilled of the ecotourism principles and 42% were in the strongly fulfilled category of the ecotourism principles, while none of all get the maximum score for the whole principle.

This research also identifies unique and interesting things in the application of each principle. The six ecotourism principles have been implemented well even with a few notes, which consist of 1) Attractions that include exploratory environmental experiences, 2) Green tourism practices by tourism management, 3) Impact of tourism area development on the environment, 4) Tourist vulnerability, 5) Consumption of non-renewable commodities, and 6) Control and support development from external parties. However, the three principles still need strengthening the implementation of the principles, which consist of 1) Environmental Conservation Practices, 2) Encourage tourists concern for the environment, and 3) Empowerment of the local community.

6. Acknowledgement

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